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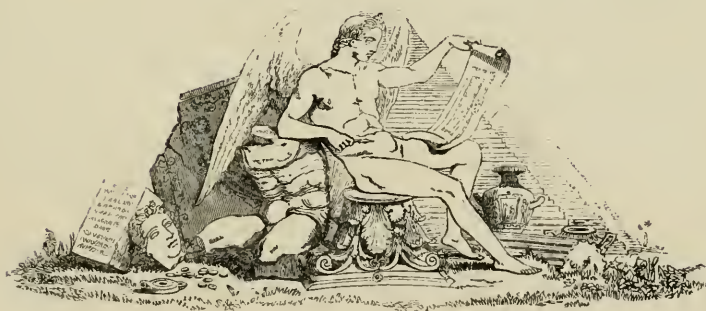
THE MUSEUM
OF
CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES.

THE MUSEUM
OF
CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES:

A SERIES OF PAPERS ON ANCIENT ART.

EDITED BY

EDWARD FALKENER.



COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

	PAGE
<i>Preface</i>	i
(I.) On the Advantage of the Study of Antiquity, and on Excellence in Art. By the EDITOR	1
(II.) On the Rapid Destruction of Ancient Monuments: being a Portion of the Dedicatory Epistle prefixed by FRA GIOVANNI GIOCONDO to his <i>Corpus Inscriptionum</i>	17
<i>Building Laws.</i> (XXV.) On the Building Act of the Emperor Zeno: being the Police Regulation or Law of the Emperor Zeno, on the Construction and Disposition of Private Houses in Constantinople, by H. E. DIRKSEN; translated by W. R. HAMILTON, F.R.S. To which is added, by the same, a Collection of several Imperial Laws enacted during the third and three following centuries of our æra	305
<i>Egyptian-Doric Columns.</i> (VIII.) On some Egyptian-Doric Columns at Thebes. By EDWARD FALKENER	87
<i>Elgin Marbles.</i> (XXVII.) Extract from the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Earl of Elgin's Collection of Sculp- tured Marbles	403
<i>Excavations.</i> (XXIII.) A General Statement of the Excavations of Ancient Monuments in the kingdom of Naples, from 1830 to 1849, during the office of CARLO BONUCCI, Director-General of the Excavations	285
<i>Exhibition-Building.</i> (X.) On the Application of Polychromy to Modern Architecture, as exemplified in the Decoration of the Exhibition-Build- ing in Hyde Park. By EDWARD FALKENER	98
<i>Lesche.</i> (V.) On the Paintings by Polygnotus in the Lesche at Delphi. By W. WATKISS LLOYD. Part I. The Painting on the right-hand wall	44
(XIII.) Part II. The Painting on the left-hand wall	103
(VIII.) On the Plan and Disposition of the Greek Lesche. By the EDITOR	78
<i>Lycia.</i> (V.) Communication from PROFESSOR SCHOENBORN, of Posen, re- lative to an important Monument recently discovered by him in Lycia	41
<i>Mausoleum.</i> (XV.) On the Mausoleum, or Sepulchre of Mausolus, at Halicar- nassus. By EDWARD FALKENER	157
<i>Minerva.</i> (XVI.) Description of a very ancient Statue of Minerva at Athens. By GEORGE SCHARF, Jun.	190
<i>Museums.</i> (XIX.) Remarks on the Collections of Ancient Art in the Muscums of Italy, the Glyptothek at Munich, and the British Museum. By CHARLES NEWTON, M.A.	205
<i>Nineveh.</i> (XI.) Discoveries at Nimrood: being a Communication from THOMAS N. LYNCH, dated Bagdad, 17th November, 1850	97
<i>Pæstum.</i> (IV.) Description of one of the City Gates of Pæstum. By PRO- FESSOR T. L. DONALDSON	35
<i>Parthenon.</i> (XXVI.) On the Lost Group of the Eastern Pediment of the Par- thenon. By EDWARD FALKENER	353

	PAGE
<i>Polychromy.</i> (III.) On the Polychromy of Greek Architecture. By I. I. HITTORFF, of Paris	20
——— (XX.) On the Study of Polychromy and its Revival. By GOTTFRIED SEMPER, of Dresden	228
——— (See <i>Sculpture</i> .)	
<i>Sculpture.</i> (XXI.) On the Polychromy of Sculpture: being Recollections of Remarks on this Subject by the late Professor C. O. Müller. By GEORGE SCHARF, Jun.	247
<i>Xanthus.</i> (XXII.) On the Ionic Heroum at Xanthus, now in the British Museum. By EDWARD FALKENER	256

ARCHÆOGRAPHIA LITTERARIA.

I. <i>The Classical Museum</i> , 1844—1850. (Art. XI.)	93
II. <i>Archæologische Zeitung</i> , 1843—1850. (Art. XVIII.)	203
III. <i>Annali, Bullettino e Monumenti, dell' Istituto di Correspondenza Archæologica di Roma</i> , Part I. (Art. XXIV.)	295

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

<i>Aristion.</i> Monument of Aristion, at Marathon. (Lithograph)	252
<i>Bellerophon and the Chimera.</i> A Terra Cotta in the British Museum.	133
——— from Cos	252
<i>Celenderis.</i> A Tomb at Celenderis, in Cilicia. (Lithograph)	188
<i>Egyptian-Doric.</i> Capital of an Egyptian-Doric Column.	87
<i>Eleusis.</i> Plan of Temple of Ceres, at Eleusis	173
<i>Karnak.</i> Plan of Southern Temple at Karnak	89

		PAGE
<i>Laiseion.</i>	Antiope and Theseus	137
<i>Lesche.</i>	Riepenhausen's Plan of the <i>Lesche at Delphi</i>	78
	Proposed Plan	81
	The Painting by Polygnotus on the right-hand Wall. (Engraving)	76
	on the left-hand Wall. (ditto)	130
<i>Mausoleum.</i>	Texier's Design for	160
	Fergusson's	162
	Cockerell's	164
	Lloyd's	164
	Proposed plan of	171
	Peribolus of	175
	Elevation, as restored. (Lithograph)	178
	Trunk of Statue of Mausoleum	186
<i>Micipsa.</i>	The Tomb of Micipsa, at Souma, in Algeria. (Lithograph) .	172
<i>Minerva.</i>	Birth of Minerva on Beugnot Vase	358
	————— Cospiano Mirror, Bologna	356
	————— Passeri Lamp	375
	————— Vase in Museo Gregoriano	372, 374
	————— Winckelmann Bas-relief	380
—————	An ancient Statue of Minerva, discovered on the Acropolis at Athens. (Lithograph)	192
<i>Munich.</i>	Plan of Ruhmeshalle	80
<i>Oorân.</i>	Monument at Oorân, in Asia Minor. (Lithograph)	174
<i>Pæstum.</i>	Plan of one of the City Gates at Pæstum	36
	Restored View of	39
<i>Parthenon.</i>	Reduced Fac-simile of Carrey's Drawing of Eastern Pediment	353
	The Eastern Pediment, as restored by E. Falkener. (Transfer on Stone)	402
	The Western Pediment (ditto)	402
	Fragment of Two Feet. (Elgin Marble)	383
	Bust of Nike. (ditto)	386
	Minerva as an Acroterial Ornament	402
<i>Rome.</i>	Plan of Portico of Philip at Rome	82
<i>Roman Wall.</i>	Sections of Roman Wall of Severus	193, 195
<i>Tivoli.</i>	Plan of Pæcile in Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli	84
<i>Xanthus.</i>	The Ionic Heroum at—Plan of Model in British Museum .	257
	————— Actual Plan. (Engraving)	262
	————— Perspective View. (Lithograph)	256
	————— Coloured Decoration of Lacunaria. (Engraving)	282
	————— Sculpture of Upper Frieze. (Engraving)	284
	————— Architrave and Cornice of Doorway	267
	————— Lion	268
	————— Ionic Base-moulding	271
	————— Figure of a Persian	279
	————— Harpagus and the Lycian Chiefs	139
	————— Coins of Ionic Cities	141—149
—————	Harpy Tomb—Bas-reliefs	191, 253
—————	Sphinx	251

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

	PAGE
(I.) On the Progress and Decay of Art; and on the arrangement of a National Museum. By FRANCIS PULSZKY	1
<i>Acræ.</i> (XIV.) On the Theatre, Odeum, and other monuments of Acræ, a Syracusan Colony in the South of Sicily. By JOHN HOGG, M.A., F.R.S., For. Sec. to the Roy. Soc. of Lit., etc.	240
<i>Amyclæ.</i> (IX.) The Throne of Amyclæan Apollo. By WILLIAM WATKISS LLOYD	132
<i>Asia Minor.</i> (X.) On the True Situation of Cragus, Anticragus, and the Massicytus, Mountains of Asia Minor. By PROFESSOR SCHOENBORN, of Posen	161
<i>Calvary.</i> (XVIII.) On the True Site of Calvary; with a restored plan of the Ancient City of Jerusalem. By مقدسي	311
——— Notes	465
<i>Candia.</i> (See <i>Crete</i> .)	
<i>Crete.</i> (XV.) “La Descrizione dell’ Isola di Candia.” A MS. of the Sixteenth Century On the Antiquities of Candia, No. 1. With a Map of Crete. By EDWARD FALKENER	263
<i>Egypt.</i> (See <i>Obelisk</i> and <i>Sphinx</i> .)	
<i>Frescoes.</i> (See <i>Pompeii</i> and <i>Rome</i> .)	
<i>Holy Sepulchre.</i> (XVII.) On the alleged Site of the “Holy Sepulchre.” (See <i>Calvary</i> .)	311
——— (XIX.) Appendix	174
<i>Jerusalem.</i> (See <i>Calvary</i> and <i>Holy Sepulchre</i> .)	
<i>Museum.</i> (I.) On the arrangement of a National Museum	1
<i>Naumachia.</i> (See <i>Verona</i> .)	
<i>Obelisk.</i> (XIII.) Notes upon Obelisks. By SAMUEL BIRCH, F.S.A	203
——— (XVI.) Addendum to “Notes upon Obelisks.”	309
<i>Pompeii.</i> (IV.) Report on a House at Pompeii excavated under Personal Superintendence in 1847. By EDWARD FALKENER	35
——— (V.) On a Lydian Double-pipe (<i>Tibiæ Pares</i>) represented in a Painting in a House at Pompeii, excavated by Mr. Falkener. By JAMES A. DAVIES, Trin. Coll. Camb.	90

	PAGE
<i>Rome.</i> (II.) On Recent Discoveries at Rome. By the late BENJAMIN GIBSON, Sculptor	16
1. A bronze Horse discovered in the Trastevere	17
2. A Marble Statue of an Athlete discovered in the Trastevere	18
3. The Frescoes of an ancient House in the Via Graziosa, representing the Adventures of Ulysses	21
<i>Seleucia.</i> (VIII.) On the Ancient City and Port of Seleucia Pieria. From Observations made during a Residence at Suediah, in the years 1846 to 1849. By WILLIAM HOLT YATES, M.D.	111
<i>Sphinx.</i> (III.) On Excavations by Captain Caviglia, in 1816, behind, and in the neighbourhood of the Great Sphinx. By SAMUEL BIRCH, F.S.A.	27
<i>Theatre.</i> (See <i>Acræ, Verona, and Vicenza.</i>)	
<i>Throne.</i> (See <i>Amyclæ.</i>)	
<i>Tibæ Pares.</i> (See <i>Pompeii.</i>)	
<i>Verona.</i> (XI.) On the Theatres of Vicenza and Verona. By EDWARD FALKENER	167
The Theatre of Verona	174
———— Its Ambulacrum Pensile	186
———— The Naumachia of Verona	191
—— (XII.) Some Observations on the Theatre of Verona. By Conte GIO. ORTI MANARA, Podesta of Verona	201
<i>Vicenza.</i> (XI.) On the Theatres of Vicenza and Verona	167
The Theatre of Vicenza	169

COLLECTANEA, NO. I.

(VI.) (A Record of Antiquarian Discoveries, etc.) For the year 1851	93
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NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, F.S.A. Sec. <i>Remarks on some of the Weapons of the Celtic and Teutonic Races.</i> (From the <i>Archæologia</i> , 1852)	109
M. BOCK, Membre de l'Acad. Roy. de Belgique. <i>Notice sur plusieurs Ouvrages d'Art Antique, qui sont mentionnés ou décrits par les Auteurs du Moyen Age.</i> 1 ^{er} . Article. (Bull. Acad. Roy. de Belg., xiii. 12.)	108
CARL BOETTICHER. <i>Der Poliastempel als Wohnhaus des Königs Erechtheus, nach der Annahme von Fr. Thiersch.</i> 8vo. Berlin, 1851	107
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	PAGE
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FRIEDRICH THIERSCH. <i>Ueber das Erechtheum auf der Akropolis zu Athen.</i> (Erste Abhandlung.) 4to. Munchen, 1849	107

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

<i>Acrae.</i> Acroterial Ornament at Acrae	240
—— Plan of the Theatre and Odeum of Acrae	246
—— Stela of Acrae	252
—— Coin of Acrae	259
<i>Aptera.</i> Plan of the Ruins of Aptera	296
<i>Candia.</i> (See <i>Crete</i> .)	
<i>Crete.</i> A Map of Ancient Crete (A long folding Plate)	308
—— Coins of Allaria, (270) Aptera, (296) Arcadia, (276) Eleutherna, (292) Lappa, (293) Hyrtacina, (298) Olus or Olonte, (274) Phaestus, (287) Præsus, (269) Sybrittia, (292).	
<i>Gortyna.</i> Plan of the Labyrinth of Gortyna	284
<i>Jerusalem.</i> Map of Jerusalem. (Engraving)	464
—— Plan of Jerusalem as composed from Mr. Williams's description	339
—— Plan of the "Holy Sepulchre," as sketched by Arculfus, in 695.	359
—— Plan of the "Holy Sepulchre," as it existed in the seventeenth century	360
—— Interior of the "Holy Sepulchre"	361
—— Mr. Fergusson's Plan of the Temple Area	376
—— Baitu-el-Mukaddas—"The Holy Abode"— <i>Dome of the Rock</i>	388
—— Plan of Jerusalem, from Schaffter. (Anastatic Process)	472
<i>Pompeii.</i> Plan of a House at Pompeii, excavated in 1847, under the superintendence of Mr. Falkener. (Engraving)	35
—— Plan of ditto, as presumed to have been intended by the Owner. (Engraving)	88
—— Mosaic Fountain in Garden of House at Pompeii. (Lithograph)	74
—— <i>Fresco Paintings in House at Pompeii.</i>	
—— Lydian Double Pipe. (Tibiæ Pares)	40
—— Suspended Shields	46
—— Dramatic Representations	62, 63
—— Symposiac Scenes	64, 65
—— Writing Implements, Diptych, Letter, etc.	72
—— <i>Statuary in House at Pompeii.</i>	
—— Hermal—bicipital Statues of Bacchus and Ariadne	74
—— Faun extracting a thorn from foot of Pan	76
—— A Faun	76
—— Faun with Kid and Dam	77
—— Two Amphoræ	79
—— Musical Instruments. (Tibiæ Pares)	90

	PAGE
<i>Pompeiopolis.</i> Views of the Triumphal Avenue of Pompeiopolis, in Cilicia,	279, 281
<i>Seleucia Pieria.</i> Plan of the ancient City of Seleucia Pieria.	111
—— Views of open Cutting from first Tunnel	119
—— View of First Tunnel, looking East	120
—— Entrance to First Tunnel	122
—— Vertical Section of the upper portion of the Culvert	122
—— View of Second Tunnel, looking West	123
<i>Sphinx.</i> Plan of Excavations by Capt. Caviglia, in 1816, behind, and in the neighbourhood of, the Great Sphinx. (Engraving) . .	27
<i>Verona.</i> Plan of the Theatre of Verona: from an unpublished Drawing of Palladio, in the possession of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire. (Engraving)	184
—— The Theatre of Verona: restored by E. Falkener, from Drawings by Palladio, Caroto, and Cristofali. (Engraving) . .	188
—— Section of the Theatre of Verona, with its Ambulacrum and the Naumachia, from an unpublished Drawing by Palladio, in the possession of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire. (Engraving)	192
—— The Naumachia of Verona: restored by E. Falkener, from Drawings by Palladio, Caroto, and other authorities. (Engraving)	200
—— Seal of the City of Verona	174
—— Bird's-eye View of the Theatre of Verona as existing in 1749. By Cristofali	180
—— Plan of its Ambulacrum Pensile. By Caroto	188
<i>Vicenza.</i> Plan of the Theatre of Vicenza	169

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P R E F A C E.

IN endeavouring to establish a new Archæological Journal, it behoves us to give the reasons which have induced us to add to the number of publications already devoted to the subject of Antiquity—to state the objects for which it is intended to be set apart, and the limits to which it is to be extended.

Though we owe much to the older antiquaries, many of whom devoted their entire lives to collecting the scattered notices of antiquity, it was not till the beginning of the present century that these studies became serviceable to art, having been previously pursued without a knowledge of those principles on which true art is founded and dependent.

Of late years, however, a relish for antiquity has been combined with an improvement of taste, an effect to be attributed chiefly to the better and more extended education given to the people generally, and confined to no single land, but embracing all the countries of the civilized world. Every city of Germany has its Vaterländisches Museum; the modern Greek searches the soil to collect the proud evidences of the taste and learning of his ancestors; France establishes in every town a commission to preserve the existing remains of antiquity; Russia and the northern countries send their students to the classic soils of Rome and Athens; while America sends her many sons to finish their education in visiting the principal cities of Europe. In England, also, Antiquarian Societies have been established in several counties, new Institutions and Associations have been formed in the metropolis, vying with

each other in talent and assiduity, and meetings are held annually to collect the combined knowledge of the learned of the day.

But, though the German archæologist stands pre-eminent in all that relates to classical antiquity—though the Greek selects the remains of classic art belonging to his Pagan, rather than the semi-barbarous relics of his Christian ancestor—though France sends out commissioners to every region of the ancient civilized world: to Greece, Asia Minor, Armenia, Persia, Egypt, Barbary, and Algiers—England, at present, devotes nearly an exclusive study to the picturesque architecture of a Gothic age.

Yet, though Gothic architecture be considered more congenial to our northern clime, though it be deemed by some more fitting and appropriate to our sacred edifices, though the poet and the philosopher love to descant on its “airy vaults” and “dim religious light,”—we conceive we should not be just even to Gothic architecture, did we not strive to induce the architect and the student to search into the history of Classic architecture, to examine its characteristics, to investigate the causes of its success, and to endeavour to discover those principles of taste, which guided the ancient artists in the construction of their edifices, and from the ignorance of, or inattention to which, the works of modern architects have so frequently been judged defective.

Notwithstanding the various publications in this and other countries, connected with the subject of Archæology, there is none in the present day devoted entirely, or even we might almost say occasionally, to architecture and the sister branches of classic art. The *Annali dell' Istituto Archeologico* of Rome, and the *Archäologische Zeitung* of Berlin, are chiefly devoted to the elucidation of the myths displayed on the vases and other monuments of Magna Grecia; while the *Classical Museum* whose name we have in part adopted, has unfortunately ceased to exist. The *Archæologia* is chiefly confined to the antiquities of this country; while the *Transactions of the Royal Society of*

Literature, though occasionally containing papers on classical antiquities, cannot, from the very title of the Society, give that especial consideration to the fine arts of antiquity that we think desirable. With the views and objects, therefore, we profess, we shall have struck out a new path. It is true, unhappily, we shall stand alone; but doing so, we cannot be charged with infringing on the rights of other journals. We do not trespass on the province of the periodicals already referred to, nor of the *Annales Archéologiques*, or the *Revue Générale de l'Architecture*, &c., of Paris, nor of the various journals in our own land connected with the subject of mediæval antiquities. The object which we propose to ourselves, is to draw attention to the invaluable vestiges of classic antiquity, whether recently or long since discovered; to elicit researches and disquisitions on the descriptions by ancient authors of those monuments which are now lost to us; and to bring together the scattered notices of classic art. We propose to make Architecture the basis of our researches, but we shall likewise turn our attention to the various branches of the sister arts, especially where they have any connexion with our main subject, ever selecting those studies which tend most to improve taste, rather than those which are matter of speculation. We shall also render it our particular object to strive to interest the *public*, by selecting such themes as will prove agreeable and profitable to the general reader; being convinced that invention, progress, and perfection in art do not originate so much from the studio of the artist, or the patronage of the great, as from the cultivated mind of the *people*.

But in addition to the interest we hope to excite in the public generally, we trust that our pages will be welcomed by the classic student, as tending to render him more familiar with those works and customs of antiquity referred to by his cherished authors; and, we trust, that in return many a scholar will be led to render us his support, by striving to enlighten and clear up the doubts and difficulties respecting monuments of

antiquity with which the descriptions of these ancient authors so frequently abound. The classical traveller, we feel assured, will not only receive the work with pleasure, but impart interest to it by his own researches; and when we consider the quantity of material unedited for want of a publisher, and the enterprising nature of the English traveller, we cannot fail to expect the most ample contributions from such sources. To the classic architect our pages will naturally be more especially directed, but we trust that even the Gothic architect will not refuse us his support, considering that as the classical languages of Greece and Rome continue to form the basis of our education to the present day, so whoever would be perfect, even in Gothic architecture, must first lay the foundation of his taste in the study of classic art.

But before we can desire to see that ancient Attic law revived, which inflicted a severe penalty on those architects who displayed not sufficient taste in the works intrusted to them, we must hope to see the principles of taste diffused among and appreciated by the public generally; being fully persuaded, with the author of *L'influence des Arts et des Sciences sur la Tranquillité Publique*, that "education, instruction, and a knowledge of the Fine Arts are as truly and essentially relative to the happiness and public tranquillity of a state, as ignorance and barbarism, such as that of the Dark Ages, were and would be prejudicial."

"Le belle arti ben intese, ben regolate, e ben dirette, hanno una grande influenza al bene del popolo, dipendendo tutto dallo stesso unico principio, dalla ragione ben coltivata; ella fa il buon governo, illumina colle buone scienze, istruisce e diletta colle belle arti, e fa la felicità pubblica e privata."—MILIZIA.

THE
MUSEUM OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES.

I.

ON THE ADVANTAGE OF THE STUDY OF ANTIQUITY,
AND ON EXCELLENCE IN ART.

Nescire quid antea quam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum.

THE study of futurity is speculative; the present is wrapped up in that which is to come; and it is the past only which is complete. We are now in a state of progression, the future is shrouded in uncertainty, and we gain knowledge and experience only from the past. The study of antiquity must therefore be as useful to ourselves, as it is beneficial and instructive to our fellow-creatures. Every additional circumstance that we rescue from oblivion, becomes a fresh element of knowledge, and a lever, by which we may set in motion a vast fabric of creative wonder.

As antiquity embraces all knowledge, so investigations into it must be distinct and various. Each antiquary labours for his own particular object, and each severally assists the other. The historian, the poet, the physician, the lawyer, and the divine, are all antiquaries, equally with the epigraphist, the numismatist, and others, whom we are more accustomed to call by this name; and each has his several field of labour marked out for his research. In proposing, therefore, the investigation of classical antiquity, it is necessary to define that we intend restricting ourselves to classic art. Other branches of antiquity may be more noble, or more instructive, but none can be more pleasing or delightful. It is well said that the arts and sciences unite together, and combine for the

good of humanity, and that nothing gives so much lustre to a nation as their perfection. Of all the arts the fine arts afford the highest criterion of civilization; for no other art or science combines so many essential requisites. Of these, Architecture holds the first rank, and has been called the metaphysics of the fine arts. The other arts are produced by imitation of sensible objects, combined with abstract study of composition, but this is derived solely from reason and the imagination. No art is, therefore, so difficult to practise, depending so little upon imitation, and requiring—in order to succeed—so great an amount of genius and invention. Martial's well known satire* must consequently be considered, not as a satire upon the profession, but as a personal burlesque on some witless mortal who had presumptuously thrust himself into it. For, as the celebrated Mareschal de Saxe said of tactics,—“It is a mechanical art to the ignorant, but a science and liberal art to wise and skilful persons.” Considering, then, the materials with which this art is practised, the prominent and conspicuous objects which it rears, the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of effecting alterations, and the constantly increasing repugnance with which edifices are regarded that are once found defective, it becomes of the highest consequence to consider attentively the character of the architect we employ, and to study carefully the works we propose to execute. It would be well if, instead of adopting and carrying out the first crude ideas that suggest themselves to the architect's mind, and which are often waited for impatiently by his employers, we applied to public buildings, what Horace recommended to authors:—“If at any time you write anything, submit it to the judgment of your friends, and hesitate not in keeping it in reserve nine whole years; for so long as it is in your possession, you can alter or amend it, but when once it is

* *Epig.*, v. 56. Or it may be considered as a satire upon the degeneracy into which the art had fallen in his time. See p. 15.

gone forth, you are no longer master even of your own words."

One of the great advantages which the study of the fine arts affords, is the softening and elevating our minds: for how is it possible that he whose constant attention is occupied in studying the beautiful in art, can be animated by other than virtuous and beneficent principles! How pure and innocent, how admirable and exquisite is the delight which he experiences, who creates any object of surpassing beauty in the fine arts! He who studies constantly the beautiful and grand, "mounting from nature up to nature's God," cannot be a bad man; and if this effect be produced on the professor, the more general cultivation of the fine arts must instil principles of quietness and contentment in a nation: for as Plotinus observes—"Only the beautiful (in mind) can judge of beauty;" so whoever applies himself to the study and imitation of whatever is beautiful in nature or in art, must gradually invest his mind with these perceptions.

In order to render ourselves perfect in the practice of any art, we should investigate the causes of success in those who have preceded us. Now the Greek must be acknowledged pre-eminent in all that relates to the arts of design; and we shall do well to endeavour to ascertain the peculiar circumstances which led to their transcendent superiority.

The Greeks fully felt the interest and utility derived from the study of antiquity. The works of their philosophers, poets, and historians, are full of recollections of the past, and of evidence of the veneration in which everything that was old was held by them. Homer, Herodotus, Aristotle, Xenophon, and Demosthenes, continually refer to some ancient custom or event, and always revert to the past with a sacred reverence. The Greek philosophers travelled into Egypt to study the ancient traditions, as well as the philosophy of that country. The study of antiquity should be cultivated, therefore, by every educated person; but more especially should we study those

writings of the ancients, in which we find so many records of antiquity treasured up:

Vos exemplaria Græca
Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna:

for it will be found on examination, that every nation remarkable for virtue or greatness held their ancestors in peculiar veneration. Among the eulogia heaped on Augustus by Horace, the poet did not forget to add:—

Et veteres revocavit artes.

The study of antiquity has been objected to as idle and unprofitable. The customs of the ancients, say such persons, are changed, we have advanced greatly in civilization, and have need to find out something which is new and progressive, rather than to look back to that which is past: instead of seeking to revive antiquated tastes, we should discover what is congenial to our present habits. But—

Homine imperito nunquam quidquam injustius,
Qui, nisi quod ipse facit, nihil rectum putat.*

Nobody, says Figrelius,† blames the study of antiquity, without evidencing his ignorance, as they that esteem it do credit to their own judgment: so that, to sum up its advantages, we may assert,—there is nothing useful in literature, if the knowledge of antiquity be judged unprofitable.

Much has been written relative to the causes of success in the arts, and it has been attributed variously to the serenity of climate, to the natural beauty of the inhabitants, to their cultivated minds, to the freedom of a Republican government, to the patronage of an enlightened monarch, and to the continuance of peace.

Delicacy, beauty, and science in architecture necessarily depend, in great measure, on the cultivated mind of the inhabitants of a country; but magnificence, grandeur, enterprise,

* TEREN., *Adelph.*, i. 2.

† *De Statuis illustr. Romanorum*, 8vo, Holm. 1656.

and frequently also the former qualities, are to be attributed more to the patriotism and enthusiasm of a people than to the causes already stated.

The climate of Greece is as serene now, and the inhabitants as beautiful, as they were in the age of Phidias; but the Grecian temple has passed away, and been replaced by the Byzantine church, the Turkish mosque, and the English Gothic chapel; and the chaste *Basilicon* has been succeeded by the German palace. The opposite claims advocated for republican and monarchical governments, would show that no exclusive weight can be attached to either. We have seen what was effected in the middle ages by the republics of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, and what by the monarchy of Rome: in the present day we perceive how much may be done by a single individual, as at Munich and Berlin; and at some future day we may be able to compare with these works what may be done by some existing or rising republic; but we cannot conceive that either state is essential to the progress or perfection of art. Again, the existence of peace is necessary for the carrying out and completion of any great work, but it is not the mere duration of peace which will necessarily prompt to any noble undertaking. On the contrary, we may perceive from history that it more generally induces a voluptuous and selfish feeling in the community.

We must look, therefore, to other causes for the superior excellence of Greek art; and these we think we may perceive in the simplicity of their living, their polished learning, their sacred institutions and love of country; in short, to their *enthusiasm*.

In a country where the house of the highest general scarcely differed from that of the lowest peasant—whilst the public buildings were designed and finished with all the care and ornament that the most celebrated artists could bestow, the minds of the latter must have been impressed with expectations of glory and renown, when called on to assist in honouring the

sacred shrines and other public monuments of their country, rendered celebrated by the deeds of their ancestors, or the divine songs of their poets. Their art was never called into operation to administer to the vanity of individuals, but they felt that their talents were consecrated to the temples and public edifices of their country. These engrossed their highest care, these obtained their noblest aspirations, and happy did those artists esteem themselves who were deemed worthy to receive the honorary tripod or patera, or even the leafy coronet, in testimony of their country's approbation. Hence the artists were honoured, and hence an additional motive exciting them to increased zeal and emulation. No sordid hopes of accumulating gain prompted the unqualified artizan to enter a profession in which glory was the principal inducement held out and coveted; and hence the practitioners in the art were certain of respect. After withstanding and overthrowing the countless hordes of Persia, after the many prodigies of valour they had displayed, the Greeks rightly considered themselves the most exalted of human nations. Conquest followed upon conquest, colony succeeded colony, vying in importance with the mother country, till their empire became the greatest upon earth; nor were they content with possessing merely a great empire, they claimed not only to be the greatest, but the wisest of mankind. So highly did they prize themselves in this, that they called all other nations, in contrast with themselves, *Barbarians*.

The love and esteem felt by the Greeks for the fine arts are frequently alluded to by ancient authors. Plato is said to have frequented the schools of artists, as well as those of philosophers, in order that he might obtain correct ideas of beauty. Aristotle, in the third chapter of the eighth book of his *Politics*, says that "all were taught literature, gymnastics, and music; and many also the art of design, as being useful, and abundantly available for the purposes of life." He recommends it also, not only as requisite for a just appreciation of the respective beauties of the works of artists, but mainly because, by familiarizing us with

the nature of forms, it carries us to the contemplation of real beauty.* A remarkable instance of this appreciation of the fine arts is afforded by the following custom in Greece, which some have supposed to have been introduced by Alexander:—"The art of painting was so appreciated at Sicyon, and afterwards in all Greece, that freeborn youths were taught by masters, at an early age, the art of painting as the chief of the liberal arts: and by a perpetual injunction, to which riches were not allowed to plead exemption, he who was ignorant or inexpert in this art was held as unlearned, and the lowest of mankind."† Among the various accusations alleged by Cicero against Verres, was the cruelty of robbing Greece of those objects which were so especially dear to them, and which he coveted from vain and sordid motives. "The Greeks enthusiastically admire statues, paintings, and all works of art. . . . There is no calamity which the Greeks are so little able to endure as the pillage of their temples and cities;" and he urged that the Romans had constantly refrained from robbing them of those things, to them of so little value, but which the Greeks prized so highly; and that they were also induced to this act by the persuasion that they thereby gave additional glory to the Roman provinces. This love for and appreciation of Grecian art continued till the latest period of Grecian history, and we find that even so low down as the reigns of the Emperors Julian and Theodosius, Greek artists continued to repair to their mother country to copy the two great masterpieces of Phidias—his Jupiter at Elis, and his Minerva at Athens. And it is pleasing to see that Horace enters into all the spirit of Greek art, when he declares to his friend Censorinus that he would give him all the riches of the world, provided he had but the masterpieces of Parrhasius and Scorpas. Cicero also enters into the same feelings, when he desired to collect together the works of Grecian artists;

* See *Second Letter to the Earl of Elgin*, by W. R. HAMILTON, Esq.

† ALEX. *ab* ALEX., *Genial. Dier.*, ii. 25; PLIN., *II. N.*, xxxv. 10.

declaring—"Genus hoc est voluptatis meæ:" and tells his friend Atticus that if he had but his library, he should exceed Crassus in riches, and would despise all the villas and territories that might be offered to him.

Beauty in art, among the Greeks, was the result of a long-continued acquaintance with the laws of beauty as developed in all they saw around them, and particularly in their inner self. To the Greeks, not only did all nature teem with beauty, but they endeavoured to incorporate it with their social and political institutions. They regarded beauty as only another name for excellence and goodness. Thus, in their art of war, we behold their greatness of soul, their daring courage, their dauntless heroism, their consummate prudence, their magnanimous clemency when victorious, their moral fortitude when defeated. In marching to victory, the songs of their poets excited them to emulate the achievements of their ancestors; their victory was celebrated with glorious *Io Pæans*, and triumphal honours awaited their return. In life they were greeted with the praises of their countrymen: divine honours followed their decease. So in like manner, in their other actions: the several games of the theatre, the Odeon and the Stadium, their religious festivals, their sacred myths,—all were impregnated with the ideality of beauty. Architecture and the other fine arts were constantly pervaded by this feeling. We find beauty to be equally expressed, whether we regard the gorgeous sanctuary of their religious worship, or the meanest implement of ordinary use; the sculptured deity of Beauty herself, or the heart-rending anguish of Laocoon and his children. It was not sufficient that their architecture should be esteemed elegant and grand, it was requisite that it should be conformable to reason, and in harmony with their own feelings and surrounding objects. It was thus that their works became a reflection of the ideality of beauty which pervaded them—beautiful because perfect; and to which nothing appeared objectionable, and nothing wanting.

But, as we affirm, the progress and perfection of Greek art

have as much connexion with the enthusiasm of the national character, as with their simple love and appreciation of the beautiful. Plutarch, in speaking of the Lacedemonians (and we may say the same of the Greeks in general), says, "Each man considered that he was born, not for himself, but for his country." And again, "They were possessed with a thirst for honour, an enthusiasm bordering upon insanity, and had no wish but for their country."

Fuit hæc sapientia quondam,
Publica privatis secernere, sacra profanis.

So convinced were the Greeks of the policy of rearing monuments of national grandeur, that they devoted frequently one-tenth of the spoils taken in war to the object of their public works: thus at the same time embellishing their towns, raising up a monument to their prowess, and exciting their posterity to perpetuate their glory. Such was the enthusiasm of the Greeks with regard to art, that we find whole cities priding themselves on the possession of some masterpiece, and refusing to part with it even at the tempting offer of exemption from tribute, or remission of debt. This was no vulgar appreciation of such works for their supposed rarity and marketable value, as is often the case in modern galleries; this was no vain and fancied excellence by which they endeavoured to procure fame to themselves; but it was the love and estimation of such works, produced by education and study. They were prized not only by the cities which possessed them, but strangers from every part, and the inhabitants of rival cities flocked to behold and to admire. There are many such instances noted by Cicero in his accusation of Verres, but there are so many collected together in the following passage, that we must present it entire:—"What remuneration, do you imagine, could compensate the Rhegians, now Roman citizens, for the loss of their marble Venus? What the Tarentines, if they were to lose their Europa on a Bull, their Satyr, and other works deposited in their Temple of Vesta? What the Thespians, for their statue of Cupid—for which alone strangers crowd to Thespiæ? What

the Cnidians, for their marble Venus? What the Coans, for their statue of that goddess? What the Ephesians, for their picture of Alexander? What the inhabitants of Cyzicus, for their Ajax or Medea? What the Rhodians, for their Ialysus? What the Athenians, for their marble Bacchus, their picture of Paralus, or their bronze heifer by Myron?" He then continues, "It would be tedious and superfluous to dwell upon all the rarities which attract strangers throughout Asia and Greece."

What emulation and enthusiasm must this appreciation and jealousy of their works have awakened in the artists' minds! With what feelings of noble ambition must they have desired to associate their name with that of their country! and therefore with what energy and devotedness must they have applied themselves to the study of their art.

As appreciation of their works by the people must have called forth a corresponding application on the part of the artists of antiquity, so it is the want of this knowledge of art in the public that has produced such coldness, and carelessness, and inanition, in the works of posterior ages. It is not, therefore, sufficient that we possess fine works of art in our museums, and perhaps remember them by name, or even recollect their general character; it is not sufficient that our artists are told to admire them and to copy them; but we must examine them carefully, and study them, endeavouring to discover in what their peculiar excellency consists, by what train of study the artist arrived at such perfection, and how we may equal such works without recourse to servile imitation. Thus, notwithstanding the treasures of art which Byzantium and Rome contained, we see how, through neglect of study and want of appreciation by the people, art degenerated to so low an ebb; while by enthusiasm and love of art it was raised among the Greeks to so high a standard. It was this love of praise that caused the Greeks to attain such distinguished excellence.

Graiiis ingenium, Graiis dedit ore rotundo
Musa loqui, præter laudem nullius avaris.

Peace, it has been supposed, has much to do with the progress

of the arts, and it has been attempted to show the connexion between Pliny's various Periods of art, and the successive durations of peace. It is impossible to deny that peace is necessary to the practice of the arts, but we contend that it is not so necessary to their cultivation. The element, as we have endeavoured to show, that has most operated in their advancement, is enthusiasm. The Greeks had peace before the Persian invasion, and many celebrated works were produced prior to that event; but it was not till their country was consumed, and all its sacred edifices destroyed, that Greece displayed the power of its genius, and raised those monuments which still, in their ruin, testify to the surpassing excellence of Greek refinement. It was subsequent to the first victory over the Persians, and in consequence of the excitement, the surprise, the joy, and glory of such a conquest, that Greece put forth all her energies; and it is remarkable that this period of perfection terminated shortly after the final defeat of the Persians: so inseparably does enthusiasm appear to be connected with the highest culture of art.

In attributing so much of success in art to enthusiasm, we must be understood as referring to a nation generally, though it is quite possible that great genius may be elicited by the personal enthusiasm of the artist, and which, if properly favoured, may enable him to attain considerable excellence; but before he can find scope for his ability—before he can have opportunity of putting it in practice, he must hope to see an entire nation partaking of his own exalted sentiments, and it is not till after a long prevalence of such general cultivation that perfection can be attained.

The various eras of art—as the age of Pericles, of Alexander, of Augustus, of Leo X., of the Medici—are generally regarded as having been caused by the establishment of peace, and by the patronage of art: but as we have seen with regard to the age of Pericles, so we shall find the other periods equally distinguished for victory, glory, or continued prosperity. It is needless to refer to the ages of Alexander and Augustus in proof

of this: and the ages of Leo X. and the Medici, though not so distinguished in military exploits, are as remarkable for splendour, and the establishment of power and prosperity. But one important subject relative to this circumstance, which must not be overlooked, is, that not only the fine arts flourished during these periods, but the arts and sciences generally—and, indeed, all learning: so intimately is the success of one connected with that of the rest. The age of Pericles produced not only Phidias and Parrhasius, but Pindar, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes; Anaxagoras, Plato, Socrates, and Aristides; Herodotus and Thucydides; besides a host of illustrious generals: that of Alexander produced Aristotle, Æschines, and Demosthenes; as well as Apelles, Scopas, and Praxiteles; Democritus and Lysippus: while that of Augustus not only produced Vitruvius, but Horace, Virgil, Ovid, and Tibullus; Livy, Varro, and Cicero.

So the other periods referred to were equally distinguished by great men, and thus we see that success in art does not depend on its professors alone, but on the enlightened minds of their contemporaries.

Let the arts, then, be studied, if not practised, together; let poetry, music, and the dance, be joined to them; and the more frequently one is called upon to assist the others, the greater will be the benefits which itself receives. It was thus that the masters of the Revival became so celebrated. They practised conjointly the three arts, as occasion required; and so far from failing in that particular art in which they were brought up, they succeeded in all.

Let us endeavour to discover the beauties of these several sciences; let us strive to ascertain and investigate the causes of the sublime and beautiful in all we see around us, and engraft this on our favourite pursuit. Let us acknowledge the services we are under to the poets for their striking pictures of art. Let us consider the connexion which the ancients felt to exist between music and art, and believe that the story of Amphion

raising the walls of Thebes by the sound of his lyre is not altogether fabulous.

One of the earliest instances we find in the middle ages of a regard for antiquity is afforded by Alphonso, king of Aragon, at the commencement of the twelfth century. This illustrious monarch experienced an extreme delight in the study of ancient monuments, declaring that he felt himself inflamed by them to glory and virtuous actions. On one occasion, while besieging Gaeta, and having no more stone for the catapult, he preferred raising the siege to pulling down an old tower, which was believed to have formed part of one of Cicero's villas.*

It was not till rather more than a century after this that we find art to have received its first impression from the study of antiquity. Among the ancient sculptures contained in the city of Pisa was a bas-relief representing Meleager. This had been lying there for ages—unnoticed, unheeded—till it accidentally caught the eye of Nicola Pisano, who was so struck by its truth and beauty, that it became the basis of his studies, and the germ of true taste in Italy.

The study of antiquity was greatly promoted by Dante, in the same century, and by Petrarch. The latter was the first to collect medals, as a means of studying art and history—the first to direct attention to the stupendous monuments of Roman grandeur; and, with the exception of Alphonso, the first who was animated by them to deeds of greatness and sentiments of glory, and consequently to increased benevolence to his fellow creatures, and to a higher standard of moral virtue. In the *Memoir of his Life*, written by himself, he says: "Among other studies, I applied myself to the knowledge of antiquity, for this age in which I live was never congenial to me; so that had not the love of those most dear to me excited in me a contrary desire, I should always have preferred living in any other

* A similar story is told of Demetrius and the painter, Protogenes. Vide PLUT. in *Dem.*

generation. But, as it is, I strive continually to forget the age in which I live, and to realize to myself that which is gone by."

The friend of Petrarch, Cola di Rienzo, was animated with similar enthusiasm. He collected together the various inscriptions contained in ancient Rome; he explained the several bas-reliefs which he brought to light, and descanted upon the magnificence and grandeur of ancient Rome, in thoughts and words commensurate with the loftiness and sublimity of the subject. These researches became the motives rather than the consequences of his policy, and he prosecuted them with the earnest desire of urging his countrymen to emulate the glory and the virtues of their ancestors.

About this time was founded the Academy of St. Luke, at Rome, and shortly after, Lorenzo di Medici established schools at Florence, in which the professors were required to point out to the students the beauty and excellence of the works of the ancients, before allowing them to give themselves up to their own genius. From this school issued a band of architects, painters, and sculptors of the highest order.

Alberti was the first who introduced the true principles of Roman architecture. This enlightened man, who was so diligent a student of ancient monuments, united in himself all the learning and accomplishments of his age. He was a mathematician, philosopher, historian, rhetorician, orator, sculptor, architect, and musician, and one of the greatest men of his age. He travelled to explore all the monuments of antiquity then known, and he informs us that he shed tears on beholding the state of desolation in which many of them lay.

The immortal Raphael, whose admiration for antiquity was such, that he formed the idea of excavating the whole of Rome, and rebuilding the modern city on the foundations of the ancient, and who was also an able commentator on Vitruvius, owed great part of his fame to the use which he made of the paintings in the Thermæ of Titus and in the Septizonia, and which led so chiefly to the improvement of the art of painting.

It was likewise to a vestige of antiquity that sculpture was indebted for considerable advancement, when Michael Angelo discovered, and based upon a mere *torso*, those principles of proportion and effect which he found so beautifully developed in that fragment.

Seeing, then, the importance of the study of antiquity for the furtherance of art, we must unite with that author who says, "Do not ask, What is genius?—if you have it, you will feel it; if you have it not, you never will. But if you imagine a spark of that devouring fire animates you, fly—run to Rome, see" (the matchless monuments of Grecian art) "the Pantheon, the Forum, the principal remains of Roman greatness."

The causes which enabled the Greeks to rear such wonderful works of art have been adverted to. It has been endeavoured to show that such excellence did not depend merely upon the advantages of climate, the enjoyment of peace, or the existence of a free government; but that it was more correctly owing to their patriotism and nobleness of mind, to their polished refinement, their heroism and martial fame, the simplicity of their private life, their zeal in the furtherance of their country's fame. Here we see the causes of the vast difference between Greek and Roman art. In the former, the artist was animated by love of country, and often laboured gratuitously in monuments intended for the nation's glory; in the latter, the private individual frequently lavished on himself as much as had been expended on the public monuments of Greece. This opened a new field for mercenary employment; and in place of a few artists, honoured by their native land, there arose, in Rome only, no less than seven hundred* architects, whose study and endeavours, whether employed on private or public buildings, were too frequently how to render their works more showy and extravagant than the buildings of those who had preceded them. The Greek thought only for his country, the Roman for himself. The

* We believe the very same number that now exists in London.

Roman sought principally his individual interest and aggrandizement; the Greek carried out his public buildings with unsparing sacrifice, and forbade himself the enjoyment of unnecessary comforts. It is true there were not wanting political economists in the age of Pericles, who disapproved of the expenditure of money for the purposes of taste. When this great man, with the principles of sound policy, was occupied in rearing monuments to the eternal glory of his country,* he was accused by these of wasting the public treasure, and of reducing the revenues of the state. Fortunately for his country and for us, he had sufficient tact to avert their opposition, or the benefit to art derived from these structures would have been lost to us, from the sordid selfishness of a few individuals. The utilitarian may condemn whatever is not what he considers useful and necessary, but throughout the whole works of nature we find that the Deity has not only given us what was needful, but he has also stamped every object we behold with the highest evidence of Divine power and intellect, by imprinting on it the excellence of beauty. Let us, then, in our public edifices, consider that there are other objects to be attained than the mere destination of the building; for there is nothing which so much exhibits the genius of a people, their nobleness or meanness, their invention or dulness, their refinement or vulgarity, as architecture.† Let the architect, then, remember that he builds, or should do so, to immortalize his name; and his employers, whether public or private, that, whether for praise or censure, they build not for themselves, but for posterity.

* An able writer on Grecian history has very truly observed, "the Parthenon and Propylæa may be considered as the trophies of Marathon and Salamis." "They were, at the same time, monuments of the past, and pledges of the future."—THIRLWALL'S *History of Greece*, iii. 18.

† Thucydides has left us the following testimony of his admiration of the edifices of Athens:—"If Athens were to be made desolate, and nothing were left but the temples, and the foundations of the public edifices, the estimation which posterity would form of her power, in comparison even with her fame, would be doubled."—THUC., *Hist.*, i. 10.

II.

ON THE RAPID DESTRUCTION OF ANCIENT
MONUMENTS :*

BEING A PORTION OF THE DEDICATORY EPISTLE PREFIXED BY FRA GIOVANNI
GIOCONDO† TO HIS CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM.‡

THE appearance of Rome is, at the present day, so changed from what it was, that the things we read of in ancient writers are now scarcely intelligible. Those, also, who are esteemed to be the most conversant in antiquity, are frequently found to be deceived: chiefly because the authors who have given us the description of these things are so corrupted, that they would not even know themselves, were they restored to

* From MURATORI, *Nov. Thes. Vet. Insc.*, tom. i.

† This celebrated and early architect, engineer, philologist, and divine, was born at Verona, about 1435. One of his principal works is the beautiful *Sala del Consiglio*, in his native city. His biographer, Temanza, says of him, "Rome was his great school. He studied there everything relating to antiquity. He measured and delineated the ancient edifices, and by comparing them with the precepts of Vitruvius, he initiated himself in the secrets of his art. The study of antiquity has a certain incentive, which obliges men, without perceiving it, to undertake immense fatigues, especially such men as are well informed. He was particularly interested in the study of inscriptions. Whoever enters these employments should imitate those ardent hunters who search in trace of wild beasts, even in the deep recesses of their hiding-places. Thus did Fra Giocondo: travelling through the provinces in order to form as complete a collection as possible of ancient monuments." His collection of inscriptions exceeded 2000. Besides other works, he published editions of VITRUVIUS, FRONTINUS, CATO *de Re Rustica*, The *Epitome* of AURELIUS VICTOR, The *Commentaries* of CÆSAR, and PLINY'S *Epistles*.

‡ These were dedicated, in the first instance, to Lorenzo di Medici, and, on his death, the same epistle was addressed to Lodovico di Agnelli, Archbishop of Cosenza, but with the like want of success. The inscriptions remained unpublished till Maffei, Gori, and Muratori, incorporated them with their respective collections.

life again. But even though they were preserved to us entire, they would not even then be sufficient for our purpose, unless we saw with our own eyes that which they saw and have described. Nevertheless, there still remain considerable ruins in Rome which day by day become more ruined. For which cause it is difficult to affirm anything with precision of the Roman remains from inscriptions or other documents which are come down to us; especially of those which are not now remarkable for preservation. For those which to-day are in the Circus Flaminius, you will see to-morrow on the Tarpeian rock, if, indeed, you do not rather find them in some kiln, or in the foundation of some rustic cottage. Even that which by some diligent hand has been brought and fixed in a conspicuous place, you will afterwards find has been torn down by some ignorant or careless person, and trodden under horses' feet and reduced to powder.

Such a spectacle being frequently presented to my eyes, moved my poor ability to search into the various monuments of antiquity, that I might not look on indifferently to the almost total destruction of the memorials of our ancestors. To the accomplishment of which purpose, as neither means nor power sufficed me, I applied my mind to those things only, which I thought might be effected by talent, study, and perseverance, without expence or outlay, and which might excite the minds of the powerful by considerations of their beauty and excellency. Among the fruits of this research, I have collected many inscriptions, that under your auspices they may be rendered lasting, and delivered down to posterity, though the marbles and brazen tablets on which they are inscribed are broken, melted, or otherwise destroyed every hour.

Many things occur to my memory, which I myself have seen, but which I purposely forbear mentioning, lest they should recal tears to mine eyes, and afflict so diligent an observer of antiquity as yourself: I will refer, however, to what I have heard from others. Thus, besides circuses, theatres, amphi-

theatres, thermæ, arches, columns, porticoes, areas, mutatoria,* nymphaea, baths, capitols, caves, atria, chapels, shrines, cells, palaces, watch-towers of the cohorts, slaughter-houses, lakes, islands, libraries, granaries, mills, bridges, markets, aqueducts, colossal statues, naumachia, tombs, pyramids, obelisks, hills, fields, gardens, city-walls, gates, fish-ponds, roads, cells, and other places and edifices of this kind, of which some are so rooted up, that not only no vestiges of them are left remaining, but even their very site cannot be determined—there are others which, with the greatest grief of mind, we have seen destroyed during our present calamity.† There are some who affirm to have seen large heaps of stones formed entirely of fragments of inscriptions,—nor are there wanting others, who boast of having filled in the foundations of their houses entirely with the broken limbs of statues. Why should we not invoke curses on these violators of sacred antiquity? Let them tear, burn, or break other things—they should spare at least the inscriptions and statues which our ancestors have bequeathed to us, wrought with so much skill and dignity. For what subtilty, conciseness, and elegance may be shown in those, and what symmetry, perfection, grace, and majesty in these, when the few which have not eluded our researches excite in us so much admiration, and prove to what perfection the genius of the ancients attained. * * *

* Supposed to be Changes of Residence, according to the season.

† The Pope was then at Avignon.

III.

ON THE POLYCHROMY OF GREEK ARCHITECTURE.

I TRAVELLED in Sicily, in the years 1823 and 1824, in company with two German architects, MM. Zanth and Stier. We discovered in excavations, which I caused to be made at Agrigentum, Syracuse, Acræ, Catanea, Segesta, &c., as Messrs. Harris and Angell had formerly done at Selinuntum, many vestiges of coloured stucco on the fragments of temples and other edifices built of porous stone, and many traces of colour employed without a coating of stucco, on hard and compact stone, and also upon marble.

The great abundance of these indications of a primitive decoration by colour, the appearance of similar tints on similar members and mouldings, the presence of colour on figure-sculpture, bas-reliefs, and ornament, induced me to turn my attention to the theory which M. Quatremère de Quincy entertained relative to the employment of polychromy on stucco, and which he has so ably established in his magnificent work—*Le Jupiter Olympien*. So fully did I concur with him in his opinion, that I thenceforward entertained no doubt, not merely with regard to the application of colour to statuary, as established by M. Quatremère de Quincy; but also, as a necessary consequence, to its adaptation to architecture, as evidenced by my own researches.

Immediately on my return to Rome, I prepared, in conjunction with M. Zanth, restorations of those Sicilian temples, the colours of which we could identify, and we had the privilege of exhibiting the drawings to the artists and antiquaries of that capital.

The principle generally followed we found to be—the colouring of the body of the wall a pale yellow, or golden colour, the triglyphs and mutules blue, the metopes and the tympanum red, and some other portions of the building green; and varying these same tints, or using them of greater or less intensity, as the judgment of the artist dictated.

This discovery, so entirely subversive of the hitherto dominant idea of the monochromy of Greek art, met with many opponents, and but few supporters. The latter, however, increased in number after 1830, in which year I published at Paris the complete restoration of a Selinuntine temple, founded on the ancient coloured vestiges which I had been enabled to discover.

In this Essay, I showed that Polychromic architecture was practised by the Greeks in all ages, who endeavoured, by so doing, to add to the elegance of their buildings, without detracting from their majesty; and that this system of colouring, when applied under a pure sky, enlivened by a brilliant sunshine, and surrounded by a gorgeous vegetation, was the only means of bringing the work of art in harmony with the richness of nature. Another reason for its adoption would necessarily have been the preservation of their monuments. The necessity for its application I proved by a consideration of its analogy with coloured statuary, from the employment of the latter conjointly with mural historic painting in the edifices of antiquity, and from these requiring, in their union with architecture, a necessary similarity in the walls and decoration of the building. I maintained that the most admired structures of the ancients derived their effect from the harmonious combination of the three arts, the works of which, taken individually, may sometimes approach to the sublime, but cannot, unless united, produce that sentiment of satisfaction and perfection which they then possess.

From the known fact, that the earliest temples of the Greeks were of wood, and that their first idols, derived from Egypt,

were of the same material, I concluded that the desire of preserving their sanctuaries must have caused them to apply some preparation to the surface of the wood; and that this coating must have been analogous to that of the idols which they were intended to receive, in order that the temples and their images might present, after the same lapse of time, a corresponding appearance.

In support of this natural inference, I cited the passage in Vitruvius,* where that author says:—“*Ideo quod antiqui fabri quodam in loco ædificantes, cum ita ab interioribus parietibus ad extremas partes tigna prominentia habuissent collocata, intertignia struxerunt, supraque coronas et fastigia venustiore specie fabrilibus operibus ornaverunt: tum projecturas tignorum, quantum eminebant, ad lineam et perpendicularum parietum persecuerunt: quæ species cum invenusta iis visa esset, tabellas ita formatas, uti nunc fiunt triglyphi, contra tignorum præcisiones in fronte fixerunt et eas cera cærulea depinxerunt.*”

From this I deduced, that if, in accordance with this ancient custom, a coating of wax and colour was applied to those portions of the temple where wood continued to be employed, this custom must by degrees have extended to those parts, the forms of which, though executed in stone or marble, were imitated from the ancient practice of timber construction; and at length, by the sure result of religious tradition, and the requirement of a necessary connexion between the details and the whole, it must have been applied to the entire surface of the edifice.

The silence of M. Winkelmann and his followers as to the application of colour to ancient architecture, arose from the circumstance of the almost entire absence of remarks on this subject in the works of ancient authors; and I attributed this absence to the very universal employment of Polychromy by the ancients, which, presenting nothing remarkable from its

* VITR., lib. iv. cap. ii. § 17.

singularity, did not require any special notice. This conclusion I showed to be supported by the fact of traces of colour being discernible to the present day on the Parthenon, Erechtheum, Theseum, and on the temples of Ægina and Bassæ, although Pausanias does not refer to any one of these as being so decorated: and I directed attention to the fact that, in the only passage of his book which has reference to the application of colour,—that which relates to the green and red tribunals,—it is not from the singularity of their decoration that he notices them, but because they served as a name to the edifices which contained them; in the same manner that the locality and form served to designate two other tribunals, one of which took the name of *Parabystron*, and the other of *Trigonon*.*

I concluded from this passage that the red and green were the predominant colours of these two tribunals, and that this system of Polychromy must have been applied to secular as well as to religious structures: that the silence of ancient authors, so far from offering any objection to this theory, proves the certitude of its universal application: and lastly, that the material proofs of its practice, even now abundantly sufficient, would have been much more numerous, as observes M. Quatremère de Quincy, if modern critics, whenever they perceive traces of decoration, either on the monuments themselves, or historically in the descriptions of ancient authors, had not seemed to be resolved, sometimes to deny their consequence, as conflicting with their notions of the taste and genius of the ancients, sometimes to question their existence, and almost always to refuse them their due consideration.†

Without adverting to every monument of Greece and Sicily, upon which any traces of colour are to be discerned, I will cite only the principal examples which served for my restoration of the Selinuntine temple.

* PAUS., i. 28, 8.

† *Le Jupiter Olympien*, p. 29.

The pavement shown in the Pronaos and Cella of my design was imitated from the stucco floor still visible in the Posticum and Pteroma of one of the great temples of the same city; and from the decorations of this pavement in the form of paintings, I imagined that the ancient mosaics were originally of a similar treatment; the forms of which, whether representing compartments, arabesques, or animal creation, were invariably disposed in imitation of paintings, rather than consisting of rich slabs, as generally practised in the marble pavements of our modern structures.

The coloured shafts I showed to be not only in accordance with what I had observed in Sicily, but to be corroborated by an autograph letter of M. Dufourmy, which states—"Mr. Dodwell told me he had seen many temples in Greece, the columns of which were covered with stucco, as were those of Girgenti and Selinuntum, in Sicily. Sometimes the stucco, as at Selinuntum, was grey, red, or of a blue colour; but stucco is found only on stone columns." Although this fact, observed towards the close of the last century, has been unnoticed in all modern works on Sicily, we should not refuse to receive it on this account, or consider as objections the silence of modern travellers.

Slight indications of colour, preserved on various fragments, formed my authority for the restoration of the Ionic capital; and for the caps of the antæ I referred to the colour found on an anta at Selinuntum, and on those of the temples of Jupiter at Ægina, and of Nemesis at Rhamnus.

The coloured mouldings of the entablature were restored from portions of the entablature of this very temple, and from other fragments scattered among the ruins. I could find but slight traces of colour on the metopes and architraves, indicative of the existence of painted ornament, but I was enabled to recognise these features in various terra cottas found in the island, the forms of which, copied from Doric temples, represented ornaments originally painted on the metopes and archi-

traves of real monuments. The extent to which the ancients, even in the smallest utensils of ordinary use, imitated the forms and ornaments of their edifices, is very remarkable; and how the fictile vases frequently offer the image of the crowning cornices of temples, or copies of celebrated paintings: thus giving to the rudest works of the potter a reflection of the most celebrated works of architecture and painting. The undoubted identity between the *terra cottas* and the remains of Greek and Roman monuments has greatly corroborated the result of my inductions, derived from other sources, of a common origin and a common type between Greece and her colonies.

Ægina, Metapontum, Pompeii, Herculaneum, and several other cities, furnished suggestions for the restoration of the roof, and the ornaments of the tympanum and portico.

In justification of the rich decoration by colour given to a Doric temple, I showed how, in the almost universal employment of this order, colour offered the surest means of varying the richness and appearance of the sanctuaries, and of attaining very sensible modifications, according to the character of the divinities. In all Greece, in Sicily, and Magna Græcia, the most important edifices were Doric; and the painted ornaments, when more or less predominant, would necessarily give more or less apparent magnificence, or suitableness to particular divinities. The same result took place in the almost general use by the Romans of the Corinthian order, the character of which they varied by a difference in the profiles, and by the number of mouldings and sculptured ornaments. This feeling is evident from an examination of the simplicity of the orders of the Pantheon, of the Temple of Antonine and Faustina, and of the Arch of Constantine, compared with the richness of the Temples of Jupiter Tonans, the Forum of Nerva, and some others.

The Greeks, however, did not in all instances employ the orders of architecture according to the difference of their

character and richness; for we find Ionic columns decorating the exterior of the Temple of Minerva Alea at Tegea, and Doric columns supporting Corinthian in the Cella. The employment of the Ionic column with a Doric entablature is another example of inattention to any very strict classification of the Orders. I see in these instances a proof of a particular epoch in the history of architecture, and that the Temple of Empedocles is by no means an insulated example in this respect.

In showing how perfectly a Greek temple, restored in all its colours, bore resemblance to the coloured decorations of Herculaneum and Pompeii, how fully the architectural remains of these cities of Greek origin, as compared with the existing remains of Greece and Sicily, bear the palpable proofs of as great analogy—so that the employment of each of these styles is perfectly admissible in the same edifice, without giving rise to the least inconsistency—we perceive unanswerable evidence in support of the permanence of forms and principles of architecture among the ancients, and a certain proof that this similitude on the exterior existed also in the interior.

In seeking, with care and discrimination, to figure to ourselves as near as possible, the type of the monuments of the mother country, Herculaneum and Pompeii must offer us invaluable materials. Although I have selected authorities for the restoration of the Temple of Empedocles derived almost exclusively from Sicily and Greece, I have had recourse to the precious remains of these cities, in order to demonstrate more clearly, and to render more perfect, the connexion of these inductions. Thus the compartments of painted stucco imitating slabs of marble, introduced both in the exterior and interior of the temple, in the form of a dado round the walls, we see to be also so frequently employed in Pompeii, as to prove clearly that it is a tradition of a system of construction which we find to have been generally practised in the Greek temples, and which is likewise common to most Roman temples.

I restored the roof of the Cella in the form of a double

truss and open framework, having established the use of this mode of construction by the discovery of ancient tiles, painted on both surfaces, so as to be visible from below as well as from above; which idea receives further support from roofs of this nature being represented in Greek and Etruscan tombs cut in the rock, from Vitruvius's description of the Basilica at Fano, and other similar edifices, from its existence in most of the constructions of Pompeii, whether real or depicted, and, lastly, by the continuance of this system of covering in the primitive Christian basilicas of Italy and Sicily.

The ornamentation of the timber-work of the roof is based on the traces of colour still visible in the marble beams of monuments in Athens and other parts of Greece, as also on the beautifully executed and highly-coloured casings of the timber-work which have been found in some places—as in terra cotta at Metapontum, and in some other instances of more precious material—and lastly I referred, in support of this portion of the decoration, as I have had occasion to do for many others, to the Sicilian churches of the eleventh century.

Before resolving on the style of painting most in accordance with the dimensions and character of the temple, I examined with great attention the application of historic painting to the embellishment of the walls in the edifices of Greece, and particularly in her temples. I perceived that the use of this species of decoration had been general in Greece, as will be evident on considering the porticoes of Athens, Olympia, and Delphi, where Polygnotus, Euphranor, and Micon, in depicting the exploits of the heroes of their country, excited their compatriots to imitate their warlike virtues; the Curia, in which Protogenes and Olbiades painted the images of legislators; the theatres and Odeia, decorated with the portraits of poets and the representation of the Graces, their inseparable companions; the Gymnasia, offering to the regard of the spectators the god-like conquerors in the contests of Mars and of the Muses; the Propylæa, more famous for the precious

works of the painter than for the marbles with which they were covered; the palaces, houses, and tombs,—in which latter, historical painting on the wall formed the principal ornament; and lastly the temples, as in Athens alone, those of Theseus, Erechtheus, Bacchus, Esculapius, and the Dioscuri,—the paintings of which were all significative, and in accordance with the places and divinities. We must not, however, confound this characteristic system, common to all the epochs of art in Greece, and which dates back to Egypt, with the no less ancient and general custom of suspending wooden tablets in the sacred edifices to serve as offerings. The most ancient examples of painting on the wall were executed in Italy, as in the Temple of Juno at Ardea; in that of Cære, of a more remote antiquity; and in that of Lanuvium, where Caligula endeavoured in vain to detach them from the wall, and take them from the ruined temple which they had decorated. Painting in mosaic, whether in the manner of the ancient basilicas, or of the works of the *Renaissance*, must necessarily have been a tradition of this usage.

As to the subject and composition of their paintings, it must be observed that in vase painting, and other decorations of the Greeks, the subjects were often copies of celebrated works, and therefore necessarily gave a most exact idea of their character and effect. On examining the different kinds of these compositions—those in which the figures are ranged in isometrical perspective, and those in which they are placed in one line—I selected the latter form of arrangement, on account of the restricted dimensions of the edifice.

The sepulchres of the ancients being an imitation of their temples, I examined the tombs of Corneto, with the view of ascertaining whether any peculiar arrangement existed in the disposition of their paintings; and in accordance with the information thus obtained, without pretending that this disposition was universally observed, I left a space above each painting for the exhibition of the votive offerings, an arrange-

ment which may be warranted by the descriptions of Pausanias. The buckler of Pyrrhus was placed above the doorway of the Temple of Ceres in Argos, and moveable portraits were suspended above the mural paintings of Polygnotus in the building contiguous to the Propylæa. The offerings so frequently represented on the upper part of vases, the scene of which exhibits the interior of a temple, are no less conclusive proofs in favour of the position which I have assigned them.

Wishing the paintings of the interior to be as much in harmony as possible with the period when the temple was erected, I turned my attention to the state of the arts at the time of its foundation. The most ancient temples of Selinuntum belong to an epoch approaching that of the foundation of the city, which was between the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth Olympiad; the next in age date back to the seventieth Olympiad; and the latest, among which is the Temple of Empedocles, were executed in the most brilliant period of Grecian art.*

It was, therefore, towards the ninetieth Olympiad, when Panænus, Polygnotus, Micon, and many other celebrated painters flourished, that we must suppose these paintings to have been executed. From the vases which have been attributed to this epoch, I have accordingly borrowed the character of the compositions which I imagined to be most in accordance with the destination of the building.

The smallness of the temple caused me to consider it as having been destined to honour the remains of some deified mortal, in accordance with the religious motives of the Greeks, which caused many such temples to be erected to the memory of their heroes. This supposition being confirmed by the fact, as adduced by Diogenes Laertius, that the Selinuntines offered divine honours to Empedocles for having saved them from the plague, I have imagined that this temple might have been con-

* These epochs may be said to correspond severally to the years 630, 500, and 440 before the Christian era.

secrated to this liberator of the city. Many authors concur that Empedocles was honoured with an apotheosis in the ninety-third Olympiad: but should there be no incontestable proof of this hypothesis, there is nothing opposed to it, and the presumption is justified by the name of the hero, the certainty of his worship, the identity of the time, and the probability of the event.

The statue of Empedocles was possibly of gold and ivory, and glittering with all the brilliancy of polychromic sculpture. This effect of splendour and colouring is quite in character with the particulars handed down to us of this favourite of the gods; who never quitted his purple mantle, or laid aside his Pythian crown: and the statue thus restored would be quite in keeping with the system of coloured architecture established so successfully by M. Quatremère de Quincy, and since confirmed by so many new and important discoveries.

The exterior is ornamented with coloured bas-reliefs, which are evidently far preferable to paintings, inasmuch as the latter, representing but one particular effect of light and shade selected by the painter, can never offer the same powerful effect as polychromic sculpture; which, being always lighted in the same direction as the monument itself, presents continuously an effect in direct accordance and harmony with the structure.

I have supposed the doors of the temple to be of bronze: and the description of the gold and ivory doors of the Temple of Minerva at Syracuse proves to what extent this species of decoration was carried by the ancients.

I place the altar in the interior of the temple, from recollection of a passage in Cicero, where he states that two altars were placed in an *ædiculum* at Messina. The great number of fragments preserved, and the limited dimensions of the temple, caused me to adopt this example, as presenting less difficulties and rendering its publication more practicable. The object of my researches has not been the precise model of an ancient sanctuary, but the restoration of a monument which gives the

most easy and complete idea of the application of polychromic architecture.

After the publication of this memoir, and the exhibition of the designs which accompanied it, the learned archæologist, M. Raoul Rochette, who, in the first instance, had accepted my discoveries in polychromic architecture, and acknowledged his belief in their accuracy from consideration of his own experience derived in Sicily, eventually proceeded to impugn my assertions relative to the employment of mural painting. He maintained, in common with the late M. Boettiger, that the Greeks had never, in the best epochs of art, executed their principal works on other material than on tables of wood, to be let into or fixed to the walls. He concluded by rejecting my assertion of the general practice of coloured architecture, confining it to the secondary means of mere embellishment.* This opinion of the learned critic was in turn attacked by another eminent archæologist, M. Letronne, (lately deceased,) in a series of letters which he did me the honour of addressing to me, and in which he entirely concurred in the system I had laid down, —the execution of historical and mythological painting on the wall in all periods of Greek art, and the discontinuance of this style towards the decline of the Empire.†

Subsequent to these publications appeared, among others, a pamphlet by M. G. Semper.‡ This architect, on returning from his travels in Italy, Sicily, and Greece, not only confirmed the existence of Polychromy in all monuments, whether Greek or Roman, but he gives to its application the greatest possible extension. This writer was followed by the German savant, M. F. Kugler,§ who endeavoured to establish, by aid of remains

* See several papers in the *Journal des Savans*; also, *Peintures Antiques inédites*, and *Lettres Archéologiques*, by M. RAOUL ROCHETTE.

† *Lettres d'un Antiquaire à un Artiste*, and *Supplement*, by M. LETRONNE.

‡ *Bemerkungen über bemalte Architectur und Plastik*, by G. SEMPER.

§ *Ueber die Polychromie der Griechischen Architectur und Sculptur und ihre Grenzen*, by Dr. FRANZ KUGLER.

of antiquity, and by quotations from ancient authors, that colour probably existed in the temples of Sicily, and in the most ancient structures in Greece built of stone; but that its employment in Athenian edifices constructed by Pericles, and particularly the Parthenon, was confined to the application of blue colour to the metopes, the mutules, and the tympanum; of red to some fillets, and the painted ornaments of some mouldings; and of gold to some of the accessories, as the shields and the inscriptions on the frieze, the lions' heads, and the sculpture surmounting the acroteria: but as for those parts which form the principal and predominant features, as the columns, architrave, triglyphs, and corona, M. Kugler considered that they always presented the natural colour of the marble, as they do at present. With regard to the sculpture, he admits that the hair and drapery were painted, but believes that the plain and naked parts were totally unrelieved by colour. The last writer on the subject was the late M. Hermann.* In this work the learned philologist examined particularly those passages in ancient authors which bear reference to historical paintings. From this examination it results, that if doubt may arise relative to several expressions employed to designate paintings executed on the wall, it is certain that where Pausanias speaks of paintings as partly or entirely effaced, they were unquestionably wall paintings.

While these and several other kindred publications appeared, I collected from time to time fresh documents confirming my first discoveries, and the deductions I had drawn from them. The existence can now be proved of, we may say, the same colours on the monuments of Athens, as those which I had discovered on the Sicilian temples, and as I had suggested that they had been doubtlessly applied to the monuments throughout all Grecian countries, and especially in those parts where

* *De Veterum Græcorum Pictura Parietum Conjectura*, &c., GODEFREDO HERMANNO.

Hellenic principles had been implanted, and had been preserved in their primitive beauty. Once, indeed, that the attention of artists and archæologists was awakened, and their researches especially directed to so remarkable a peculiarity of ancient art, and one hitherto so unnoticed, instances of the adaptation of polychromy multiplied constantly. The excavations in the Acropolis of Athens, executed under the direction of learned men and distinguished architects, nominated to this effect by the King of Greece; the researches prosecuted by the English, German, Russian, and other artists, particularly the travelling students of the French Academy in Rome; and the excavations executed in Sicily by order of the King of Naples—all these circumstances combined to furnish me with a variety of details as new as unexpected, and therefore, in republishing the *Restoration of the Temple of Empedocles*, and a *Dissertation on the Polychromy of Greek Architecture in general*, I venture to trust that I shall have answered satisfactorily the various objections which have been raised against my ideas: but at least I can satisfy myself with the consideration, that artists and archæologists will find materials in this collection of facts, reasonings, and deductions, which will enable them to form a complete idea of the question, and to resolve it according to their conviction; and thus by further discussions and researches, suggested by the importance of the subject, enrich it constantly with new lights and fresh discoveries.

J. J. HITTORFF.

M. Hittorff has been engaged in the study of polychromy for a quarter of a century. The work which he is now about to publish, consists of the restoration of the small Temple or Hieron of Empedocles; next, a series of the most remarkable coloured architectural ornaments discovered up to the present time; then a collection of examples taken from terra-cotta vases, the paintings of Herculaneum and Pompeii, and the tombs of

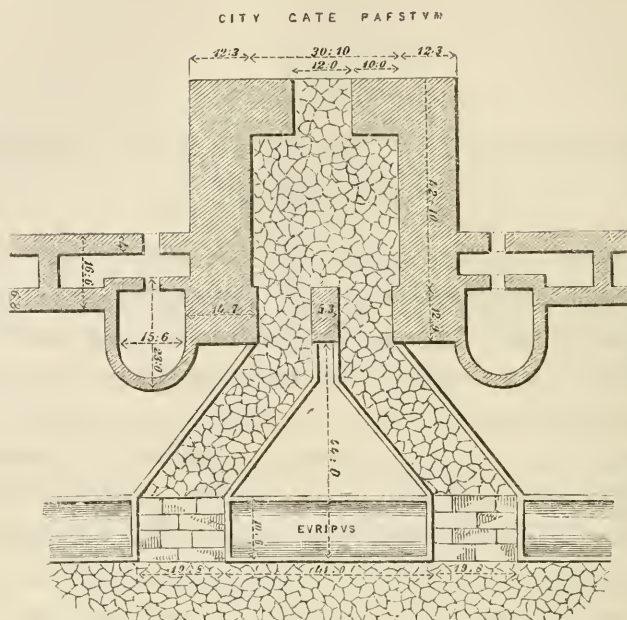
Etruria, capable of throwing light upon the subject of polychromy as applied to architecture and sculpture, and to the employment by the Greeks of historical and sacred wall-painting. This collection of drawings amounts to upwards of three hundred figures, engraved in twenty-five plates. As in these chromo-lithographic plates, he presents to us all the known fragments of polychromic decoration, so in the letter-press he collects together all remarks pertaining to the subject, whether in ancient or modern writers, which can enable us to look at and judge of the question in all its bearings. To this end, it is accompanied by an analysis of the most important publications in favour of or against his opinion, by a detailed description of the restoration of the Temple of Empedocles, and by researches on the technicality of ancient painting, and on the application of polychromy to the productions of modern art.

IV.

DESCRIPTION OF ONE OF THE CITY GATES
OF PÆSTUM.

IT is to be regretted that the interesting and numerous remains of ancient Pæstum, lying in one of the most beautiful of the Italian gulfs, and immediately on the sea-shore, should hitherto have been so imperfectly investigated. For even a short day among the ruins is sufficient to convince the professional traveller that, independently of the well-known Greek Doric edifices which form such grand subjects in the landscape, there are antiquities lying just above the surface, or at a few feet beneath it, which, if properly examined, would further explain many customs of the ancients, and produce antiquities, such as vases and other funereal relics, of great value and beauty. The works of Delagardette, Major, Piranesi, and Wilkins, make us but imperfectly acquainted with those noble structures, which rise above the plain: imposing evidences of ancient civilization and grandeur. And the studies of Mazois, perhaps more complete, are still unedited, although prepared for publication, so that we are deprived of the results of his more pains-taking investigations.

After my return from Greece, I passed with a friend a few days at Pæstum, making some studies of the ruins; and, among other objects of curiosity, my fellow-traveller and myself followed the course of the city walls, as far as they existed. One spot in particular caught our attention, already familiar with the remains of ancient cities, as indicating a very peculiar arrangement for a city gate. A portion only of the construction rose above the surface of the soil, but the indications of the ground plainly demonstrated the plan.



The walls had a fossa or ditch outside, at the distance of some forty feet; and this ditch was apparently about ten feet wide; but it is now quite filled in. There were two bridges to traverse the ditch, about twenty feet wide, and they led up to a double opening or gateways, divided by a pier five feet three inches wide. The whole entrance presented a plain front about fifty-five feet wide, flanked on each end by a circular tower, the outer diameter of which is above twenty feet. The nature of the construction was so irregular, that the dimensions could only be taken approximatively, but with sufficient accuracy for such a building. The thickness of the wall at the gateways was twelve feet nine inches, and beyond this was a court about thirty feet square. On the further side of the court, next the city, was a single doorway, twelve feet wide, and the wall was there eleven feet three inches thick. The city walls were sixteen feet six inches broad, and consisted of two thicknesses of wrought masonry four feet in depth, the central mass consisting of

rougher work, and thus constituting the emplecton of the Greeks, described by Vitruvius* and Pliny,† and the reimputa of the Romans; the facings were united together by ties (διαγόνοι) and occasional transverse walls. The mass of walling round the court was of solid masonry throughout. We were surprised, however, by the walls of the circular towers, which were only two feet three inches thick; but this perhaps was merely the facing, and probably there was an inner casing, now destroyed, which gave the solidity necessary to resist the battering-rams, and other warlike engines of the ancients. At all events, the remains still existing are so little above the general surface as to leave several points of construction undecided.

Having thus generally described the actual state of the remains, we shall proceed to consider this remarkable gateway, in reference to the description of city walls given by Vitruvius,‡ and to compare it with other like examples of the ancients. Vitruvius states “that the foundations of the towers and walls should be dug down to the solid, and should be of an enlarged breadth, proportioned to the proposed thickness of the walls above, and that they should be filled in solid. The towers should project from the outside face of the wall, so that, when the enemy approach to the attack, their flanks should be exposed to the darts of the defenders in the towers to the right and left, their sides being undefended. Care should be taken that the approach to attack the wall should not be easy, but should be precipitous, and the access to the gates not direct, but oblique to the left; for when thus arranged, the right side of the assailants, uncovered by the shield, would be next the wall. The thickness of the walls should be such, that armed men should pass each other without obstruction. The towers also should be round or polygonal, for the war engines more easily destroy the square ones, because the rams break away the angles

* *De Arch.*, l. ii. c. viii.

† *Hist. Nat.*, l. xxxvi. c. 22.

‡ *De Arch.*, l. i. c. 5.

by their strokes; but they cannot harm in the circular towers, as the wedge-shaped stones of the walls converge to a centre. But not, under all circumstances, is there to be a ditch; but only on those occasions when the approach of the enemy on the outside would be on a level plane. In such cases, the fosse is first to be made of the most ample width and depth, and the foundation of the wall is to be carried down into the hollow of the ditch, and is to be constructed thick enough to resist easily the pressure of the earth."

The example before us presents many illustrations of the precepts of the Roman master. There are two ways of approach, thus dividing the hostile phalanx into two bodies, and bringing them more immediately under the towers, and exposing them to a shower of missiles on all sides. The ditch would form a certain obstruction to the advancing host, and probably was anciently much wider than it appears at present. The double aperture offers another impediment, strengthened by the stout bars (*μοκλοι*) which held closed the thick gates, lined with sheets of metal. But even if the besiegers had penetrated this first barrier, and had got within the court, here they were surrounded by the lofty and thick walls, the tops of which would be covered by warriors, ready to hurl huge masses down upon the dense crowd penned within the enclosure. The narrower opening next the city, made secure, would stop the further progress of the attack; and until this was cleared the slaughter would be immense. The arrangement of these gates is the reverse of that adopted at Messene,* where the outer gate was with a single aperture, and the inner ones on the other side of the circular court and next the city double, if not triple, there being one for the carriages, and one if not two for the foot-passengers. In the plan of the Hexapylon of Syracuse, as drawn by C. R. Cockerell, R.A., in HUGHES'S *Travels in Sicily, Greece, and Albania*, there are double gates, but no court. Some of

* *Supplementary Volume of the Antiquities of Athens: Entrance Gate of Messene.*

the walls are twelve feet thick, where they consist of solid masonry; but where they are constructed of emplecton, as at Pæstum, they are sixteen feet thick, which is a remarkable coincidence, the thickness of the Pæstum walls being sixteen feet six inches.



The restoration here presented is founded upon various authorities. Other gates of Pæstum present this class of masonry—the pseudisodoma of Vitruvius. The large lintels over the doorways are frequent, and notably in the example of Messene; and the loop-holes are like those in the towers of that city. As regards the height of the walls, it was a strange rule of the Greeks, as stated by an ancient writer, to make them as many cubits high as they were stadia long; and those of Athens, part of which were built by Calliades, the architect employed by Pericles, appear to have been forty cubits high, equalling about sixty feet of our measure. These walls are

represented as forty feet high; that over the gateways fifty feet; and the towers sixty-five feet, in order more completely to rise above the probable height of the moveable war-turrets (πύργοι) of the besiegers. There are no remains of the pavement of the roadway, nor of the parapets or construction of the bridges; but the indications were sufficient to convince one of their existence and position, and possibly the roadway of the bridge may have been of wood, to allow of their easier removal or destruction on the approach of the enemy.

It can hardly be doubted that the gateways of cities had several stories, one over the other, containing galleries, in which the warriors in large bodies might under cover, and at considerable elevation, more completely assail the besiegers as they approached the gate. And the terraces on the top afforded the opportunity of placing catapults and other engines, which, from their very elevation, would be the more formidable as a means of defence to the besieged.

It appears to me probable that the term *diplon*, as applied to city gates by the ancients, referred to this arrangement of an inner and outer gate, and not to the division of one of the entrances into two apertures, one of which was probably appropriated to the chariots, the other to the foot passengers.

THOMAS L. DONALDSON.

V.

COMMUNICATION FROM PROFESSOR SCHOENBORN,
OF POSEN, RELATIVE TO A MONUMENT
RECENTLY DISCOVERED BY HIM IN LYCIA.

WITH regard to the monument of which you desire particulars, I fear my information will be deemed very insufficient. On two several occasions that I visited it, I endeavoured to examine it with becoming care; but the first time I was unable to do so from the heavy winter rains, and the second time I was prevented by another cause.

The monument is in Lycia. That Mr. Spratt and Professor Forbes should not have found it is rather wonderful. Yet how often in these countries one passes in the immediate vicinity of extensive ruins without perceiving them! at least, such has not unfrequently happened to me. It abuts close upon the ruins of a small mountain town, which is partly built of very good materials, but a portion is of later date; as is rendered evident by a Byzantine cross. I believe the fortress to be of still later time, and that it was on the occasion of building this that the eastern side of the peribolus was thrown down, in order not to have any wall, behind which an enemy might hide himself; for only on the eastern side is an assault on the city practicable. The same reason must account for other magnificent tombs having been destroyed which were near the peribolus, and were built in imitation of wooden constructions. The ancient name of the place I have not been able to guess. The view that presents itself from the peribolus, I consider as the most beautiful that I have ever beheld. To the east one looks towards a distant promontory; below you is the sea, with a row of rocky

islands; on the north and west rise mountains above mountains, while the immediate foreground is grand and striking.

The monument consists of a peribolus enclosing a sarcophagus, showing its sepulchral character. It is of a rectangular form, and the enclosing wall is about thirty paces long, by twenty-five in width. It is formed of large squared stones, often of great length, which are placed in two courses, one above the other. Three sides of the quadrangle are in very good preservation, but the fourth, or eastern side, as already observed, is destroyed. The place which the colossal sarcophagus, within the peribolus, once occupied, is very discernible, for the lower part of the sarcophagus, formed of beautiful white marble, is still existing. The entrance to the monument has been on the south side; the doorway is yet perfect, but the steps which must have given access to it are wanting. The bas-reliefs of which you inquire are in the enclosing wall, and form continuous friezes. On the exterior of the south wall are two such rows, placed immediately one over the other. Three similar rows line the interior of the same wall, while the west and north sides each have two rows. The sculpture is in rather low relief, as is generally the case in the tombs of Lycia. Some of them are greatly injured by the action of the weather, though still in sufficient preservation to enable the subject to be distinguished clearly at a little distance. What gives them the greatest interest is the subject represented, for part of them refer to the *Iliad*; and the deceased to whom this structure was erected must, in all probability, have derived his descent from one of the Homeric heroes. On one of the sculptured friezes of the enclosing wall is Achilles, when, full of anger and vexation, he sat on the sea shore, near the high-prowed vessels. On an adjoining slab is the herald who calls the Achæans together; then follow warriors, next to whom are battle-scenes. The battle approaches the city: the gate is besieged. The Trojan elders show themselves above and upon the gate. Thus the sculptures correspond, subject by subject, with the *Iliad*. The

attack on the gate is evidently placed as the centre of the composition. Not only is the sculpture here of higher relief than in the other parts, but, moreover, in this instance, the two chief rows are connected with each other with reference to the subject represented.

I must observe, however, that the bas-reliefs do not all relate to the siege of Troy, and few of those on the south side seem so appropriated.

From consideration of the subject they represent, from the certain connexion of the bas-reliefs with this place, and from their beauty, (notwithstanding they have greatly suffered from time, and are in very low relief,) I should assign to them the first place among the sculptured remains of Lycia; and, therefore, earnestly desire that they may be sufficiently known before they stand the chance of being destroyed or lost. The latter evil has already commenced. Between my first and second visits, two travellers, on their way from Egypt, passed this way, accompanied by an Egyptian Turk. The latter, whom I met on his return, told me that they had removed on camels the two corner stones of the exterior sculptures—which I had missed after my first visit—and had taken them to Smyrna. You may conclude from this, that the sculptures are of such excellence as to excite the desire of removing them, or, at least, some portions of the entire monument.

In another year I shall probably be in a position to give you additional and more precise information. I hope to be able to revisit this country, in order that I may more fully investigate this monument and some theatres; and I may, possibly, also visit the interior of Caria and Cilicia Tracheia. I thank you for your suggestions, and will certainly work up the various valleys of the latter country, instead of following the line of coast. It will be my principal endeavour to bring back drawings of these bas-reliefs; and should my wishes be accomplished, I shall have great pleasure in forwarding them to you.

A. SCHOENBORN.

VI.

ON THE PAINTINGS OF POLYGNOTUS IN THE
LESCHE AT DELPHI.

PART I.

THE present Essay has for its subject the paintings with which Polygnotus adorned the Lesche, a building dedicated by the Cnidians at Delphi: the important place of the painter in the history of art, his ancient renown, the grand scale of his compositions, and the interest of the detailed notice of them that has come down to us, are claims on the attention of artist and archæologist which have met with due response in France as well as Germany.* England has hitherto, so far as I am aware, contributed nothing in illustration and elucidation of the subject, which, after all that has been done, is still by no means exhausted; a field where many more may yet toil without losing all their labour, and, it is to be hoped, without serious offence to those who have gone before.

Some lessons may perhaps be found at the present time in the examination of an ancient instance of pictorial decoration of a public building, that may have an application even beyond that simple historical interest which would justify the present attempt to gather up the better result of earlier inquirers, though it should not succeed, as I trust it will, in advancing

* *Die Gemälde des Polygnotus erläutert von* OTTO JAHN; Kiel, 1841. *Die Composition der Polygnotischen Gemälde in der Lesche zu Delphi*, F. G. WELCKER; Berlin, 1848. *Epikritische Betrachtungen über die Polygnotischen Gemälde*, &c. K. F. HERMANN; Gottingen, 1849. These are the more important recent essays on the subject, and furnish full references to all the antecedent literature.

the discussion some steps nearer to the necessary term given by restricted materials.

Polygnotus, the earliest Greek painter of whose works we have any strictly historical notice, was the son and pupil of Aglaophon of Thasos, who also educated another son, Aristophon, in the art. His age is marked in general terms by his intimate attachment to Cimon and his family. Two most important public monuments that are associated with the name of Cimon were embellished by the paintings of his friend—the Theseion, which still exists, and that Stoa which was to furnish a birth-place and a name for the noblest of human philosophies. In the latter, the Pœcile Stoa, he introduced a likeness of Elpinice, sister of Cimon, as Laodike, according to Homer the most beautiful of Priam's daughters. The date of the compliment is not recoverable from the age of the lady, and it is impossible to state with certainty at what date the connexion of Polygnotus with Cimon and with Athens commenced; the attempt of Müller to trace it to the reduction of Thasos by Cimon, B.C. 463, is, to me at least, entirely unsatisfactory.

This island, with its dependencies on the mainland, was long subject to Persia, and was so at the time of the expedition of Xerxes, B.C. 480; it was, therefore, doubtless visited in due course by the victorious Greek fleet, and included, under a remodelled government, in the list of allies under the lead of Athens, and made answerable for an assessment accordingly. This could scarcely have occurred so late as B.C. 469, the later date assigned to the operations of Cimon against the remainder of the Persian force on the Strymon. Even if this were the case, the date gives us an occasion of intimacy six years anterior to that furnished by the revolt of the island and its reduction; but it is far more probable that the attachment of Thasos to the confederacy under the Athenians, dated from an early year in the decade, B.C. 476-466.—See Grote's good chronological note.

But, indeed, it is probable that a family connexion may have existed of much earlier date; Cimon may easily have inherited from his father Miltiades various connexions with Strymonian Thrace, so intimately connected with Thasos, as we find such connexions continued to their illustrious relative, the historian Thucydides, who possessed mining property in the country.

Cimon brought the bones of Theseus to Athens, B.C. 469, and probably Polygnotus was engaged on his Delphic work at the very time the Theseion was building to receive them, as Simonides, who died B.C. 467, supplied his metrical epigraph. That these lines still style the painter a Thasian, may be received as an argument for what it is worth, that he had not then received his Athenian citizenship, which was granted to him in honour of his painting the Pœcile Stoa gratuitously (HARPOCRATION, p. 248).

These are the only approximations to dates of the artist's life that appear worth notice; the general result seems to carry back his full attainments and reputation quite beyond the commencement of the career of Phidias.

Were it not dangerous to infer from one art the tendencies of another, its contemporary, we should be called on by these relative dates to antedate some of the characteristics frequently assumed to be originally Phidian. Pliny, indeed, says that Polygnotus also exercised the art of sculpture, and, we must suppose, in the same spirit as he painted. The following notices furnish us with the leading characteristics of his style and originality (PLINY, xxxv. 9, 35): "Primus mulieres lucidâ veste pinxit, capita eorum mitris versicoloribus operuit, plurimumque picturæ primus contulit: siquidem instituit os adaperire, dentes ostendere, vultum ab antiquo rigore variare." Lucian (*Imag.*, t. ii. p. 465) praises in his figure of Cassandra the expression of the eyebrows, the bloom of the cheeks, and the drapery of the most elaborate fineness, giving the required indication of the form while freely yielding to the wind. Ælian furnishes us with a notice of the extensiveness of his

works; the correctness of his drawing; the delicacy of his draperies; and that he painted life-size. He also mentions his power in passion, expression, and gesture (πάθος καὶ ἡθος καὶ σχημάτων χρῆσιν). This excellence in expression gains for him from Aristotle the title of γραφεὺς ἡθικός (a painter of noble expression); and in the *Poetica* (ii. 2), he speaks of the works of Polygnotus as furnishing models superior to nature, while those of Pauson were inferior—those of Dionysius simply on a par. Accordingly, in the *Politics* (viii. 8), he approves of the influence on youth of the works of Polygnotus, while he condemns those of Pauson as prejudicial; ἡθος here appears to be equivalent to refinement of expression; elsewhere it is employed to signify characteristic expression generally, and it is in this sense that the same philosopher declares Zeuxis to be absolutely deficient, while Polygnotus is pre-eminent (*Poetic.*, vi. 15).

The excellences thus ascribed to Polygnotus are precisely of that vigorous class that are ever found to be sure promise of the healthy growth and manifold development of a nascent art; it is also in accordance with numerous parallel examples, that, in the hands of the founder of an art, the resources of enriched embellishment provided by it—in the present instance, colour—should be held of subordinate importance. And yet, as in other parallel instances, the resources of colour, so far as they were developed, were employed by the early artist with such thorough feeling of harmony with the best qualities of his style, as even to command a preference on the part of many who were familiar with works of highest elaborateness and finish. Thus witnesses Quintilian: “Primi quorum quidem opera non vetustatis modo gratiâ visenda sint, clari pictores fuisse dicuntur Polygnotus atque Aglaopho (whether the elder or a younger is not clear) quorum simplex color tam sui studiosos adhuc habet, ut illa prope rudia ac velut futuræ mox artis primordia maximis qui post eas exstiterunt, auctoribus præferantur, (he certainly adds—) proprio quodam intelligendi (ut mea fert opinio) ambitu.”

Cicero mentions Polygnotus among the painters who only used four colours, and were admired “propter formas et lineamenta,” (*Brutus*, xxiii.) In the enumeration of Pliny (xxxv., 32) these colours stand as white, red, yellow, and black; we are surprised to miss the indispensable blue from the list; and the difficulty can scarcely be evaded otherwise than by supposing that the black of the list was itself, or included, a deep shade of blue. In fact, we find the colour of blue-black—the colour of a flesh-fly—distinctly specified by Pausanias as produced. We read of different modes of preparing these colours among the very artists who are said to have been restricted to them; and if more than four pigments were employed, the restriction to four colours falls at once. The value of the evidence, however, is to prove that Polygnotus, as might be expected from his early and healthy epoch, relied for his effects on harmonies of the primary colours; certainly not that the more compound were unknown or unnecessary to him. A preserved passage of Empedocles, contemporary of Polygnotus, and a reference by Galen to his lost work, show how familiar at that date was the practice of the painter in mixing his colours together in various proportions, and thus enabling him to imitate any object in nature. The practice serves the Agrigentine speculator as an illustration of his theory, that all the objects of nature might be and were compounded, by the operation of attraction and repulsion, from a few simple elements. His elements are four—Earth, Air, Fire, and Water—and of these and their combinations the poet-philosopher finds symbols in the four colours which suffice the painter. (GALEN in *Hippocrat. de Hom. Nat. Comm.*, t. iii. p. 101 B.) The author of the Aristotelian discourse on the Cosmos makes the same application. (*De Mundo*, c. v.) The metals and geometrical forms were appropriated on the same principle, and probably at a date much earlier than Polygnotus. Any art and any science, as an organic whole, may evidently furnish a type of expression, and may supply suggestive forms to more comprehensive philosophies—sometimes fantastically; it is not to be

denied, however, that such metaphors, borrowed from art, may have had—have had—great and not altogether detrimental influence, by reflection back upon the art itself. Enthusiastic sympathy with a grand idea of cosmical order and moral harmony, may be traced in some of the best inspirations of the best ages of art. How can art take higher stand than when the artist has a true sense of the dignity of universal nature, and regards his art as capable of furnishing a true and sufficient type and exponent of it; and unsatisfactory and faulty, in so far as it falls short of corresponding harmony and catholicity?

Of the use and treatment of light and shade by Polygnotus we can say little more, than that he left it for a future artist to acquire the renown of an inventor, by at least the extension of this branch of art, and that while he no doubt painted shadow, and modelled and divided his forms by it—thus much is implied by the general scope of his praise—there is every appearance that the union of masses by its means, or the accounting for ærial distances, were problems he left unattempted. On the whole, it seems to me unallowable to make inferences as to the practice of Polygnotus from that of the very peculiar art of vase-painting, in which shadows scarcely make their appearance at all, and never become important, their office being performed by incised lines on dark surfaces, and when the ground of the figure is light by dark lines, the strength of which scarcely seems affected by any reference to degree or direction of illumination.

The defect in the painter's resources, implied by a restricted knowledge of or power over light and shade, has important consequences, affecting his principles of grouping and composition. The subjects painted at Delphi, which we are about to consider, were very extensive, like many others recorded as executed by himself and his immediate contemporaries and successors; and the effective disposition of the numerous figures was doubtless one of the great triumphs aimed at and achieved. But linear perspective seems to have assisted in this as little as

aërial; we shall find very little allusion to any sort of background or general landscape and scenery, and groups are placed one above another in the composition, that, it is clear, were to be conceived as following one behind the other, on the same level ground. The vases here furnish us with a true illustration, and the vase of Meidias in the British Museum, with the subject of the Rape of the Leucippides, and the Apulian amphora, with the madness of Lycurgus, may be studied in this connexion with great advantage.

The Meidias vase, also, with others, furnishes illustration of the painter's practice in inserting inscriptions on his picture; they agree with the Delphic painting in exhibiting the names of gods or men written against figures, even when most distinctly recognisable by character and attributes; and they furnish examples of the same seeming caprice of inscribing known personages with new names or titles, and of assigning names to subsidiary figures, which are otherwise unknown and destitute of traditional acceptance and position. The significance of these alterations and additions is sometimes detectable in allusion to a pervading principle; but as frequently the solution of the enigma is beyond our reach, and we are disposed to doubt whether it ever had a solution.

The site of the Lesche at Delphi is so exactly indicated in the local description of Pausanias, that more than one traveller has identified it to his satisfaction, but whether remains suffice to indicate the extent and plan of the construction, we are still to learn. Its purpose, however, as a place of public resort for the citizens for intercourse both of business and amusement, implies spaciousness, and its pictorial embellishments are in accordance with the assumption. From its purpose, again, we should, I think, be inclined to infer that it was not entirely roofed in, but rather like an exchange or cloisters, of which it answered the ends—a colonnade, or a combination of colonnades. Pausanias speaks of it as an οἶκημα, a word not much more specific than our "building," in which, when entered, one pic-

ture was on the right hand and another on the left, and his expressions appear to me to suit best the supposition, that they were placed on the opposite walls of a building much longer than it was broad, almost entirely open at one end, and possibly closed entirely at the other. On the assumption that the figures were of life-size, our restoration gives a length for the picture of between ninety and one hundred feet.

At what date the Cnidians erected this building is not stated, nor can we safely assume that the labours of Polygnotus upon it were at their charge. Hermann assumes they were, and so do Schubart and Waltz, in their translation, which, however, I think, misrepresents the text. It seems much less probable that Cnidus incurred this expense, just on emerging from the troubles of the Persian war, than that the Delphians themselves employed upon the work a part of the wealth which poured in upon them, after the discomfiture of Xerxes. So it appears, from the gratitude of the Athenians to the painter, that they, and not Cimon, were responsible for the decoration of the Peisianactian Stoa. The question may affect the elucidation of the pictures very materially, as the traditions of the commissioning state would as certainly be consulted in the work produced, as an Æginetan victor in the games expected that his Epinician Ode should advert to his national connexion with the Æacidæ; the balance of evidence from this source I believe to be conclusively Delphian.

The description which Pausanias gives of the picture is on a plan of his own; he begins at the nearest end of the composition, and gives an inventory of the figures as they occur, one after another, with notes, more or less careful, of their relative position, and comments interspersed, far from being in every case the most interesting and pertinent that it was in his power at the moment to have written down; but as "travellers must be content," so we must learn—and there is every disposition to teach us—to be content with archæological travellers.

I will, then, in the first instance, follow our guide with

thankfulness his own way through the picture, referring as we proceed, to the engraving, in which I have endeavoured to exhibit an ordination of figures and groups, that shall be in accordance with his words when plain and unequivocal, and, where uncertainty prevails, in accordance with the obvious or probable requirements of the subject, and with those principles of arrangement that declare themselves in the parts of the composition most intelligibly reported to us.

For this purpose I have made use of the design of Riepenhausen, lately republished by Welcker, as altered to his own suggestions. I have left the individual groups, with few exceptions, as they were, while freely revising their relative distribution to accord with my own views, so far as they can be made to do so by such treatment. The general probabilities of the composition would be much assisted, not only by a style of drawing more in harmony with its age and character, and a better scale of graphic importance among the single figures, but even by modification of general form of some groups, especially of those in most immediate connexion with each other.

The nature of the task we have set ourselves will presently appear; we have to determine the relative position of groups and figures, in order to ascertain their mutual relations and significance, of which position is a main exponent—and we have to help out the imperfect indications of position by inferences from significance and intention of expression. This renders it necessary to premise a few observations on the grouping of the painter: in the first place, although he disposes his groups at different heights in the picture, I do not think that he made them follow in quite regular lines; I think he took care to avoid the appearance of their doing so. Pausanias could scarcely have avoided a reference to such lines, had he found them as marked here as on the chest of Cypselus—he would have seized at once on such aids to enumeration. The groups themselves repeatedly confirm the inference, which, however, implies niceties of artistical management that are

without the conditions of a typical restoration. As the groups are systems of figures, so systems of groups make up the picture, for it is on far too extensive a scale for the group to be the picture, as in more limited performances; and we shall find that the combinations of groups into systems, take courses to a great extent independent of horizontal arrangement, and tending indeed to counteract or relieve the impression of its prevalence.

The sense of interval must have been a chief secret of the painter's art,—the adjustment of interval a main expedient in the effective and consistent distribution of his groups,—interval to be economized, so as to gain every gradation of distinctness without risk of confusion, on the one hand, and, on the other, interval to be freely conceded for the sake of proportion, lightness, flexibility of the leading members of the composition, without incurring the mischief of the predominance of uninteresting barren space, the intrusion of obstructive blocks and callous patches. The observation how successfully all this and more, is managed in the pediments and by the vase-painters, may instruct us what may have been effected by such a master as Polygnotus.

The following is an abstract of the description given by Pausanias of the first great composition:—

“ When the building is entered, the general subject of the
“ painting on the right hand is Ilion captured, and the depar-
“ ture of the Greeks. The preparations are in progress for the
“ embarkation of Menelaus; a ship is represented and sailors in
“ it, men and boys among them. In the middle of the ship is
“ the steersman Phrontis, holding two oars. . . . Below him
“ is one Ithaimenes bearing clothing, and Echoiax is going
“ down by the ship's ladder, holding a brazen hydria.

“ Polites, Strophius, and Alphius are striking the tent of
“ Menelaus, which is not far from the ship. Amphialus is
“ taking down another tent, and at his feet sits a boy. There
“ is no inscription to the boy.

“ Briseis is standing, and also Diomedes above her, and

“ Iphis in front of the two, and they seem to be reconnoitring the beauty of Helen. Helen herself is seated, and Eurybates near her. Her attendants are Electra and Panthalis, the latter stands beside her, while Electra fastens her mistress’s shoe.

“ Over Helen sits a man wrapped in a purple garment, and exceedingly cast down; easy to be recognised as Helenus, without reading the inscription. Near Helenus is Meges wounded in the arm, and Lycomedes beside Meges with a wound on the wrist, and others on the leg and head. There is Euryalus also wounded on head and hand. These are higher up than Helen on the painting.

“ Following in order upon Helen is the mother of Theseus (Æthra), and one of his sons, Demophon, in a state of anxiety, to judge from his gesture, as to whether he will be able to restore Æthra to liberty. . . . It seems that Eurybates, in the picture, has come to Helen on the subject of Æthra, and to report the message of Agamemnon (respecting her liberation).”

We shall see presently, that notwithstanding the order of the expressions of Pausanias here, Demophon, and not Æthra, must have stood on the side of Helen.

“ The Trojan women are represented as captives, and lamenting; there is painted Andromache, and a boy stands before her taking hold of her breast; Medesicasta is also painted, one of the illegitimate daughters of Priam; like Andromache she wears a covering on her head, but Polyxena has her hair plaited (or in a knot), after the fashion of maidens.” The position of this group is indicated presently as succeeding Æthra; hence the presumption in other cases, when no difference of level is mentioned, that the place of the figure or group is on the level, or nearly so, of the last that is named and placed. But this is not always the case.

“ He has then painted Nestor with a *pileus* on his head, and holding a spear; a horse seems about to roll itself in the dust.” A notice presently shows that the horse stood beside

Nestor. "As far as the horse the shore extends, and pebbles
"are seen upon it, but from this point there is no farther
"appearance of sea."

"Upwards from the women who are between Æthra and
"Nestor (Andromache, &c.), are other captives, Klymene,
"Kreusa, Aristomache, and Xenodike. . . . On a couch above
"these are painted Deïnome, Metioche, Persis, and Kleodike."
The expressions appear to me to allow the interpretation that
the captives on the couch—probably a long and low group—
were less immediately above the second group than that was
over the first. This is the only instance in which we get in this
picture a distinct notice of triple tiers of erect or sitting figures, a
rule which pervades the companion composition. That, in this
exceptional instance, the three groups are closely connected
in import, and that one of them was disposed about a couch,
are arguments that they were so combined as not much, if at
all, to exceed the total height of the double tiers of some other
portions. This, again, leads me to infer that the scale of the
figures in this picture was somewhat larger, and their treat-
ment more ample, than in the other composition; a contrast of
which Homer may be said to set the example in his com-
panion Epics, and which has plastic and graphic precedent of
the highest authority. Another proof is, that when restored
with figures on the same scale, this picture is found too short
to match its companion.

"Epeius also is painted naked, overthrowing the Trojan
"wall to the foundation; above the wall, the head only of the
"wooden horse appears." As it is clear, from what is to
follow, that Epeius was not on the lower line of the picture,
we must place him, in the absence of other directions, above
Nestor.

The text appears to me to bear out the representation I
have adopted, that nothing of the wooden horse was seen in
the picture but its head that appeared above the wall; Welcker,
who exhibits the entire figure, must interpret the passage
differently.

Pausanias then proceeds to enumerate the figures of another group, which must have ranged nearly in a line with Epeius, as the notice already referred to excludes them from the lower course; "Polypætes, son of Pirithous, and Akamas beside him; Ulysses armed; Ajax, son of Oileus, with a shield, stands by an altar, making oath concerning the outrage against Cassandra, and Cassandra herself sits on the ground, holding the figure of Athene, which she displaced from its seat, when Ajax dragged her away. The sons of Atreus are represented helmeted, and Menelaus has a shield bearing a serpent, in allusion to the ominous serpent that appeared at the sacrifice at Aulis. Upon these matters they are taking the oath of Ajax.

"In a direct line with the horse that is by Nestor is Neoptolemus; he has just killed Elassus, who has the appearance of one who still just breathes, and he is striking with his sword Astynous, who has fallen on his knee."

From the reference of the position of the horse to Neoptolemus, and of that of Nestor to Æthra, I have no doubt that, though they were grouped together, the horse was for the most part behind Nestor, and that the interposition of the horse, and the termination of the shore just in front of it, were managed in such a way as to interrupt the continuousness of the subject very distinctly at this point; the body of Elassus may also be disposed behind Neoptolemus to assist the same effect. I have transferred Nestor to the near side of his horse, and invite the congratulations of the equestrian on the change.

"An altar also is painted, and a little boy clinging to it for fear; on the altar lies a brazen cuirass composed of back and front piece. On the other side of the altar is represented Laodike standing. After Laodike is a stone base, and upon it a brazen *λουτήριον* (basin.) Medusa, (a daughter of Priam was so named according to Stesichorus,) sits on the ground, holding the stone foot or base with both her hands. Beside Medusa is an old woman, with hair cut close, (or it may be a

“eunuch,) with a naked little child on her knees, which is represented holding its hand before its eyes for fear.

“Then dead,—Pelis, naked, is cast upon his back, and below Pelis lie Eioneus and Admetus, both still retaining their arms; and others higher up than these—Leocritus above the *louterion*, and above Eioneus and Admetus, Korœbus.”

Leocritus, who lies above the *louterion*, being associated in respect of height in the picture with a figure that is above Eioneus and Admetus, necessarily fixes the place of the latter in the lower course, at the bottom of the picture, which agrees with enumeration of them without more special notice of position, than that they lie under Pelis, who is named immediately after the eunuch with the child. Pelis, we are bound to assume, is named first, as nearer to the preceding group; and this agrees with the fact, that Korœbus, whose position in the picture is higher than Pelis, has his position marked as above the very corpses that are under Pelis; Pelis clearly, being nearer to the group of the *louterion*, does not extend entirely over the space occupied by the pair of corpses: and that the position of Korœbus is referred to theirs and not to his, proves that this figure lay further towards the left of the picture.

“Above Korœbus are Priam, Axion, and Agenor. . . Sinon, the associate (or companion) of Ulysses and Anchialus, are carrying to burial the body of Laomedon; there is also one other dead man painted, with the name Eresus.”

Pausanias seems to hurry over the latter part of the picture, for we are here left without leading indications of distribution. From the tenor of his course, however, I think we are at liberty to place Sinon and his companion higher than the group of Priam, and the body of Eresus, named last, towards the right. In which direction should the body of Laomedon be carried? I am inclined to think to the right, as towards the Greek quarters, and have reversed the group accordingly.

“There is then the house of Antenor, with the skin of the pardalis suspended above the entrance—the signal to the

“Greeks to spare his house. Theano is represented with her sons—Glaucus, who sits on a cuirass, and Eurymachus upon a rock. Beside him stands Antenor, and next to him his daughter Krino, who carries a young child. The expression of the faces of all is that of misfortune. There are servants placing a coffer and other utensils on an ass, on which a little child is seated.

“In this part of the painting is the epigraph of Simonides,—“Polygnotus of Thasos, son of Aglaophon, painted the Acropolis of Ilion devastated.”

In the absence of instructions, I venture to place the house of Antenor at a height to range with that of the tents at the opposite end of the picture, quite or nearly. Antenor with his family finds place before his dwelling, and the ass and the servants loading it, of whom two appear, in mercy, to be sufficient, form a concluding group on the lower line.

Still there remains to be settled the position, relatively to the other groups, of that of the adjuration of Ajax, comprising, with Cassandra, seven figures. We have seen that all the way from the ship of Menelaus to the heap of slain beyond the *louterion*, Pausanias accounts for the occupation of every place on the lower plan of the picture, and leaves no chance I would say, but that Welcker has ventured it, for conscientiously interpolating a mass of figures so important. But, on the other hand, there is a wide gap left above this series, between Epeius above Nestor on one side, and the slain that lie above Eioneus and Admetus on the other. There is no specific notice of any figure on the second general plan above the horse: the interval that probably divided it from the next group: the body of Ellassus: Neoptolemus, Astynous, the child and altar, and Laodike; and, indeed, as the body of Leocritus probably occupied little space, we might also add, above the group around the *louterion*. To this vacant space, therefore, we may assign with confidence the group of Greek chiefs and Cassandra, inserted as it is in the catalogue immediately after the mention of Epeius.

A survey of the general arrangement of the groups must inform us how far the place it thus naturally takes, accords with the requirements of graphic sequence and proportion.

The tent of Menelaus, his manned vessel, from which Echoiax and Ithæmenes are bringing, as we shall see, various articles for Helen; the group of Helen, with the fair triad who observe her; her attendants and the herald, are all in intimate connexion with each other, and form, in fact, one scene, to which are supplemental Demophon and Æthra a little remote, and Nestor, who by his position on the shore, which extends under all these figures, is brought into relation with the embarkation of Helen as distinctly in the picture as we shall find him to be in the traditions it was founded on.

Another system of groups, comparatively disconnected with this, is formed of the three groups of Trojan captive women, disposed one above another from the bottom of the picture to the top, with a tendency to the right; and the supplemental group of wounded Greek warriors, with the dejected Helenus, another scene in camp. It is by this combination, and by the insertion of the group of Polyxena and Andromache between Nestor and Demophon, that this system of groups naturally attaches to—articulates with, the preceding.

Nestor, by the tranquillity of his isolated position, is a formal termination of one of the divisions of the subject, given by Pausanias as the Departure of the Greeks; he stands as the point at rest of a string that is vibrating harmonies. The second division is the representation of the devastated Acropolis of Troy, introduced on the upper line by Epeius subverting the walls, and followed up by the important subject of the adjuration of Ajax. By the correspondence of Epeius to Nestor below on one side, and to Sinon on the same line on the other, the painter, while he places the more interesting Greek chiefs together, succeeds in uniting the interest of this otherwise very distinct group, to the circumjacent subjects. The number of first-class figures that take

part in this action, render it the most effective counterpoise to the elaborate subject of Helen and her attendants on the right hand division; but by giving it an upper location, he conducts the interest over the field of the painting, and enlivens that portion of it which otherwise would be tame and unrelieved, if abandoned entirely to dejected captives and piles of the slain. Placed as it is, it gains and gives effect by the contrast of the adjoining scenes.

The solemnity of this scene enhances the violent expression in the group of which the slaughterous Neoptolemus is the chief figure, and similar enhancement is derived from its position between the mourning captives and Nestor, on one side, and the slain Trojans on the other.

The alarm of the child held by the eunuch marks the extent of the lower group. Beyond this, we arrive at a system of groups of slain Trojans, disposed at various levels, from the lowest to the uppermost plan of the picture, and thus materially assisting the unity of the composition, by correspondence with the similar distribution of the groups of captives.

Lastly, the picture terminates with Antenor and his family—his house, and the preparations for his departure. The antithetical correspondence of the preparations here to those proceeding at the other end of the picture, is obvious; and we have just remarked another instance of the same principle, which we shall find freely applied in the companion picture. These hints naturally bring to mind the rules of parallelism so remarkably exemplified in other Greek compositions, especially the pediments, and the result has been, that in the attempts of several restorers, great violence has been done to the words of Pausanias, in order to force the groups into numerical and geometrical agreements which they vigorously resist, and, it must be said, with a success with which they ought to be satisfied. Hence, the grandeur and boldness of the rhythmical intention of the present composition have failed of recognition, and we have placed before us instead, a vain phantasm of the

art of Polygnotus, which, could we believe it, would only prove how hard he laboured, and to how little purpose, for an end that, at the sacrifice he would seem prepared to make for it, was merely mechanical.

No ingenuity, not to say unscrupulousness, can make the family group of Antenor an equipoise, graphically, to that of Helen; and this difficulty being insurmountable, the theory of reconstruction dependent on it collapses by necessary fate.

The compositions that enriched the pediments of the Greek temples were adapted to be seen from a distance and taken in by the eye at once; they thus represent on a single line a simple central action, to which every figure on either side bears a certain relation; the requirements of the architectonic style made the rule of parallelism still more stringent. This rule has a certain application to the circumstances of the pictures we are studying, but much more indulgently,—the field of the painting was evidently too large for the whole to be taken in at a glance by a spectator comparatively close to it; to apply the same rule would therefore have been to challenge a painful, and after all futile attempt. The symmetry of the arrangement, therefore, tells by its effect on the memory rather than immediately upon the eye. The picture was one to be perused; the interest of the perusal, I doubt not, was sustained by that skilful bias of grouping that indicates a sequel and promises a complement, but when these came I believe that they pleased, not so much by proportions measurable by the eye, but rather by fulfilling an expectation and satisfying a want—"congreging in a full and natural close, like music." Thus, while the departure of Antenor has that degree of correspondence to the embarkation of Helen that gives roundness to the subject, the two incidents, as represented, have the differences appropriate to them as, respectively, the commencement and the conclusion of the subject, and as the main incident of the first section of the picture may be expected to differ from the supplemental incident of the second. How essentially the picture is adapted for consecutive perusal

appears at once, when we attempt to follow the subject the reverse way of the enumeration of the figures by Pausanias, unskilful as this is; we find, on trial, that we are moving harshly against reversed and ruffled plumage—painfully backing a steed, that can only move with speed and gracefulness when it moves forward.

But the painter of the Lesché had not only to provide that his picture should explain and develop itself as the spectator moved on—it was also necessary that, when the review was completed, the resultant impression from the multifarious groups should be clear, forcible, and, as a leading condition of force and clearness, that it should be at unity with itself. But as the harmony of the solar system is only preserved by the enormous superiority in mass and influence of the central sun, so necessary, in such a complicated composition, is a certain central and dominant interest, which shall admit no question of its superiority, and give the scale and rule of subordination for all that may be attached to it and dependent on it. For this strategical—this artistic key we are bound to look, especially after the indications of parallelism between extremities and wings, to the middle of the picture, or at least, to the most interesting of the groups that are near the middle. The groups before which, thus conducted, we have to take our stand, are those in which Ajax Oileus, and Neoptolemus, are respectively concerned, and it now behoves us to penetrate to the sentiment and significance of these groups, for here, if anywhere, will be found the explanation why Polygnotus, from a rich and multifarious subject, selected the incidents he did in preference to others, and treated them in the way he did, both individually and relatively. The son of Achilles takes precedence, in consideration of a remark of the describer.

“Neoptolemus is represented,” says Pausanias, “having just killed Elassus, whoever Elassus may be,—he has the appearance of one just expiring; and he strikes with his sword Astynous, mentioned in the poem of Lescheus, who has fallen

on his knee. Polygnotus has made Neoptolemus alone, of all the Greeks, continuing the slaughter of the Trojans, because the entire painting was designed by him to have proper reference to the tomb of Neoptolemus."

By the "entire painting" there can be little doubt, from the general tenor of the sentence, that Pausanias intended the entire pictorial decoration of the Lesché, on either wall, to be understood; and we shall have to consider the point with some care, in reference to the other picture,—but at present we have our work before us.

The poem of Lescheus, in which Astynous was mentioned, was the Cyclic Epic, the *Iliou persis*, or destruction of Ilion, from which Polygnotus borrowed other names of subordinate personages; and Pausanias by repeated references indicates that he considered the painter to have had this poem particularly in his mind throughout; may we look to the records that remain of the poem of Lescheus, and recognise there the scheme and story of our painting? We shall be disappointed: from the silence of Pausanias, it seems clear that the poem did not furnish the treatment, and probably not the subject, of the oath of Ajax; and in the subjects it did furnish, or might have furnished, we find traces not to be mistaken of the painter's originality and independence in referring to various poetical sources for his materials, while the management of them was his own. We have therefore, I apprehend, to confront the groups of the painter, not with one particular record, but with the general fund of poetry and tradition that may illustrate them, and trace the operations of a constructive, and not merely a reproducing energy.

The second and more decided indication of our antiquary, as to the reference of the paintings to the tomb of Neoptolemus, remains to be appreciated; he says nothing to illustrate or justify his assertion, and it scarcely seems to be an inference of his own from contemplation of the great works; yet, speaking so positively as he does, he must have had grounds that satisfied

him, and I suspect they were the information of a guide, and dependent on local tradition, and even authentic record.

The tomb of Neoptolemus was in immediate proximity to the Lesche at Delphi, as both were to the great temple of Apollo; and there the Delphians paid him yearly honours as a hero. Pausanias asserts that these honours were of late origin, and in recompence for the personal service of the hero in the repulse of Brennus and his Celts (l. iv. 4.), his very monument having previously been an object of dishonour and neglect, as that of an enemy. It is true, that this assertion is disproved by allusions in PINDAR'S Seventh *Nemean* (v. 47); but it is also true, that this very ode furnishes the strongest evidence of the prevalence, and that at Delphi, of a prejudice unfavourable to Neoptolemus in his relations to the place. As in so many other instances, there were evidently conflicting traditions on the subject, and other traditions that endeavoured to reconcile both stories. The *animus* that originated these variations is constantly traceable to local or national feelings, rivalries or collisions, which varied from time to time, and gave rise in their course to traditions that survived them. Thus, the original charge against Neoptolemus has every appearance of expressing an early hostility between Delphi and tribes to the North and West and elsewhere, associated with his name; and it is of so grave a character, that however subsequent policy may have qualified it, I do not doubt that the prevailing tendency of Delphic tradition was to make a public and impressive example of the son of Achilles. Euripides represents (*Andromache*) that Neoptolemus paid two visits to Delphi, the first on a really impious errand, to demand reparation from Apollo for the part he had taken in the death of Achilles; his second visit, for the purpose of expiating the error of the first, terminated in his death, slain at the altar of the god by the Delphians, at the instigation of Orestes, who accused him of designs on the treasures of the god. According to Virgil (*Æn.*, iii. 331), Orestes himself slew him—and at an altar. This circumstance

recurs in all accounts, and was held to be an example of divine retribution for his sacrilegious slaughter of Priam at the altar of Zeus Herkeios. (PAUS., iv. 17, 4.)

According to Pausanias, in whom I have great confidence for rendering the genuine Delphic tradition, Neoptolemus was reckoned in the unholy list of plunderers of the treasures of the god, and molesters of his services, and was slain at the express command of the Pythia, by the priest of Apollo, and on his altar. The altar was shown to Pausanias in the temple near the iron throne on which Pindar, when he visited Delphi, sat to sing his compositions in honour of Apollo. These are lost, but the slight account we possess of one of them, is of interest from its bearing on the present subject.

Pindar, in the ode already referred to, represents that Pyrrhus was present at Delphi to dedicate offerings from his Trojan spoil, and was slain by one of the priests with a sacrificial knife in chance-medley dispute about the flesh of the victims; but, as we learn from the scholiast, he is here excusing himself to the Æginetans, jealous of the honour of the Æacidæ, whom he had offended by at least appearing, in a pæan written for the Delphians, to favour the legend that Pyrrhus met his fate in a sacrilegious enterprise. The sensitiveness of the Æginetans, if Pindar had not really, as he probably had, favoured this imputation, is proof of the vital energy of the tradition at the very date of the pictures of Polygnotus, of whom Pindar, it must be remembered, was a contemporary.

But in this case the picture of Polygnotus may have been as offensive to the Æginetans, and other dependents of Neoptolemus, as was the pæan of Pindar; this is a matter, however, that we cannot enter into, and the terms of our bond will be satisfied if we examine how far the painter laid stress upon the imputation that the poet was fain to extenuate or retract.

Neoptolemus then is represented as alone of all the Greeks still continuing the slaughter, the last to cease from slaying, and only ceasing because the last of his enemies was slain; the

trait agrees with the bloodthirst and relentlessness ascribed to him in the Cyclic poem, which, however, only expanded the characteristics given in a few distinct and graphic touches by Homer. Ulysses describes to the shade of Achilles, how, when tears and trembling prevailed among the chiefs imperilled in the wooden horse, his son gave no sign of weakness, but still urged immediate sally from the hold, and grasped his spear and sword-hilt with impatience, breathing woe to the Trojans. Polygnotus, it is true, avoids, like Homer, the shocking exhibition of the death of Priam, with its ferocious circumstances; but he does not fail to remind us of them by the body of the old king lying in the centre of a heap of slain subjects and defenders. The carefulness of the artist to soften the painfulness of the scene, is further observable in the assignment to the victims falling under the sword of Neoptolemus, of names not known, or not familiar. The ferocity and recklessness of the hero are, however, characterized in the most important point, by the disregard of the sacred objects and the sacred precinct they indicate—the altar and *louterion* to which women and children are clinging in horror and despair. Laodice, it is true, is said to be standing by the altar, and the phrase seems cold when contrasted with the excited action of Medusa, who is beyond her; but, without supposing Polygnotus intended to adopt the mythus according to which she was swallowed up by the earth—the gods according her prayer, the silence of Pausanias need not interfere with the belief, that Polygnotus reconciled her attitude to the proprieties of the occasion, by those indications of passion and emotion of which he was so great a master.

The empty cuirass that lies on the altar to which a child is clinging, is a symbol of the destitution of the city, its adult population slain—deprived of succour and reliance, both human and divine. The sentiment of the combination is the same as the burial of Astyanax in the shield of his father, in the Attic play.

The associations with the name of Neoptolemus, therefore,

were such that the introduction of sacred furniture into the scene of his violence, only admits of interpretation in the strictest sense. The painter could not have ventured to introduce such details, had it been his object to avoid the chance of the injurious accusations of sacrilege against Pyrrhus, rising up in, taking possession of, the mind of the spectator.

But this is not the only gloss by which Polygnotus illustrated his meaning, and inculcated at once the formal and the moral duties, of respect for sacred localities and moderation in moments of success: both appealing to such deep traditional feeling in the Hellenic mind, both such leading principles in the sacerdotal and religious theologumena of Delphi.

The scene in immediate proximity to the deeds of Neoptolemus, just above his irreverential violence, is the oath of Ajax respecting a crime of the very nature of that which is charged against the son of Achilles. The incident is treated with great importance and impressiveness, aided no little by the connexion of Cassandra in tradition, with the Delphic god. The introduction of six important Greek chiefs into the group, necessarily gives this subject great preponderance; its place in the story is quite in accordance with this, and thus it becomes something more than a mere counterfoil and episode to the incident of Neoptolemus. I think, indeed, that it is the predominant subject of the whole painting, notwithstanding the more vehement action of the lower scene.

At the sack of Troy Ajax Oileus seized Cassandra, who clung to the figure of Athene, and incensed the goddess by his disregard of the sanctity of the refuge. Some accounts add shameful aggravation to his act; and the confused expressions or faulty readings of Pausanias, indicate that the gravamen of the sacrilege was the displacement of the statue which followed the grasp of the prophetess as he haled her away. The painter seems to have adopted this view, as she sat on the ground holding the figure in her arms.

Ulysses took up the charge against Ajax, and was in favour

of appeasing the divine anger by stoning him; but, after the oath of Ajax,—in disproof of how much of the charge, is not quite clear, no penalty was exacted, and to this original slight was due the vengeance which Athene wreaked on the returning fleet.

The Riepenhausen design puts Ulysses very judiciously in opposition to Ajax, and in the readjustment I have worked through, we find that Neoptolemus is brought midway between Ajax Oileus and Ulysses, the very position which, by resemblance and contrast, lends force to the spirit of his proceedings. Still further illustration is given by the position of Nestor, who, according to the *Odyssey*, was, as well as Ulysses, at variance with Neoptolemus in debates of policy and counsel. He stands here on the shore, with back turned to the proceedings in the Acropolis, and the *pileus* of the traveller on his head, ready to embark. Ulysses is armed, which is not usual in representations of him, and not absolutely required by the occasion. I suspect that we have here an allusion to another parallel incident in Trojan tradition, and that the arms he wears were intended by the painter to be recognised as those of Achilles, which were conceded to him in opposition to the claims of Telamonian Ajax. The failure of Ajax was the immediate occasion of his madness and suicide; but the ultimate cause of his misfortune, according to the tradition which we recover from the tragedy of Sophocles, was haughty impiety, and offence to Athene especially, by boasting of his deeds as independent of divine assistance. It was like impiety that brought down the thunder on Oilean Ajax, and thus the two heroes agree in character and fate, as they do in having Ulysses, the protected of Athene, for foe and rival.

It is on these circumstances, among others, that the connexion in subject of the two paintings will be found to depend.

The position of Ulysses, as vindicator of the claims of piety, is still further strengthened by the representation of the performance of a pious office—the burial of a slain enemy, by Sinon, his friend or associate. So Sinon is called by Pausanias,

and I do not doubt on sufficient authority, though he does not tarry to produce it. It will be remembered that it is to the piety of Ulysses that Ajax Telamon owes his burial, in the play of Sophocles. Correspondent to the group of Sinon, &c., is Epeius, engaged in levelling the Trojan wall: his naked body is expressive of eagerness in his occupation, the spirit of which seems intended to contrast with that of Sinon, and Epeius has but a bad name in legend. The prominence given to him here has an additional motive in local allusion, as he is called by Euripides, a Parnassian Phocian. Epeius constructed the Trojan horse which is seen above the wall he destroys; I prefer an arrangement, however, which brings it into closer relation to Ulysses, as due to his importance in the picture, and to the consideration that he gained his title *πολίπορος*, from his conduct as captain of the desperate ambush.

The division of the picture at this point is clearly marked by the coincidence of the Trojan wall commencing just above the termination of the shore in the lower part of the picture. At the same time, the prolongation of the wall to the left would obviate the liability of what was intended as a pause becoming a break—the transition an interruption.

The energetic exertion of the stark Epeius admirably relieves the otherwise tame sequence of the listening groups of Greek chiefs, and the groups of mourning captives; and the misery of the latter, it appears to me, could scarcely be set forth with any circumstance of greater aggravation than the triumphant and fierce destruction, close beside them, of the bulwarks that for so many years had faithfully protected them and deferred the day of servitude, now come at last.

The assistance derivable from the *Troades* of Euripides, as illustrative of this painting, has been underrated or forgotten. The play, doubtless, is comparatively late; but the sources of the poet and the painter were the same; and who can doubt the familiarity with the pictures of the Lesché, of the author of *Ion*? The point of time in play and picture, is about the same—the prepara-

tion for the embarkation of the Greeks. The commencement of the dramatic action, is the expression of divine anger, through the mouths of Poseidon and Athene, at the excesses and impieties of the Greeks in their victory; the profanations of sacred places with slaughter (14—16), especially that of Priam; the sacrifice of Polyxena; the unhallowed intercourse of Agamemnon with Cassandra, bride of Apollo; and especially the impunity of Oilean Ajax,—in requital of all which the goddess threatens destruction and disaster. On the other hand, the pitiable reverse of the captive Trojan princesses and women, who form the chorus and give name to the play, is exhibited most touchingly, and might well engage the sympathies of even a hostile audience. The same appeal to compassionate sentiment—the same exhibition of lamentable reverse of fortune—the same illustration, and by the same instances, of the perils of overelation in the hour of victory, and of the divine jealousy of such excesses,—all are set forth as effectively in the picture as in the play; and thus they concur in what Aristotle defined as the aim and tendency of tragic art; purification of the heart by the excitement of the sentiments of awe and pity.

Pity for the Trojan women is enhanced by Polygnotus, as by Euripides, by contrast with the splendour and power of Helen, the original cause of both Greek and Trojan disaster; but we shall see how Polygnotus relieves the painfulness of the contrast, and casts a warm glow over the reappearance in the Greek camp of the wife of Menelaus, which redeems her in our sympathies.

A coincidence more general, but quite as remarkable, is observable between the conception of the picture and that of the occasion it refers to, as set forth in a speech of Clytemnestra, in the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus; here we find the contrast between the state of victors and vanquished in Troy described in lively images; and especially is declared the danger the Greeks would encounter on their homeward voyage, in case they failed in respect to the gods of the captured city and their consecrated

precincts, and gave way in the hour of triumph to irregular passion. (*Agamem.*, v. 320.)

The two upper groups of female captives, each of four figures, were no doubt varied in composition, and this would be facilitated by the upper group being distributed about a couch. The names assigned to them do not mark out any as of special interest: they answer to the chorus of the play; and the more direct appeal to our feelings is concentrated on the group at the bottom of the picture. Here, immersed in grief, we find the widow of Hector with his orphan son, Polyxena, and Medesicaste, one of the illegitimate daughters of Priam. These, with the exception of the last, are not selected without a design to continue the course of associations set in motion by other groups. Andromache, in the division of spoil, was allotted to Neoptolemus; Astyanax he threw headlong from a tower—the independent act of his own sanguinary impulses, according to Lescheus; and Polyxena was doomed by him to be sacrificed at the tomb of his father.

So, again, Helenus, who is grouped with the wounded Greeks, had intimate relations to Neoptolemus: he was the adviser of his settlement in Epirus, the guardian of his children, and the husband of Andromache after his death at Delphi.

The wounded Greeks express the fierceness of the contest in the night battle, but the painter avoids including in the list any of the more distinguished chiefs; those that he gives were perhaps selected on grounds of local relations to Delphi, not now traceable in detail. Meges is of Dulichion, Lycomedes is a comrade of Oilean or Locrian Ajax, and Euryalus is a comrade of Diomedes, the colonist of Southern Italy. The proximity of this group to Helen brings before us in forcible connexion the cause and consequences of the war.

The action of the child, in touching the breast of Andromache, may receive its most natural interpretation, notwithstanding the circumstance, not necessarily inconsistent, that it is standing before her. A like detail is described by Euripides

(*Troad.*, v. 570), who evidently follows either Polygnotus or a common source in tradition, in thus heightening the expression of the tie of maternity so soon to be ruthlessly torn asunder.

The representation of the camp of the Greeks by a couple of tents—their fleet by a single ship—is quite in accordance with those principles of graphic shorthand which rule so conspicuously throughout the picture. Such principles necessarily rule in all painting, as all dramas necessarily violate to large extent the literal unities of place and time. The amount of demand which is made in either case by the artist is proportioned to his sense of the indulgence he requires or can require; the requital is ever so carried through by artists of the stamp of the Thasian, that obligation for, and admiration at, the result leaves no remembrance of the conditions as concessions to weakness or limits of capability.

By selecting for representation the ship and tent of Menelaus, Polygnotus obtains the most significant type of the success of the expedition in the recovery of Helen, and an opportunity for his art in the display of her beauty. Besides this, he gains occasion for the episode of Æthra, which has a significance relatively to the general scope of the picture, no less distinct than that of the departure of Menelaus.

Nestor, by his position on the shore, averse from the scenes both of Neoptolemus and Ajax, by the travellers' *pileus* that he wears, and his impatience typified in that of the horse which belongs to him as *Γερόνιος ἱππότης*, and Menelaus, by the preparations going on at his ship and tent, are marked as the Greeks most eager for departure; and it was impossible that to an ancient Greek, familiar as with household words with the traditions of Homeric poetry, that these departures, thus instantly afoot, should not deepen to his mind's eye that hovering cloud of disaster that gathers above the fierce and ill-advised transactions of the Acropolis. Nestor, we read in the *Odyssey*, was the first to sail away, presaging the divine anger that impended (iii. 165); and he was soon joined by Menelaus.

The Homeric record is decisively appealed to by the special introduction of the steersman, Phrontis, the son of Onetor, who, it is related in the same book, died suddenly on the homeward voyage, slain by the mild arrows of Apollo, and was buried by Menelaus at Sunium.

The allusions to Apollo and to Sunium were doubtless welcome to the painter, Attic by sympathy if not adoption, and employed upon a Delphic work. I suspect that the Attic allusion reached further, and that the grave of the excellent steersman at the Attic promontory, Sunium, may have been connected with the naval games celebrated there at the Panathenæa (LYSIAS, *Apolog.* δωροδοκ.)—the pentaeteris probably, that Herodotus mentions (vi. 87, ΒΟΕΚΗ's reading), a theoris sent to which was captured by the Æginetans. So games are connected with the steersman of Theseus. There seems to have been an unlucky fatality for Menelaus about this coast, for close at hand, according to some of the ancient geographers, is "Cranae's isle" (STRABO, 399).

How the tent was recognised as that of Menelaus does not appear, but the analogy of vase-paintings makes it probable that it was so inscribed. The serpent on the shield of Menelaus is considered by Pausanias to be an allusion to the omen of Aulis; but unless it was so identified by details not mentioned, I should conjecture that it was but a speaking symbol of the Spartan, a reference of which we seem to have a trace in the Homeric comparison of the hero, when he leaps forward against Paris, to a serpent startling a wanderer in the woods.

Returning to the group of heroes collected at the altar for the oath of Ajax, I would desire, in a restoration of it, that some graphic sign should be given of the future fatal assignment of Cassandra to Agamemnon, but by no means in such a way as to favour that form of the legend of the prosecution of Ajax, that interpreted it as a trick of Ulysses to further the designs of the king of men. The maiden prostrate by the altar brings also vividly to mind, the sacrifice by Agamemnon of his

daughter Iphigenia, from which the chorus of Æschylus derives such evil bodings; and the tragedian's description of the loveliness of the victim at the fatal scene, "fair as in the paintings," must have brought the group of Polygnotus to the mind of many of the audience—perhaps was suggested by it to his own. The ancient design adapted by Riepenhausen, has been referred by various interpreters to both Iphigenia and Cassandra.

In the introduction into the group of Akamas, the son of Theseus, we have an evident trace of the Athenian sympathies of the painter. Akamas, who wears a helmet plumed, is grouped with Polypætēs, the son of his father's friend, Pirithous. The hair of Polypætēs is bound with a *tænia*, but why or whether for any special reason is not apparent.

The sons of friends were probably grouped as friends, and this suggestion of the finer affections is a link by which the sentiment of the main group is attached to that which we have still to examine, and of which Helen is the centre.

According to the story, when Troy was sacked, the sons of Theseus, Akamas and Demophon, found their mother, Æthra, the slave of Helen; so she is introduced in the *Iliad*, and other authorities tell that when the Dioscuri rescued their sister from Theseus, they carried off Æthra to Sparta, and thence and thus she followed her mistress to Troy. Her grandsons solicited her release from Agamemnon, who favoured their request, but referred them to the free determination of Helen, to whom, however, he applied on the subject by a herald. This is the action that is in progress in the picture: Demophon awaits with his mother, the answer of Helen; but it is surprising to find that the herald who is near Helen, is the herald, not of Agamemnon, as the reference to Lescheus would lead us to expect, but Eurybates, the name given by Homer to the herald of Ulysses. Polygnotus, it is true, painted Eurybates beardless, at variance with the portrait that Ulysses himself gives of him at an earlier date. But this detailed portrait is one that, characteristic as it is, a painter might well be unwilling to

reproduce in immediate proximity to the glorious beauty of Helen; and, indeed, it would be ominous of little good fortune for his mission. Polygnotus, therefore, had a motive for introducing Eurybates, though in circumstances that compelled him to be false to the Homeric portrait. In fact, he represents by this means the intercession with Helen in favour of Æthra to be the act of Ulysses—not of Agamemnon; and thus here, by the agency of his herald, as elsewhere by that of Sinon, his friend, the presence and influence of Ulysses are multiplied, and in every case for the behoof of piety, moderation, and mercy. This point, however, must not be pressed too far, as in the first book of the *Iliad*, Eurybates accompanies Talthybius to the tent of Achilles, in obedience to the command of Agamemnon.

A further difficulty has been naturally found in the circumstance that Eurybates is seated by Helen, and, it may be inferred from Pausanias, in conversation with her; yet such a position has seemed scarcely in consistency with a herald's zealous execution of a message of which the result is eagerly awaited. The difficulty so far is real, but would only be aggravated were we restricted to the solutions of it that have been offered hitherto—yet an easy solution is near at hand.

Helen, the story as delivered by Lescheus pursues, granted the suit, and not only released Æthra, but even loaded her richly with presents. For the first time, then, we now obtain a consistent explanation of another difficulty, as great, and it would seem it should have been as obvious, as those we have just mentioned. For what purpose, it might have been asked, are Echoiax and Ithæmenes bringing king's stores out of the vessel at the very time that the tent is being struck, and all is preparing for instant clearing out of port? The stores thus on previous theories inopportunistically unshipped, are, in reality, the presents destined by Helen for Æthra; she has sent for them, and while they come, the graciousness of the daughter of Jove receives the most expressive enhancement by her consideration

for the herald: these were heroic days. Eurybates sits in the presence, awaiting the gifts, which he is to take back with welcome tidings; and the delay that thus occurs explains the painful degree to which the anxiety of Demophon has risen.

The toilet of Helen is a frequent subject on monuments, especially on Etruscan specula; and it is noteworthy that Euripides assigns to her a golden speculum (*Troad.*, v. 1107), and in some representations she holds one in her hand. There is allusion to her approaching departure in the particular service of her attendant—putting on her shoe. Briseis, Diomedé, and Iphis, favourites and fairest among the captives of Achilles and Patroclus, were painted regarding the beauty of the cause of their misfortunes, and I doubt not that it was not least in the expressions of their countenances, that the ethic art of Polygnotus was displayed. The phrase of Pausanias implies that they had the air of looking with eyes of curiosity (of reconnoitring) on the world's wonder,—with what mixture of other feelings in their expression of admiration or of wonder, is now futile to inquire.

In turning to the incident at the other extremity of the picture, that in some respects is so distinctly parallel, we recognise first that pragmatistical connexion by which the artist has provided for the more close combination of his independent groups. Some legends told that Antenor quitted the Trojan shore in company with Menelaus (PINDAR). Mournful, again, as the group is, and could not but be,—for thus it is that it harmoniously ensues on the field of dead around: at least the family is safe, and the panther-skin hangs over the door of the house—symbol of a respected contract; and thus is secured one more relieving reminiscence, another saving trait to secure our continued sympathy—errors and excesses of some of the confederation notwithstanding, with the general cause of Greece.

It is not to be denied that there is a certain flatness in the concluding groups of this picture, but the restorers, who have



En. Lith^d to the Queen.



THE MAIN PART OF THE VASE, IN THE MUSEUM AT TELPHI
 THE ARGONAUTS IN THE ARGO
 THE ARGONAUTS AND THE DEPARTURE OF THE ARGO

crowded supernumeraries round the unhappy ass,—I have omitted two, have only enhanced incongruity by making the bulk and body of the groups exceed their significance—an error unknown to the Greeks: there is not story and variety of passion enough in the anecdote of Antenor to make it an equipoise to that of Helen, and it was not intended to be so. The picture is divided into two parts, and it is at the commencement of each that the most stirring incident of each, finds place—Helen and Æthra, Neoptolemus and his victims. The groups of captives balance those of the slain, and the ass with the servants concludes the second series as Nestor and his horse the first. The weighty subject of the outrage on Cassandra connects the two and gives a nervous centre to the branching organism. The depression and departure of Antenor do not satisfy the antithesis they suggest to the busy embarkation at the opposite extremity; but a certain lack of cadence and emphasis at the conclusion, is the very means of indicating that a sequel is yet to be expected: we shall find it in the second painting, in which the subject as well as grouping of the first, receive the contrast and completion they prepare for and require.

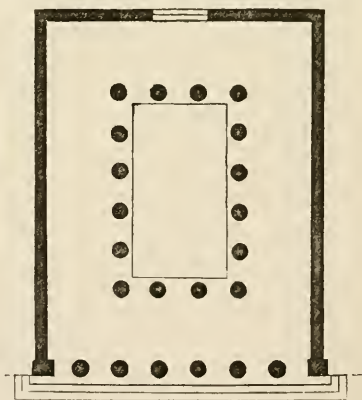
WILLIAM WATKISS LLOYD.

VII.

ON THE PLAN AND DISPOSITION OF THE
GREEK LESCHE.

WE cannot allow the subject of the foregoing paper to pass by, without adding a few remarks on the nature and form of the Greek *Lesche*: more especially as it is our object to connect together as much as possible, and to study simultaneously, the several branches of the fine arts; being actuated by the conviction that we cannot study any one of the sister arts, without learning somewhat that may be applicable to the others, and that we cannot render ourselves truly proficient in the knowledge and practice of any one, unless we endeavour to perfect ourselves in the principles of the rest.

In the work by *Fr. and Joh. Riepenhausen*,* to whose admirable restorations we are indebted for the illustrations of the preceding paper, (the grouping only of the figures being altered



* *Erläuterung des Polygnotischen Gemahldes auf der rechten seite der Lesche zu Delphi*, 4to, Göttingen, 1805.

by Mr. Lloyd,) we find a ground plan which these brothers imagined might have been the arrangement of the Lesche at Delphi, referred to by Pausanias.

They have represented it as an oblong court, the longer sides of which were appropriated to the paintings, and the front ornamented with an open portico.*

From the very general application of this word, frequently to buildings which had been erected for other purposes, it is uncertain whether any edifices were raised with the sole object of being a place for lounging and conversation, and whether such edifices had any distinct peculiar form. Certain it is, that no buildings in all Greece are preserved to us of this nature, although we are informed that at one time they were of so extensive an use, that in the city of Athens alone there existed no less than 360. (PROCLE, in *Hesiod*, 493.)

But, as it is possible that buildings may have been expressly constructed and set apart for such a destination, and as one of the most striking excellencies of Grecian architecture was the appropriateness of each building to its specific purpose, and as the descriptions of some of these buildings do appear to correspond together, so we should endeavour to ascertain what form of arrangement will best combine to answer the various requirements of such a building.

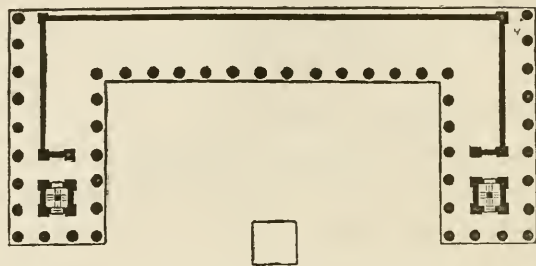
The first particular we have of the Greek Lesche is, that it was a building *without doors*. (HOM. *Odys.* Σ, and EUSTATHIUS.) In this respect, the plan before us is consistent, for, although it is closed by a portico in front, it has no doors.

A modern building, which has much of this character, is the *Ruhmeshalle*, or Hall of Renown, at Munich. It has† nine columns at the flanks, and seven inside. The columns are 4 ft. 1½ in. diameter, English measure. We have here a building

* This opinion was also advocated by CTE. CAYLUS, *Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, tome xxvii.

† As rightly conjectured by the editor of the *Builder* (vol. viii. p. 517).

of important dimensions, and decorated with paintings, but having neither door nor chamber.



From Hesiod (*Op. et Dies*, 493) we learn that it was *warm*, and that in winter time any close warm room, to which people resorted, constituted a *Lesche*. From this passage Siebelis conjectures that the *Lesche* was not ἀσυρῶτος, but closed in on every side. This, however, does by no means follow: for the building might have been of any form, and opened or closed indifferently, provided it was warm. Riepenhausen's plan is here defective; for notwithstanding it is protected from winds by walls on three sides, the narrowness of the hypæthros would prevent its receiving much warmth from the sun.

Another objection to this plan is that it consists of three walls, only two of which were decorated with paintings. The authors felt this difficulty, and pierced the end wall with a window, through which they imagined a view might be desired of the adjacent buildings.

Let us now endeavour to ascertain whether any other form of edifice will be less open to these objections, and whether it will answer to the various other particulars which we have of such buildings.

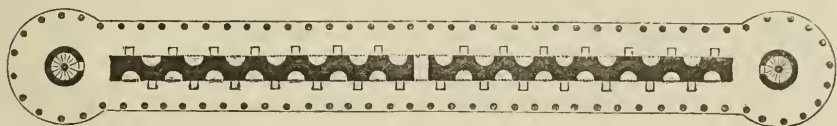
The most general, and indeed as its name denotes, the most apparent destination of these buildings was for the purposes of *conversation*. From Plutarch (*Quæst. Græc.* and *Vit. Lycin.*, 24) it appears to be a place of assembly and conversation. From *Ei apud Delphos*, and from Suidas,—a place for disputing on scientific and philosophical subjects. From Proclus, it seems to have been devoted to any profitable conversation.

Poems were recited in them, and even Homer is said to have sung his verses in the *Lesche* of Cyna. (HEROD. *in Vita Hom.*) From Eustathius, Proclus, and Moschopulus, we may gather that they were frequently diverted from these intellectual occupations to idle gossiping and chatting. Pausanias, in his description of this at Delphi, says they were used for idle and serious conversation.

Antiphon, again, (*in Orat. cont. Nicoclem.*) calls the *Lesche* a place for *lounging*; Harpocraton, a place for idle people; while Homer, Hesiod, and their commentators, make it a place of resort for beggars.*

From these several authorities, it would appear that the *Lesche* was provided with ample seats, (see also SUIDAS, s. v.,) which might be placed in recesses, called *Exhedræ*. Another feature of the *Lesche* was probably a long ambulatory or colonnade, for the philosophers to exercise and enjoy themselves in.

From these considerations, the following plan has been projected—

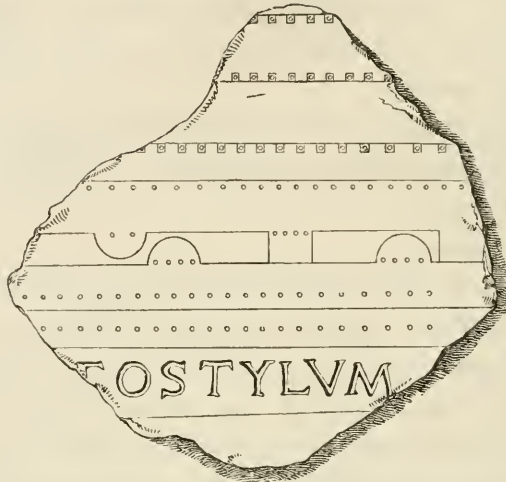


consisting of a long continuous portico, open all round, and having merely a single wall in the middle, in the thickness of which, seats or *exhedræ* are contrived, at sufficient distance apart to preserve their privacy, and separated from each other by statues.

Exhedræ, disposed in this manner, may be seen in the *Hecatonstylon*, or portico of a hundred columns, attached to the Theatre of Pompey, the plan of which is preserved to us in

* Casaubon (*Annot. ad Strab.*, p. 396) supposes the *Lesche* to be identical with the *Odeion*; but this idea has been refuted by Martini, (*Abhandlung von den Odeen der Alten*). Æschylus and Sophocles frequently employ the term to signify a place of judgment; and from a passage in Athenæus, (iv. 139 *e.*) we may assume that even the *Triclinium* was sometimes called a *Lesche*.

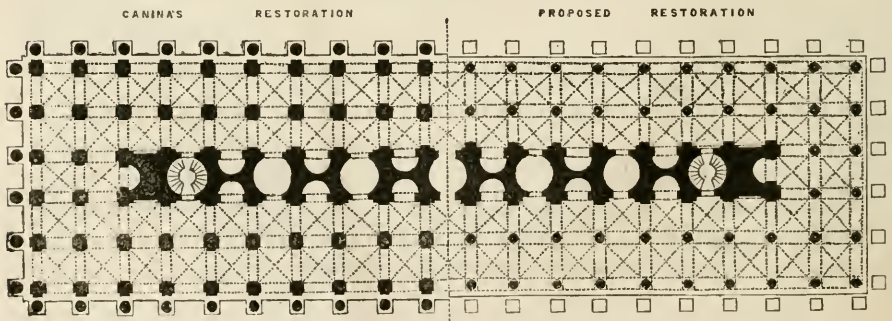
the marble plan of Rome. It has a single portico on the north side, and a double one on the south, in order to produce a greater shade. The small circles inscribed in squares probably represent statues.



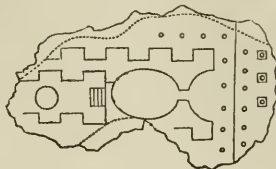
These vast niches, ornamented with columns, recal to mind the Basilica of Constantine, the deep exhedræ of which are now used as a Lesche by the modern Roman beggar:

Hence to the Lesche, from the midnight air,
Or some black forge, the vagrant's haunt, repair.

A building which assimilates to the foregoing is the Portico of Philip at Rome—a colonnade attached to the Theatre of Balbus. It is restored by Canina, (*Pianta Topog. di Roma Ant.*) partly from actual remains at Santa Maria in Cacaberis, and partly from a fragment of the marble plan of Rome. It is represented as 500 feet in length.



Taking the principle of his design as correct, as being founded on actual remains, it seems probable, from the fragment of



the plan of Rome,* that the pilasters represented in the Cav. Canina's plan should be columns, and that the columns should be statues, as shown in our amended plan.

Here the objection will be made, that such a building does not correspond with the οἶκον of Pausanias. On entering the doorway, say his commentators, you saw on the right wall one painting, and another facing it on the left wall. But Pausanias neither designates a door, nor does he describe one painting as facing the other, but simply says—When you shall have entered the building, you will see the following picture on your right hand and the other part of the picture which is on the left hand, &c.

In such a building as we have represented, the spectator is supposed to enter at one end; and he would then find one picture on the right hand side of the wall, and another on the left.

It will here be further objected, that Plutarch tells us that such buildings were provided with doors, (*De Orac. Defec.*,

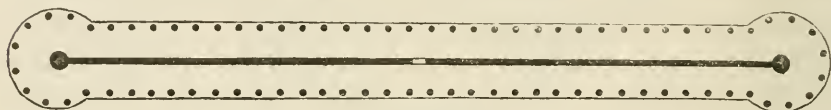
* The strong outline is from Canina, the dotted line from Bellori. (*Frag. Vest. Vet. Rom.*) If the former be correct, there ought to be another column on the top line. The outer row on right hand side has seven columns in Bellori, instead of six. In Canina's restoration of this monument, (*Arch. Rom.*, Pl. cviii. No 44.) he represents twenty columns in length; but in his enlarged plan (Pl. cxi.) he gives only fourteen columns, and etches in darker lines, instead of the part here shown, a portion in the centre of the plan as the existing fragment of the marble plan.

Where so little reliance can be placed on the fidelity of these plans, it would be of high importance if the Trustees of the British Museum would obtain plaster casts of all the tablets containing the fragments of the marble plan of Rome, now in the Campidoglio, and have them inserted as ornaments in the walls of our Museum.

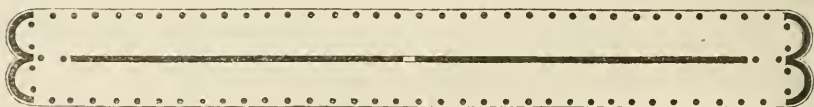
vii. 625): in answer to which we might adduce the before-mentioned passage from Eustathius, showing it was without doors: but these may very readily be allowed, by imagining that the intercolumniations were closed in with a low wall—*pluteum*,—or by ornamental *transennæ*, and that it is to the door of this enclosure that Pliny refers.

In corroboration of this arrangement of plan, we find two buildings in Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli projected on a similar principle, but without exhedræ: one of them appears to have had remains of paintings, for it is called the Pæcile. They are given below, from the *Pianta della Villa Adriana* by PIRANESI.

The principal one is at the northern end of the villa, and measures 970 Roman palms, or 710 English feet;



the other is beyond the Odeon, and measures 650 Roman palms, or 476 English feet.



They each consist of a long wall, perforated by a door in the centre, and surrounded by a continuous portico, the columns of which no longer exist.

If it were to such a door that Pausanias referred, the paintings would be on the same side of the wall, and divided only by the door. But this does not appear so probable as the former supposition, of the entrance being at one end.

Warmth, as we have seen, was an essential condition of the Lesche, but we have not determined how such warmth was obtained. Now we find that two authors expressly tell us, not merely that the Lesche was warm, but that it was *sunny*, (PROCLUS *in Hes.*, and CALLIMACHUS, *Ep.* ii. 3); which is in perfect accordance with those other passages, where we find

they were especially resorted to by old men, (PLUTARCH *in Lycurg.*, 119; and ÆLIAN, ii. 34), *aprici senes*, who loved its genial warmth, and could take their gentle exercise in its porticoes, or enjoy quiet and repose on the ample seats.

It is extremely interesting, in this respect, to find that the two porticoes in Hadrian's Villa face north and south; but we have other instances of this arrangement, which would be of the greatest necessity in these climates, where the winters were sometimes severe and cold, and the summers always oppressive; and where one would need as much the cool shade of the northern portico, as the genial warmth of the southern side.

The Lesche appears to have been generally painted, and therefore frequently called Pœcile, or *enriched with a variety of ornaments*, such as paintings. The latter building appears to have consisted of a stoa, or portico, which would naturally be suitable to the purposes of a Lesche, so that we may conceive that these buildings were frequently identical. Pausanias informs us that the Lesche at Delphi was decorated with pictures, and that the Stoa at Athens (i. 15), and one at Elis (v. 21), were called Pœcile, because decorated with paintings; and that one of the two Lesche at Sparta was also called Pœcile, for the same reason, (iii. 14, 15). Lastly, the portico in Hadrian's Villa, which we have taken as the type of the Greek Lesche, is called the Pœcile, and we know that the Pœcile was among the buildings executed at Tivoli by the Emperor Hadrian.

If this be admitted, we shall find the following further corroboration of our plan. In the description by Pausanias (vi. 24) of the Coreyrean Portico at Elis, (so called, because raised from the tenth of the spoils taken from the Coreyreans,) we read—"It was built in the Doric style: it had a double row of columns, one of which looked toward the Agora, and the other row was separated from it by a long wall." In like manner, the portico at the Piræus is described as a *long* portico, (i. 1).

All these buildings, of which we have any particulars on the

subject, faced north and south; the two porticoes in Hadrian's Villa, as already noted, were so directed; the Coreyrean Portico at Elis was so placed, and the sunny side was that next the Agora; and the Long Portico at the Piræus presented its southern aspect, so as to enjoy the sea view.

Another important circumstance connected with these buildings is, that with the exception of the Lesche at Delphi, which had a painting on each side of the wall, all the other instances referred to by Pausanias had but one painting, or one wall decorated with paintings; which, if we may judge from the Long Portico at the Piræus, was executed on the southern or principal side. Thus, although Pausanias describes at length the paintings in the Pœcile at Athens, painted by Polygnotus, Micon, &c., in a portico at Athens painted by Euphranor (i. 3), and in the Long Portico of the Piræus painted by Leochares, he describes only the painting or paintings on one wall in each of these edifices.

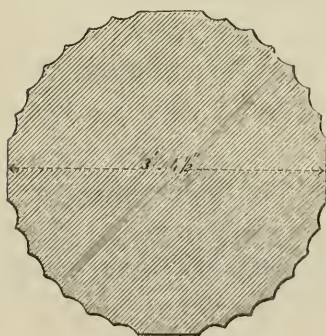
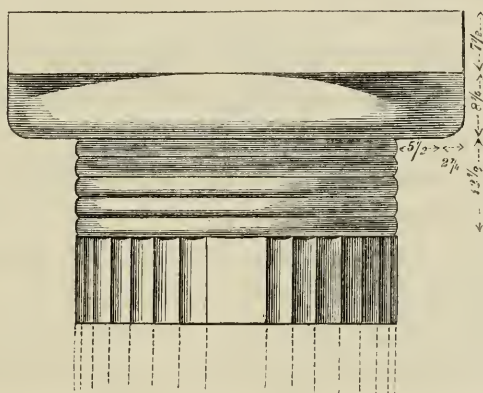
We have seen that these buildings were called indifferently by various names, and we find that the Stoa at Elis, called Pœcile, was also called *Echo*, (v. 21). This circumstance, unimportant as it seems, would appear to indicate that the building was of the form which we have attributed to the Lesche, the long wall of which probably faced a lofty rock, and thus produced the seven-fold echo, as we frequently find effected by the perpendicular cliffs of some river-gorge.

It is probable that all these buildings were ornamented with statues. The Coreyrean Portico had statues on each side of the wall; and Pausanias incidentally notices certain statues in the Royal Portico at Athens (i. 3), in the Pœcile of that city, and in the Pœcile at Elis. Among other decorations, the Pœcile at Athens was ornamented with shields and other spoils.

ED.

NOTE.—The effect of these buildings must have been very similar to Schinkel's splendid façade of the Museum at Berlin.

VIII.

ON SOME EGYPTIAN-DORIC COLUMNS IN THE
SOUTHERN TEMPLE AT KARNAK.*

ENGLISH FEET

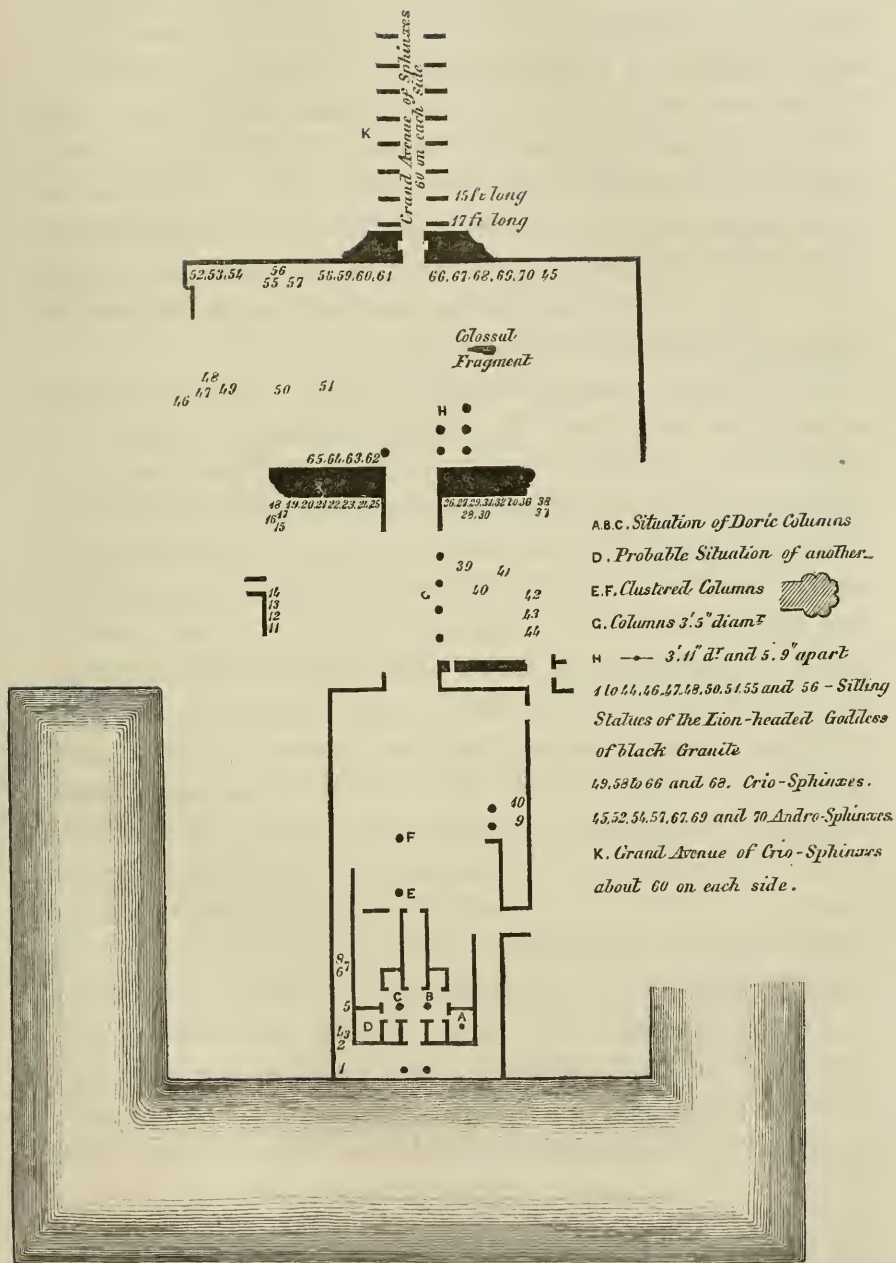
* Extracted from a communication to the Royal Institute of British Architects, in the Session of 1849-50.

IN a Dissertation by Dr. Lepsius, *Sur les Colonnes Piliers*, that distinguished antiquary has brought forward notices of numerous polygonal and fluted columns in Egypt. Of these, those which approach nearest to the Doric order were the columns of a tomb at Beni-Hassan, and of a temple at Kalabshe, the shafts of which are ornamented with twenty flutes, and on these shafts is placed the abacus, without the intervention of any echinus or other moulding.

This trifling resemblance to the orders of Grecian architecture has caused many to assert that they see no affinity between such pillars and the Doric column, and that they cannot believe that one could possibly have been derived from the other.

In the Southern Temple at Karnak, however, which is represented in the accompanying plan, I discovered three columns which I believe have hitherto been unobserved, probably on account of the ruined state of the temple. Here, in addition to the fluted shaft and square abacus, we have a bold echinus and a beaded hypotrachelion, thus possessing all the characteristics of Doric columns, in conjunction with the evidences of Egyptian style. As these columns may assist in determining whether any and what grounds exist for attributing the origin of the Doric order to Egypt, I venture to offer the following particulars on the subject.

The Temple containing these three columns is on the south side of the great temple at Karnak. It is joined to it by a noble avenue of crio-sphinxes, each of which measures from fifteen to seventeen feet long, thus being the grandest avenue in all Egypt. There have been at least sixty sphinxes on each side, about one-half of which number are remaining. This avenue terminates with five detached pylons, which, with the sphinxes, clearly point out the once important character of this small and ruined temple. It is surrounded by a brick enclosure,



E. F. FEB. 13, 1843

PLAN OF THE SOUTHERN TEMPLE AT KARNAK

containing an area of 775 by 1200 feet. A spacious reservoir of water runs round three sides. The interior, in its present state, forms a museum of Egyptian sphinxes, containing no less than fifty-one statues of a lion-headed goddess in black basalt, ten crio-sphinxes, and eight andro-sphinxes. The Temple is greatly ruined, so much so as to attract but little notice. The columns are all fallen, but their position may be clearly determined at A, B, and C. It is probable that another similar column existed at D. Their peculiarities, as compared with other columns in Egypt of this description, I now proceed to show.

At Kalabshe, about seventy-five miles above the first cataract, are two columns of a similar character to those here represented. We find in each of these a square abacus, a cylindrical neck, and a fluted shaft divided into four parts by wide fillets facing the four fronts. Those at Kalabshe have twenty flutes, and four wide fillets covered with hieroglyphics: those represented in the accompanying wood-cut have twenty-eight flutes and four such fillets. The flutings of both are elliptical: those of Kalabshe are only a quarter of an inch in depth; the flutes of the columns at Beni-Hassan are also shallow, and twenty in number; whereas those at Thebes are much more pronounced, being half an inch deep by three and a half in width.* The abacus of the columns at Beni-Hassan reposes directly on the fluted shaft; but at Kalabshe it is joined to it by a circular necking. The columns at Thebes approach more nearly to the Grecian-Doric in this respect, the abacus being separated from the necking by a bold ovolo. Another peculiarity of this capital is the necking, which is divided into five astragals: this is a certain indication of Egyptian origin. We find the same number of five astragals in the neckings of the columns of all

* The temple at Esneh (Latopolis) exhibits a peculiarity in this respect; the columns of which, though purely Egyptian, have the shafts formed polygonally, and divided into vertical compartments, each of which is filled in with a perpendicular inscription, giving very much the appearance of a fluted column; and it is singular that at Halicarnassus, in Asia Minor, the Doric columns of the Agora have the flutings likewise filled in with perpendicular inscriptions.

the principal temples of Egypt; they are generally distinguished by different colours: the first, third, and fifth being of one colour; the second and fourth of another. They represent the cords with which the prototypal reed columns were bound together. May not the annulets of the Greek and Roman Doric capitals have been derived from this member? The capital which I measured was perfect only to eleven and a half inches below the necking. I am, therefore, unable to say whether the column had any, and what, diminution or entasis.

The examples of polygonal or fluted columns in Egypt are by no means rare. At Beni-Hassan there are six such columns in one tomb, and two in another, all of which are well known; in the tomb at Kalabche there are two columns; in the temple at Semneh, a day and a half's journey from *Wadi-Halfa* (the second cataract), on the right bank of the Nile, there are three such columns; at Amada, in Nubia, there are four. In the great temple at Karnak there are three columns in the part called the Sanctuary, and four in the last chamber, behind the great hall. All these columns are fluted, with the exception of the four last described, which are polygonal; and they have all been observed by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, Dr. Lepsius, and other travellers. In addition to these are the three columns now described. We thus have twenty-seven columns from eight different monuments, separated from each other by a vast extent of country; which will therefore be sufficient to prove the general employment of such columns at some given period of time.

It will be remarked that the polygonal columns are generally octangular, though sometimes of sixteen sides: that the columns of Beni-Hassan, and of the great temple at Karnak, are of sixteen flutes, while these here referred to have thirty-two flutes, including the four fascia: and this circumstance is interesting, as showing their gradual development from the square pier, the corners of which were first taken off, reducing it to an octagon, and this by the like process was brought to a polygon of sixteen or thirty-two sides; and it is interesting to find that the

columns at Segeste, Ægina, Sunium, Pæstum, and a temple at Syracuse, as observed by Dr. Lepsius, have, in like manner, sixteen flutes.

We are enabled to determine the age of these columns with tolerable certainty. Mr. Birch informs me, that the hieroglyphics on the columns of the tombs at Beni-Hassan show that they were executed in the twelfth dynasty, during the reign of Osortasen I., or 1800 B.C. The portion of the temple at Thebes, in which the columns have been observed by former travellers, also bears the date of Osortasen I. The temples at Amada and Samneh, and the southern temple at Karnak, shown in the accompanying plan, all bear the names of Thothmes III. and Amunoph II. which gives us an antiquity of a period at least 1400 B.C. Lastly, the temple at Kalabche has the cartouche of Rameses II. on its abacus, thus proving it to be at least 1200 B.C. Sir Gardiner Wilkinson and Dr. Lepsius are both of opinion, that many of these examples bear date from a still earlier epoch. Those of Kalabshe and Samneh we know to have been executed at the times stated, from the circumstance of the cartouches forming part of the original decoration; but at Amada the columns are fluted all round, without the intervention of any fascia, and it is therefore probable, that these columns were not intended to bear any hieroglyphics; and the cartouches of Thothmes II. and Amunoph II., which occur in two of the flutes, appear as though they had been executed posterior to their erection. Those in the great temple at Thebes, and those at Samneh, are even considered to have formed part of more ancient structures.

But though we are able to prove the high antiquity of these columns, there is no example of the ordinary Egyptian column of a greater antiquity than 1400 B.C., and it therefore appears evident that the octagonal, polygonal, and the fluted columns, were constantly employed throughout Egypt and Nubia from the earliest epochs to the year 1400 B.C., after which period we find no further trace of their employment.

EDWARD FALKENER.

IX.

ARCHÆOGRAPHIA LITTERARIA.*

I.

Notices on Art and Antiquity contained in the late Classical Museum, 1844—1850.

Acanthus, Acanthion, &c.—On the use of the terms—in the ancient Classics.

By JAMES YATES, iii. 1

Antiquity. The Illustrated Companion to the Latin Dictionary and the Greek Lexicon, forming a Glossary of all the words representing visible objects connected with the Arts, Manufactures, and every-day Life of the Greeks and Romans. By Anthony Rich, jun. *Notice of*, vii. 324

Arabia—Ptolemy's Knowledge of— By Dr. W. PLATE, iii. 167

Armenia. See *Asia Minor*.

Art. Ancient Art and its Remains, by C. O. Müller: or a Manual of the Archaeology of Art. Translated from the German, by John Leitch. 8vo. L. 1847 *Notice of*, v. 366

Asia Minor. Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia. By W. F. Ainsworth, A.M. 2 vols. 8vo. L. 1842. *Notice of*, i. 131

Athens—Notice of Excavations at i. 136
 ——— See *Parthenon*.

——— Topography of—with some Remarks on its Antiquities—By Colonel Leake *Notice of*, i. 41

Baalbec, Palmyra, and the extreme North-Eastern Bounds of the Land assigned to the Israelites. By Rev. W. EWING, iii. 135

Chaldea. See *Asia Minor*.

Cyclopean Remains. See *Italy*.

Delphi—Excavations at—By K. O. MÜLLER i. 136

Egypt of Herodotus; with Notes and Preliminary Dissertations. By John Kenrick. 8vo. L. 1841 *Notice of*, iv. 135

——— A Tour from Thebes to the Peninsula of Sinai. By R. Lepsius. Translated by C. H. Cottrell, Esq. L. 1846 *Notice of*—By *W.*, v. 120

Etruria. On an Etruscan City recently discovered, and probably the Vetulonia of Antiquity. By GEORGE DENNIS, ii. 229

Etruscan Art. La Moneta ed i Monumenti dell' Italia Antica, messi in rapporto cronologico con quelli delle altre Nazioni civili dell' Antichità. By A. Gennarelli. Rome, 1843 *Notice of*, i. 421

* It has been suggested that a Notice of Papers on the Fine Arts of Antiquity, published in the various British and Foreign Periodicals would be desirable. We commence with the late *Classical Museum*.

- Greek Manners and Customs.* Griechinnen und Griechen. By Panofka. Fol.
 Berlin, 1844 *Notice of*, iii. 111
 ——— Topography. By Rev. A. P. STANLEY, A.M., i. 41
Halicarnassus—On the Sculptures of the Mausoleum of— By C. NEWTON, v. 170
Herculaneum. See *Painting*.
Jerusalem—On the Site of the Holy Sepulchre, with a Plan of—By George
 Finlay, Esq. *Notice of*, v. 367
Italy—On Cyclopean Remains in Central—. . . . By E. H. BUNBURY, ii. 147
Laocoon—On the Date of the— By K. F. HERMANN, vii. 329
Mesopotamia. See *Asia Minor*.
Museum Disneianum: being a Description of a Collection of Ancient Marbles in the
 possession of John Disney, Esq. With Engravings. L. 1846. 8vo.
Notices of—By C. K. W., v. 262; vii. 71
Painting. Wandgemaelde aus Pompeji und Herculaneum, nach den Zeichnungen
 und Nachbildung in Farben, von Willh. Ternite. Mit einem erläuternden Text,
 von Prof. Welcker *Notice of*—By C. G. S., iii. 448
 ——— Some Account of Greek and Roman Portraits. By R. N. WORNUM, iv. 47
Palmira. See *Baalbec*.
Parthenon—The two Models of the—and the Remarks upon them. By R. C.
 Lucas, Sculptor. Salisb. 1845 *Notice of*, iii. 443
 ——— *Pediments* of the—On the Sculptured Groups in the—By Prof. F. G.
 WELCKER. Translated from the Author's MS. . . by Dr. L. SCHMITZ, ii. 367
 ——— *Western Pediment* of the—Explanation of the Groups in the—
 By W. WATKISS LLOYD, v. 396
 ——— Further Remarks on the Groups of the—
 By Prof. F. G. WELCKER, vi. 279
Pompeii. See *Painting*.
Rome. Handbuch der Roemischen Alterthuemer, nach den Quellen bearbeitet, von
 W. A. Becker, Prof. 8vo. Leip. 1844 *Notice of*, ii. 419
 ——— *The Asylum of Romulus.* By W. IHNE, iii. 190
 ——— *Excursions* from—in June, 1843. . . . By F. B. WHALLEY, A.M., i. 318
 ——— *Beckeri Topographia Urbis Romæ.* . . . By Prof. L. URLICHS, iii. 194
 ——— On the *Topography* of—With an Appendix on the Regionarii.
 By E. H. BUNBURY, iii. 319
 ——— II. On the Roman Forum. . . By Ditto, iv. 1
 ——— III. The Fora of the Emperors. . . By Ditto, iv. 117
 ——— IV. The Capitol By Ditto, iv. 427
 ——— V. The Environs of the Forum. By Ditto, v. 215
Sesostris—On the so-called Monument of—in Asia Minor. By Dr. L. SCHMITZ, i. 231
Stadium. Victory in the Horse-race. From a Painting on an Amphora.
 By SAMUEL BIRCH, vi. 296
Theatre. Was Music an Element of the Greek Chorus? By G. H. LEWES, ii. 344
 ——— On the Choral Dancing of the Greek— . . . By THOMAS DYER, iii. 229
Tusculum. Notice of Excavations at— i. 135
Vase. The Portland Vase. By W. WATKISS LLOYD, vi. 253
Vetulonia. See *Etruria*.
Xanthian Marbles—Observations on the— By Sir EDM. HEAD, Bart., A.M., i. 222

X.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

1.—A. CH. AD. ZESTERMANN. *De Basilicis*. Libri Tres. 4to. Brux. 1847.

THE descriptive portion of this work displays great care and attention. The author has studied diligently the treatises of preceding writers, and gives his own reasonings and conclusions in a clear and perspicuous manner, supporting his deductions by many passages from ancient authors, which had hitherto escaped attention.

Among other points which he endeavours to prove, Dr. Zestermann considers that the generally received opinion, that the basilica terminated with a large niche or absis, is erroneous. In the first book he treats of the Basilican-Stoa of the Athenians and other Greeks; in the second he treats of the Roman, and in the third of the Christian Basilica. Each Book is divided into several chapters, in which he enters at length into the origin, destination, and form of the several descriptions of basilicas. The work is accompanied with forty-three plans, in seven Sheets, consisting of a Plan of Athens—Plan and Elevation of the Basilican-Stoa at Athens—Restorations of the Basilica by Alberti, Palladio, Perrault, Canina, and Marini. His own Restoration of the Roman Basilica occupies Sheet Four. The Restoration of Vitruvius's Basilica at Fano, Sheet Five. It also contains the Basilicas of Herculaneum, Pompeii, Pæstum, Palmyra, Otricoli—that of Constantine and the Sicinian and Ulpian Basilicas—the Christian Basilicas of Saint Peter's in 800, Santa Maria Maggiore, and Santa Agnese—and that of Tyre, and the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem as described by Eusebius. Among modern Basilicas is that of Vicenza.

Several other ancient basilicas are referred to in the text, the plans of which we are unable to determine, in consequence of the state of ruin in which they now exist; as those of Nismes, Treves, Palestrina, and Albano. From the information it gives relative to the early Christian Basilica, the work will naturally be received with interest by the *Ecclesiologist*.

The work is published by Messrs. Williams and Norgate, and may be had also in German, bearing the following title:—"Die Antiken und die Christlichen Basiliken, nach ihrer Entstehung, Ausbildung und Beziehung zu einander dargestellt von A. Zestermann, Dr. Phil.

2.—ANTONIO MAGRINI, Abate. *Memorie intorno la Vita e le Opere di Andrea Palladio*. 4to. Padova, 1845. London: Rolandi, Berners Street.

ALTHOUGH Italian architecture does not properly enter into the subject of this Journal, it contains so much in common that we cannot refrain from noticing the above work, which is a very copious and complete history of the life and works of

this great architect. The author confines himself strictly to his subject, without entering into criticisms on art. Much new and interesting detail will be found here collected; and the work is followed by an Appendix, containing several unedited letters of Palladio.

3.—C. ROACH SMITH, F.S.A. *Collectanea Antiqua*. J. Russell Smith.

THIS indefatigable antiquary appears to have nearly exhausted the antiquities of his native country; and is beginning to look to foreign lands. In Vol. II. we find—The Roman Villa at Hartlip, Kent—Roman Remains discovered in Essex—Roman Tessellated Pavements in Somersetshire and Hampshire—and an illustrated account of Roman Remains on the Rhine and Moselle, &c.

4.—By the same Author. *The Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne, in Kent*. Illustrated by F. W. FAIRHOLT, F.S.A. John Russell Smith, Old Compton Street. 4to. London, 1850.

THIS work will be found to contain much interesting matter relative to the Roman dominion in Britain, the form and arrangement of their castra, and the distinctive peculiarities of Roman construction. Through the exertions of Mr. Smith, a sufficient sum was raised by subscription to defray the expenses of an excavation at the first of these places, which brought to light many antiquities which are carefully illustrated and explained in the volume. Among these are several fragments of mural paintings, which have given occasion to speak at some length on the subject of the Domestic Decoration of the Ancients. The amphitheatre of Richborough is also described, and contrasted with that of Treves.

The illustrations by Mr. Fairholt are of great elegance of execution, and the work is one of those which tend to render the study of antiquity as pleasing to the general reader as it is instructive to the learned antiquary.

5.—A. G. B. SCHAYES. *Histoire de l'Architecture en Belgique*. Tome Premier. 12mo. Brux. 1850.

M. SCHAYES is *Conservateur des Monumens du Pays*, and is therefore expected to visit them from time to time, to report on their state of preservation, and to inspect their repairs. We cannot but speak in praise of Commissions which produce works like the present. It is written in a clear and concise style, and lays before us an illustrated and methodical account of the architecture of Belgium. He divides his subject into six styles,—the Celtic, Germanic, Roman, Byzanto-Roman, Gothic, and Modern. This first volume principally relates to Roman architecture, though it extends to the consideration of Gothic. The author has considered it desirable to "begin at the beginning," for he has commenced with a treatise on the Five Orders, which would certainly have been better omitted. The work is embellished with numerous figures, many of which are from the more elaborate work of Schmidt, and is especially valuable as giving an illustrated and complete point of view of the architecture of Belgium.

XI.

DISCOVERIES AT NIMROOD;

BEING A COMMUNICATION FROM THOMAS N. LYNCH, ESQ.,

DATED BAGDAD, 17TH Nov. 1850.*

THE information you have received, that “ the History of Assyria will shortly be read from the architectural designs and sculptures on the bas-reliefs which decorate the walls of the palaces at Koyunjik and Nimrood,” is correct ; but, as you rightly conjecture, these sculptures have no reference to architectural subjects, but the communication you have received merely signifies that the sculptures are disposed in architectural arrangement. In fact, few, if any, delineations of architectural structures have been met with, which can in any way show the progress of the art, or illustrate its history during the period in which these monuments were erected.

In the central pyramidal mound at Nimrood, an immense massive wall has been discovered, but whether it was the outer wall of the palace, or one of the inner walls, it is difficult to determine ; the stones, as in all the ancient work, are of immense size. The obelisk and the arch were known to the architects of Nineveh, but the column and capital appear to have been invented subsequently. Square turreted castles are of constant occurrence in the bas-reliefs of both places. Though both sites have been completely excavated by Mr. Layard, still it is impossible to say what was the precise shape of either of the palaces, the height of any room, or their exact form ; and it is still more hopeless to determine what was the external appearance of the entire building.

The British Museum will shortly contain all sculptures of importance that have been discovered : but the sameness of the sculpture, and the quantity of duplicates discovered in the same palace, are surprising ; and I must concur with Dr. Wall in the opinion that too much value has been attached to the cuneiform inscriptions, even should they become correctly deciphered.

* This and the following paper arrived too late to be inserted in their proper place. We have therefore been obliged to print them in the smaller type.

XII.

ON THE APPLICATION OF POLYCHROMY TO MODERN
ARCHITECTURE, AS EXEMPLIFIED IN THE DECORATION OF THE
EXHIBITION BUILDING IN HYDE PARK.

HAVING received this day a printed copy of a lecture delivered at the Royal Institute of British Architects, on Monday, 16th December, on the decorations proposed for the Exhibition Building in Hyde-park, the drawings exhibited on which occasion I had the privilege of seeing, though I was prevented from hearing the lecture itself, I venture to offer the following remarks on the subject.

Mr. Jones, with great frankness and candour, lays before us his theories and proposals, and invites the opinion, "criticisms," and "advice" of his professional brethren. He acknowledges his task to be a "difficult operation," and we may therefore presume it to be of doubtful result. He refers, with great truth, to the circumstance, that England is far behind the nations of the Continent in the application of Polychromy, (witness the *decoration* of the hall and staircase of the British Museum,) and he likens those who, as on the present occasion, make the first trials for its introduction, to the leaders of a forlorn hope, who indeed may fail, but they will be followed by others, who, profiting by their endeavours, will eventually obtain success.

From the diffidence, if not mistrust, involved in these remarks, I may be permitted to venture a few observations on the system of colouring proposed to be employed, even at the personal risk of joining the fortunes of the "forlorn hope;" and if such observations appear rather as objections, I beg it to be understood that I submit them with equal diffidence, and with deference to his well-known taste and experience.

The principle which he proposes to adopt is declared in the following words:—*In the decoration of the Exhibition Building I therefore propose to use the colours, blue, red, and yellow, in such relative quantities as to neutralize or destroy each other.* We have often heard visitors to Rome, and even professional men, speak with admiration of the wonderful beauty of proportions in St. Peter's, declaring that the parts are so skilfully proportioned, that you have no idea of the size of the building till after you have thoroughly examined it. Nothing can be a more absurd error. As

if Sir Christopher Wren were not entitled to our praise for having, at infinitely less cost, made St. Paul's *appear* larger than St. Peter's really is !

From the propriety of adopting such a principle, I must therefore unhesitatingly dissent. Were it considered desirable so to balance the various colours as to prevent any one tint being predominant, it would be far better to cover the entire building with a grey colour, than to employ considerable time and expense in painting it with various minute tints, the combined effect and object of which would be to obtain a similar result. In opposition, therefore, to this theory, I would maintain that the colours should be so selected and employed, that every tendency to confusion or neutralization should be avoided, and preponderance constantly given to some one colour.

Mr. Jones refers to experiments by Mr. Field, by which he established that white light consists of blue, red, and yellow, in the proportions of 8 : 5 : and 3 ; but however true this may be as a point of science, it does not necessarily follow that it is a law of beauty. Great stress is laid on the employment of the primary colours, and our attention is here directed to the best possible illustrations,—the effects produced in other buildings. We are told that in the remains of Nineveh, Central America, Egypt, Greece, and throughout the vestiges of Eastern civilization, the primaries, blue, red and yellow, were the prevailing colours—the secondaries appearing very sparingly.

But if the secondaries were employed by the ancients, however sparingly, why should they be discarded altogether by us ? It may be true that primary colours are found employed in the comparatively rude monuments of Nineveh and Central America, as they are found chiefly in Etruscan and Pelasgic art : I admit that green is used but sparingly by the Greeks, but I believe it is the general opinion of those who have studied the polychromy of the ancients that warm cream-colours, if not purple-reds, were extensively employed by them ; and it is certain that the secondaries, green especially, were employed by the Egyptians, this colour being possibly selected by them from its refreshing contrast to the glare of their sultry atmosphere. Among the coloured decorations at Thebes, I was much struck with granites stained artificially with *transparent* colour approaching to yellows and reds ; the felspar, mica, and quartz, being perfectly distinguishable underneath.

With regard to the vestiges of Eastern civilization, it is very evident that they are far from being confined to the primary colours. Let us turn over the plates of the First Part of Mr. Jones's magnificent work on the Alhambra, and we find the secondary colours of green and purple extensively employed—yellow but seldom,—and the tertiary colour, brown, (which gold appears whenever it is, as is generally the case, in shade,) becoming the prevailing tint. In fact, the proportions here are much more like 3 : 5 : 8 than 8 : 5 : 3. Black and white are also extensively employed. Not only in the modern edifices of Cairo, but in its gorgeous ancient structures we find the secondary colours alike employed. The Greeks applied colour with a particular object—that of clearing out and assisting their detail ;

the Saracens employed it as ornament. They not only coloured the intricate fretwork of their vaults, but the flat surfaces of their walls, with the most delicate and minute ornaments; and their consummate skill and knowledge of colour cannot be denied. But in the Saracenic mosaics of Sicily and the southern coast of Italy, subjected to Saracenic influence, we find blue but seldom employed, yellow not at all, (unless we regard gold as yellow), and the principal colours to be red, green in serpentine, and purple in porphyry, relieved by white, gold, and black. In the more delicate mosaics of the East, we find the secondary colours supplied by tortoiseshell and other shell-fish; and these colours equally abound in the ancient Turkish monuments of Asia Minor—at Ballat, Mellass, Konieh, Aiasalik, Boursa; and the very name of *Yesheel Djammi* at Nicæa (the green mosque) is sufficient to show the prevalence of the application of the secondary colours.

We are told that in the “best periods,” the secondary colours, when used, were generally confined to the lower parts of the buildings. It is true there are instances of this practice in the Alhambra, as in the Court of the Fishpond, and the Hall of the Two Sisters; but I must confess I do not recollect ever having seen or heard of any Grecian building that was decorated with a green, or even a purple plinth. The theory, however, is supported by the assertion that “Nature employs the primary colours for her flowers, and reserves the secondaries for her leaves and stalks.” But are not some of the most beautiful flowers purple, scarlet, or orange-coloured? and are not some of the most delicate marked by pencillings varied by every gradation of colour? or are we to regard only those as beautiful which are composed of primary colours, as the poppy and the buttercup? and is not the reason why green is so little used in flowers, owing to the consideration that Nature has employed it where it could be used most freely, as in the leaves and stems. Green is, indeed, the most universally-employed colour in nature, and the most soft and pleasing to our eyes. Let it be granted that colours in a given ratio (as 8 : 5 : 3, or any other) are most harmonious as applied to architectural decoration. Shall we, in consequence of this, confine ourselves invariably to such a disposition, at the evident risk of tameness and monotony, and deny ourselves the use of the secondary colours, and the important neutral colours, black and white?

The Greeks, as I have stated, applied colour with the particular object of clearing out and rendering their detail more distinct: the Saracens covered the entire surface of their buildings with colour, whether in the intricate moulding or the flat surface, but always in strict architectural arrangement; while the Gothic architects frequently employed coloured decoration without reference to the form; as in clustered columns, which are frequently covered with large diaper work. Now, as the Exhibition Building has but few large surfaces, the Saracenic system of colouring is wholly inapplicable, and it remains to choose between the Gothic and the Greek. The former would be very difficult of application in a building which has but little wall-surface and no vaulting. The iron-trussed girders might, indeed, be decorated in

imitation of the timber-roofs of some of our churches, or those of Sicily, San Miniato or others; but the Greek system appears, of all others, the most applicable in a building, where so much requires to be done to render its mazy wilderness of columns intelligible.

The result, which it is expected will be obtained by the system of colouring intended to be employed, is to "increase the height, the length, and the bulk." This would be the legitimate object of an architect called upon to decorate a building of restricted dimensions, but is it requisite to effect this in an edifice which is already called the "monster" building? Are want of length and breadth and height its main deficiencies, which require the aid of the skilful architect to conceal and to overcome—or shall he not rather endeavour to make its construction *appear* more solid, its disposition and maze of columns more simple, its vast and tiring monotony less irksome? In the Greek temples we admire how the sculptures are brought out by a blue ground; how the horizontal line of the sculpture on the cella wall brings out the perpendicular lines of the columns in front; how the architects endeavoured to "neutralize" the confusion arising from a grove of columns in the pronaos and posticum of their temples; how the indistinct forms of the mouldings and ornaments in the soffites were lightened and picked out; and to select one instance, how, in the Erechtheum, the dark confused shade produced by the great projection of the northern portico was remedied by the aid of tarentic art.

This, I think, can only be obtained by party colouring, and this leads me to advert to another point on which I must differ from the opinion entertained by Mr. Jones, and that is, that the custom frequently observed in house decoration, of having one room green, another pink, and another red, is inapplicable to such a building. I consider such a system as the only proper one to be employed.

The walls of Ecbatana were painted white, black, purple, blue, orange—and the last two were silvered and gilt. At Athens were two tribunals, the Green and Red, clearly showing that these colours were the predominant ones employed in those particular buildings. What constitutes the charm of the houses at Pompeii is the variety of decoration which abounds in them. They did not select any set colour or design which they conceived to be the most beautiful, and adhere to that invariably, but they endeavoured to give a different character to each portion of the house. What can be more beautiful than the chaste arabesques on a *white* ground which decorate the tablinum of the Casa delle Capitelli Colorati, unless it be the more celebrated arabesques on a *black* ground, in the house called, in consequence, Casa della Camera Nera? And to cite modern instances, I will refer only to the Glyptothek at Munich, the walls of which, throughout the building, though painted to set off the sculpture to best advantage, are not tinted of any one colour thought most capable of producing such effect, but each suite of rooms is decorated in a different colour—green, brown, and red—in order to produce a greater variety.

From these considerations I would venture to submit:—That the columns, from their small diameter, instead of being reduced by strips of colour placed alternately, be treated in the simplest manner: that the nave and aisles be painted in different colours, and as there are seven galleries, they may be of the prismatic colours, the divisions along the sides of the columns being then less evident. These would be merely the groundwork of the decoration, and any appropriate ornaments might be overlaid upon them, so as to give the whole a connected and harmonious character. The great transept might be white, with similar ornaments. Or,—the building might be divided into compartments, each compartment of three or four bays being differently coloured.

EDWARD FALKENER.

Dec. 30th, 1850.

THE
MUSEUM OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES.

No. II. — APRIL, 1851.

XIII.

ON THE PAINTINGS OF POLYGNOTUS IN THE
LESCHE AT DELPHI.

PART II.

THE words of Pausanias imply that the second composition on the left hand wall in the Lesche, is supplementary to, not to say part of, the first, and we have to look accordingly for the development of the same leading ideas.

“The other portion of the painting to the left, he says, is “Ulysses descended to Hades, so called, in order to inquire of “the shade of Teiresias respecting his return home.”

In the general plan of this picture we shall find certain very remarkable parallelisms to the first, but still with the same art in avoidance of tame repetition, that we recognised in the association of limited groups. Again we are struck with the marked correspondence in significance between the terminal subjects, and again two extensive systems of groups divide between them the intermediate space. But the main difference between the two compositions begins here; in the first, the parallelism in general arrangement of the two greater systems or divisions of groups, was far more salient than any that appeared between parts of the same system to each other: in the present instance this rule of correspondence is reversed, and we find, when we have reconstructed the composition in closest accordance with the description, that each of the great divisions that together fill up the scene, has a distinct organization of its own, and it is within itself and between its component groups that parallelism is most

prevalent,—coherence of the two masses being provided for by identity in principle of distribution and rule of contrast, of which they conjointly illustrate the resources.

The following is an abstract of the description, leaving out not only irrelevances, but those knots and entanglements in the writer's style that seem likely to remain of questionable interpretation, and are too much disputed to warrant citation for one view or another:—

“ A river is represented, evidently the Acheron, with reeds “ in it and indistinct forms, less like fishes than shadows of “ fishes. On the river is a craft, and a ferryman at the oars,— “ Charon, represented as of advanced age; for passengers there are “ Tellis as a youth, and Cleoboia, yet a maiden; she holds in her “ lap a cista, such as belongs to the rites of Demeter. The poet “ Archilochus (*of Paros*) is said to have been third in descent “ from Tellis, and Cleoboia first introduced the orgies of Demeter “ into Thasos from Paros. On the bank of the Acheron, “ about under the boat of Charon, is an undutiful son throttled “ by his father, and near him is a man, guilty of sacrilegious “ robbery, receiving punishment from a female skilled in “ deforming or disfiguring poisons.

“ Higher up than the enumerated figures is Eurynomus, said “ by the Delphian guides to be a *δαίμων* who gnaws the flesh of “ the dead, leaving only the bones; he is painted of the blue- “ black colour of flesh-flies, and shows his teeth; beneath him, as “ he sits, is the skin of a vulture.

“ In order after Eurynomus are Auge of Arcadia, and “ Iphimedeia. Higher up than those already enumerated are “ the companions of Ulysses, Perimedes and Eurylochus, “ bringing victims—black rams. After them is a seated man, “ named in the inscription Oknos; he is twisting a rope, which “ a female ass beside him is eating up as fast as he twists it. “ Tityus is also represented, not now under punishment, but “ as if worn out and consumed by his past sufferings,—a faint “ figure, not altogether distinguishable. Proceeding with the “ picture in order, we come to Ariadne, very close to the twister

“ of the rope; she is seated on a rock, and regards her sister
 “ Phædra, who is elevated in a swing, and holds the cord on
 “ either side with her hands.

“ Below Phædra is Chloris reclining on the lap of Thyia,
 “ clearly expressing that an attachment existed between them
 “ while they were living. Beside Thyia is Procris, daughter of
 “ Erechtheus, and after her Clymene, who turns her back to her.
 “ The story how Procris was the wife of Cephalus before Cly-
 “ mene, and how she died by the hands of her husband, is matter
 “ of notoriety. Inwards from Clymene is Megara.

“ Over head of the women enumerated is the daughter of
 “ Salmoneus sitting on a rock, and Eriphyle standing near her,
 “ holding the ends of her fingers near her neck, through her
 “ chiton; the position of her hands and the folds of her dress
 “ readily suggest that she is concealing the celebrated necklace.

“ Above Eriphyle he has painted Elpenor in the garb of a
 “ sailor, and Ulysses crouching over his feet and holding his
 “ sword above the trench. The soothsayer Teiresias advances
 “ to the trench; behind Teiresias, on a rock, is Antikleia,
 “ mother of Ulysses. Below Ulysses, sitting on thrones, are
 “ Theseus and Pirithous. Theseus holds both his own sword
 “ and that of Pirithous; Pirithous seems to look at them as
 “ grieving at their uselessness in his enterprise.

“ Next in order, Polygnotus has painted the daughters of
 “ Pandarus as maidens crowned with flowers and playing with
 “ astragals, with the names Kameiro and Klytie.

“ After the daughters of Pandarus is Antilochus, &c., &c.”

In the arrangement I have adopted, the position of Eury-
 nomus, relatively to the figures “ next in order after him,” may
 seem open to dispute; but the words of Pausanias appear most
 naturally to imply that he is over, not merely the group of the
 sacrilegious man, but also higher up than Charon’s boat; if,
 then, the group of Auge and Iphimedeia, who are stated to be
 “ in order after him,” are to be lifted up into the same
 line with him, the companions of Ulysses, who are “ above
 them,” will participate in the change, and we shall thus have at

this end of the picture four tiers of figures instead of the three that are repeatedly established in other parts of the description, as where Elpenor is stated to be above Eriphyle, who is above Clymene. There is less violence in the free interpretation I have followed—the general phraseology of the whole description considered, than in such a general and intolerable dislocation. The place assigned to Tityus is justified by absence of any definite account of his place—the notice of him is thrust in between that of Oknos and the figure that is “close to Oknos,” by correspondence with the groups of the damned, (to borrow a term disagreeable but convenient,) in the lower line, which general similarity to the arrangement at the other end of the picture would lead us to expect, and finally by a subjective propriety in his relation to Eurynomus. Polygnotus in this picture, as in the former, softens the more shocking details and exaggerated inventions of poetry, as if knowing that what would bear to be related would not bear to be exhibited, and that therefore the painter, to keep within the limits of chastened expression, must restrict himself more severely than the poet. The Tityus of Homer lay extended nine acres large, and a pair of vultures, one on either side, tore his liver. I have no doubt that the carnivorous Eurynomus, on his vulture skin near the worn and wasted form of Tityus, is to replace the vultures of the poet. We trace something like this progressive anthropomorphism in other instances among the Greeks; the sea-god Nereus sometimes appears in form a merman—half human, half a fish, then entirely human, and riding on the complete sea monster, from which he has become detached and extricated; lastly, the brute disappears, and Nereus walks alone in human form divine. So Cecrops, who is seen on the vase half man, half serpent, was represented by Pheidias on the western pediment of the Parthenon, in form a man, and seated on the coiling serpent.*

* See my explanation of the Groups in the Western Pediment of the Parthenon, *Classical Museum*, xviii.

The punishment of Tityus, according to Homer, was for the crime of molesting Latona on her way to Delphi; he was thus a type of the sacrilegious troops or tribes who infested the route of the devout visitors of the fane. We have other notices of the annoyance in Greek antiquity; and a like effect has followed like causes in Christian ages, as, apart from expenses of travel, the reception of a pilgrim at his journey's end, has ever depended on his not arriving empty-handed. The theme, so interesting at the wealthy Pytho, of the enormity of sacrilege, which was introduced in the first painting in the acts of Ajax and Neoptolemus, is here again enforced by mythical example, and also by the group at the bottom of the picture, of the plunderer of things consecrated and his tormentor. The retaliation on the undutiful son furnishes a companion group, on the principle that made piety towards parents and towards the gods, the leading and constantly-conjoined inculcations in old Greek codes of moral duty. So Pindar gives them on the authority of the centaur Chiron, (*Pyth.* VI.,) and so they stand among the precepts ascribed to Eleusinian Triptolemus.

Now, then, becomes apparent an additional propriety in the painter's treatment of the subject of the departing Greeks; the filial solicitude of Athenian Demophon for the release of his grandmother, Æthra, at once appears—these traditional associations recognised, in pointed contrast to the irreverent violence of Ajax and Neoptolemus, and we are bound to recognise a natural coherence between the two subjects. Xenophon, in the *Memorabilia*, claims for the Athenians the honour of peculiar tenderness on the head of filial duty.

The boat of Charon, with Tityus and Eurynomus above, and the pair of tortured wretches below, constitute the first system of groups, to which we shall find another, at the other end of the picture, very exactly correspond.

The introduction of Tellis and Cleobolia into the subject is an obvious anachronism, of which the full motives are probably

now irrecoverable;* the Thasian connexion of the pair directs our attention to the patriotic feeling of the painter, and this, with a certain harmony with the subject, of which we shall have to say more, will bring the case within the rule of those more familiar violations of the strict unities, that abound in the works of the great Italian painters. We may safely assume here, as there we can so constantly and satisfactorily trace, a principle of transcendental congruity dominating all minor, and, in truth, unimportant incongruities. Some vestige of the painter's thought may be revealed by such hints as these. The birth and glory of Archilochus, the descendant of Tellis, Parian and Thasian,—and among Greek poets he was second in renown to Homer alone, was foretold by a Delphic response: it was in obedience to another that, at an early age, he was the leader of a colony from Paros to the native island of Polygnotus; he fell in battle at an advanced age, and when his slayer appeared at Delphi, he was warned by the Pythoness off the sacred precinct with horror, as an unclean thing, stained with the blood of the favourite minister of the god. Among the works of Archilochus was a hymn to Demeter, for which he gained a prize at Paros, probably in a festival at the very sanctuary of which his relative Cleoboia had been a priestess. Telesicles, the name of his father, is an indication of the continued connexion with the worship; and it is more than a mere coincidence that the great Iambic satirist of Greece, had such close family attachment to the worship, in which satirical improvisation was a sanctioned—it may be said, a sacred custom. Compare the mythology of Iambe in the Homeric hymn to Demeter. I suspect that the hymn of Archilochus to the goddess, together, perhaps, with his poem of the Shipwreck, would have helped us to an elucidation of the painting far different from that we are now fain to be content with.

* May it be to this that the ill-expressed and much-debated observation of Pausanias, as to “the obscurity of the relations of the passengers in the boat”—I translate the ambiguity, alludes?

The parallel groups at the other end of the picture, will present additional allusions to the mysteries of Demeter—allusions of which the appropriateness to the present occasion might seem sufficiently justified by the special reference of the goddess, both at Thasos and Attica, to the under-world, the subject of the painting. But there is a farther propriety, that it is as well to notice at once. The Amphictyonic league, of which a chief object was the protection of the Delphic sanctuary, was a combination from immemorial time, of two leagues, one connected with Apollo and Delphi, the other with Demeter and the neighbourhood of Thermopylæ, where, at a temple of the goddess, the meetings were convened alternately with Delphi. It may not be too much to infer from a passage of Pliny (*H. N.* 35, 9), that the Amphictyony employed Polygnotus, and the references to Demeter became therefore as appropriate, as indispensable, as those to Apollo and Artemis, and admirable is the art with which the painter has availed himself of all the advantages, and responded to all the requirements of the combination.

One more observation lies too close at hand to be avoided; the Parian worship of Demeter comes into notice in the unfortunate events that cloud the last days of the glorious life of Miltiades, the father of Cimon the patron, or let us give more honour either way, and say, the friend of Polygnotus. The adventure in which Miltiades received the injury that proved fatal, exposed him also to a charge of violating a sanctuary. Herodotus recounts the application of the Parians to Delphi on the subject, and the answer of the god may be favourably interpreted as exculpating the hero. But Miltiades, who lay under such an imputation, claimed Æacid descent; and on combining all the circumstances of the incident, it becomes a problem to explain how Polygnotus came to select for the stoa of his son, such a subject as the trial of Ajax Oileus for sacrilege.

In the upper line, the extent of vacant interval between the group of Ulysses and his companions bearing the victims, is very large, but it cannot be conscientiously reduced; and we

shall find other instances in the picture of like vacuities, which no doubt were adopted and managed on definite and effective principles. I have relieved it a little by the introduction and management of the tree, in a manner authorized by the vase paintings, and fully vindicated here by certain agreement of effect, with the tree of the second set of groups.

I have no hesitation whatever in making Teiresias a full-length figure, advancing to the point from which, in the Berlin design, in deference to a vase-painting rather than to either Homer or Pausanias, he is seen half emerging. Pausanias says distinctly that Ulysses crouches holding his sword above a pit, towards which Teiresias advances. Into this pit—"a cubit long and wide"—after milder libations the hero had, with face averted, caused the blood of the victims brought by Perinēdes and Eurylochos, to run. Then he bade his two comrades flay and burn the slaughtered victims, praying to the gods, Hades and Persephone; but he himself sate with drawn sword, and permitted none of the ghosts, not even that of his mother, Antikleia, to approach the blood before he interrogated Teiresias. Teiresias approaches, and bids the hero retire from the pit and withhold his sword, while he drinks of the blood.

Consistently with this description, there is no meaning in the position of Ulysses, unless the pit is to be considered already full of blood, and the victims slain; but how, then, can the comrades be represented bringing them for the purpose of being slain? The notion that they are doing so, can only rest on the supposition, that Polygnotus intended to represent two moments of time in the two groups: at the earlier moment, the bringing of the victims; at the later, the proceedings after they were killed. No advantage, however, is apparent to compensate for the clumsiness of the plan, and the incongruity of the absence of Ulysses on the first occasion, and of his companions on the second. Polygnotus, I believe, interpreted Homer to the effect, that having slaughtered the sheep, Ulysses dismissed his companions to burn the carcases; certainly, the whole tenour and effect of the remainder of the description, convey the impression that he is

quite alone among the crowding shades, and alone rejoins his crew on the shore. The accession of dignity to the chief person in the adventure, that thus accrues, is obvious and important; here, however, as in several other points, the artist, and not the commentator, must furnish the last elucidation; and I have not reversed the movement of the figures.

There could be no more appropriate pendant to the subject painted on the opposite wall—the origin of the disasters of the returning Greek fleet, than the descent of Ulysses to Hades, to learn from the prophet the means of avoiding his share of them; and the moral of respect for sanctuaries would again be pressed on the Greek who knew his Homer by heart, by the recollection that Teiresias made the safe return of the Ithakan, conditional on his reverentially abstaining from the sacred herds of the Sun, feeding on the isle Thrinacia—of the Sun that “hears all things, and all sees;” and that it was in consequence of disregard of these injunctions by his crew and companions that they perished to a man, and he returned alone.

The allusion to the funereal rites of Elpenor, piously performed by Ulysses, is another point of attachment to the first painting, as it necessarily reminds of the like office performed by the same hero for Laomedon, through his friend and associate Sinon.

The two lower rows of figures of this system of groups, exhibit very palpable symmetry of arrangement. Oknos, at his thriftless work at one extremity, has a pair of female figures on either side of him; and the group of Theseus and Pirithous, as they gaze on their useless weapons, are similarly supported. Below the two central female pairs of this line are two other pairs, with a single figure in the midst. These five figures in the lowest line, divided by an equal interval from the sacrilegious wretch and from Antilochus, give central mass to the system of groups, and render the unconformable arrangement of the upper line more remarkable; but it is thus, in fact, that the painter seems to have given emphasis to the group in the upper line, and to have indicated that the common point of connexion

and transition between the two grand divisions of the composition, lay there.

Polygnotus follows the Odyssey in introducing numerous heroines in proximity to the scene of the appearance of Teiresias—wives and daughters all, says Homer, of the great. The significance of this circumstance I am not quite prepared to appreciate. However, painter and poet seem to agree in the titles they admit to such place and precedence—misfortunes, crimes, and loves, of renown and scale befitting the state of heroines: Iphimedeia, Ariadne, Phædra, Tyro, Eriphyle, Chloris, Procris, Clymene, and Megara, are all in the Homeric enumeration; but the Pandarids and Auge and Thyia, replace Antiope, Epikaste, Alcmena, and Leda. In both catalogues the heroines number thirteen, and thirteen is too frequent and favourite a number in Greek legends for the coincidence to be accidental. Æolid descent seems the characteristic that is most nearly common to all—indication of the origin of the poetical tradition: the full investigation of the subject would lead too far, and I fear to little result; but a few observations may be admitted on the scope of the painter's originality of treatment.

Of Auge and Iphimedeia, who are grouped together, Pausanias observes, as if in explanation, that they were both connected with Asiatic localities: one was mother of Telephus by Hercules—Telephus, of all the sons of Hercules most like his father; the other rewarded the love of Poseidon with the giant twins, Otus and Ephialtes. The Æolian god, Poseidon, was also the lover of Thyia and of Tyro, and Chloris was mother of Nestor by Neleus, son of Poseidon.

The affectionate grouping of Thyia and Chloris is thus sufficiently accounted for; it contrasts with the slighting movement of Procris, as she turns away from Clymene, her husband's second wife. Megara, says Pausanias, is placed inwards in respect to Clymene. I suspect that their relative position indicated the sympathy that harmonizes with their not dissimilar fortunes, as Megara was deserted by Hercules on grounds that were no impeachment of her affection: the antithetic

contrast of the pair thus combined, to Chloris and Thyia, will not fail to be noted.

An antithesis seems also intended between Auge and Iphimedeia—consorts of heroes, and mothers of mighty sons, and the pretty little Pandarids who were snatched away by ruthless fate just at marriageable age, and never had husbands at all. The daughters of Pandarus are seasonal types like the daughter of Demeter, and like the children of Niobe, with whom their monumental story interchanges details very remarkably. Of the family of Niobe, one alone, the youngest, was spared; and it is an observation of Panofka, that this type was reproduced in the parallel mythus, as represented on the Lycian tomb, where the Harpies carry off four Pandarids, and one remains behind. But the obligation was mutual, and an Athenian artist has drawn on a marble slab the daughters of Niobe, engaged in the childish game of astragals, as Polygnotus long before painted the daughters of Pandarus at Delphi.

With respect to Oknos, it is certainly open to question whether Pausanias rightly renders the meaning of Polygnotus, as typifying in the destructive ass, the wastefulness of woman; but there is much in favour of the view, and it may have had better authority than is now forthcoming. Certainly, such a type is quite in accordance with the spirit of Hesiodic poetry, and agrees to the letter with one of the less favourable comparisons of Simonides of Amorgos. Oknos, at his toil, is suffering the punishment appropriate to husbands who, neglecting the maxims and warnings of the satirical moralists, are content to slave for the support of drones. Perhaps we may even recognise a glance at this theory of domestic economy, in the *Nekyia* of the Odyssey, in the invectives of Agamemnon against the sex, moralized by Ulysses in the observation, that certainly the family of Atreus had not been fortunate in their feminine alliances; though Homer is far above countenancing the shabby and ungrateful murmurs of the Bœotian.

Next to Oknos, and not without a motive, are the sisters Ariadne and Phædra; the fate of the latter, who hanged herself,

is delicately indicated by placing her in a swing; the expedient is characteristic of the sensitive taste of the painter, and was redeemed from the slightest imputation of conceit, by the currency of illustrative traditions. At the *Aiora* of Attica, the women were accustomed to swing, in commemoration, it was said, of an Attic heroine, Erigone, who hanged herself. The swinging scenes that occur on vases, allude to this festival; the little dog that is frequently introduced is the dog Maira, transferred, along with the maiden his mistress, to the stars: the dog is also traceable on coins.

The rope of Phædra might not suggest the more innocent twine of her sister—the labyrinthine clue she furnished to Theseus, but for the proximity to the pair, of the rope-twisting Oknos. I do not think this a mere coincidence; had the connexion of ideas not been intended, the occasion for it would not have been given, and Polygnotus would have avoided the delicate theme *dans la famille d'une pendue*. Of the sisters, Ariadne at least, as a wife, was more sinned against than sinning; and in her place, and with the suggestion I have noted, she appears to be the qualifying apology for the imputation in the group of Oknos.

Tyro is the first of the heroines in the enumeration of the Odyssey, and great is the glory of her family; but on what grounds she was associated with the traitress Eriphyle, who sold her lord for a trinket, I do not know, and have not even a conjecture to offer that is worth the space it would occupy in setting down.

There is suggestiveness in the proximity of Eriphyle to Ulysses—whether the painter intended it in this particular form or not, and we naturally compare the fortunes of the Argive prince, doomed through the faithlessness of his wife to quit the home he was never to return to, and of the husband of the faithful and discreet Penelope. A reminiscence from the Homeric scene in Hades helps the association,—the warning of Agamemnon to Ulysses to bear in mind his fate, and, true as Penelope might be, to return at first in disguise, and prove her well before he placed himself in

her power. The Ithacan makes no acknowledgment for the advice, but we may observe that he takes care to follow it.

Theseus and Pirithous, fixed to the eternal seats that detained them when they descended to Hades in the impious design to carry off Persephone, are placed in significant proximity to Ulysses, more prosperous in a better-advised adventure. The weapons that they still hold, while they recognise their uselessness in despair, assist in closing up the contrast to Ulysses, crouching with potent sword over the pit,—an observation made by Goethe. We need not wonder that Ariadne and Phædra were placed apart from Theseus, so entrapped on such an errand; and we have had a glimpse of a reason for their position near Oknos; and if by a parity of illustration we are bound to admit and inquire for the corresponding link between Theseus and Eriphyle, it is consistent that a type of a bad wife should be classed with one, whom his general character and actual disaster proclaim as no model for the best of husbands. Again, as the neighbour of Oknos, Ariadne, has relations to Theseus, so the neighbour of the Theseus, Eriphyle, the selfish perverter of the proper resources of Amphiaræus, wise beyond the sons of men but ruining all by uxorious concession, is anti-type of the evil helpmate of Oknos.

The detention of Theseus in Hades here, agrees with the story of the other picture, where the duty of alleviating the misfortune of his mother, Æthra, devolves on her more pious grandchildren. Athenians, one might think, would take in ill part this exhibition of their heroes' misdeeds and disasters, yet Polygnotus, we have assumed, had already a connexion with Athens. Was the honour of Theseus redeemed by the sequel of the story, in which he owed his release to the friendship of Hercules? At any rate the tradition probably had very general acceptance, and we must not assign to Polygnotus, engaged in adding to the adornments of the common fane of Greece, and in the inculcation of a dignified sentiment, the narrow purposes and unscrupulous one-sidedness of a party politician.

We now proceed to the next grand division of the picture,

which exhibits in Hades, the Greek and Trojan comrades and contemporaries of Ulysses at the Trojan war. We shall find the transition marked by a certain break in the sequence of groups, and the division thus established corresponds with the pause in the hero's narrative to Alcinous, when, having enumerated the earlier heroines he had seen, he finds it convenient suddenly to stop short, just as the chief interest of the adventure approaches, to propose retirement to sleep, and to pray his immediate despatch homewards. It is no impeachment of the character of the hero, to suppose that he was not taken by surprise when his entertainers pressed him to continue his narrative, renewed assurances of safe convoy home, and kept up his spirits meanwhile by more liberal promises of rich presents at parting. He recommences in good heart, and tells next of his interview with his former companions in arms. It is for us to follow the painter and archæologist:—

“After the daughters of Pandarus is Antilochus, with one
“foot upon a rock, and holding his face and head on his two
“hands; Agamemnon is after Antilochus, leaning on a sceptre
“under his left armpit, and elevating a staff with his hands.
“Protesilaus looks towards Achilles, who is seated, and above
“Achilles stands Patroclus. These are all beardless, with the
“exception of Agamemnon.

“Above them Phocus is painted, in age a youth, and Iaseus
“well bearded; he is taking a ring from the left hand of
“Phocus; apparently he wishes to examine it as a pledge of
“former attachment, and Phocus yields it for the purpose.

“Above these is Maira, seated on a rock, and in a line with
“Maira, Aktaion and his mother; they hold in their hands a
“fawn, and sit on the skin of a stag; a hound lies beside them.

“Looking again to the bottom part of the picture: in a line
“with Patroclus, on a sort of eminence, Orpheus is seated, his
“left hand on his lyre, while with his right he touches the twigs
“of a willow against which he leans. His costume is entirely
“Greek: he wears neither garment nor cap of Thrace. Against
“the willow on the other side leans Promedon.

“ In this part of the painting is Schedios, the leader of the
 “ Phocians at Troy: he holds a sword and is crowned with
 “ *agrostis*, and after him Pelias, seated on a throne; he is
 “ hoary, both head and beard: he looks towards Orpheus.
 “ Thamyris sits near Pelias, blind, and in every way dejected;
 “ his hair, both of head and beard, is very profuse; a lyre is
 “ thrown at his feet, with horns and strings broken.

“ Above Thamyris sits Marsyas on a rock, and Olympus by him,
 “ represented as a youth, and as if learning to play on the flute.

“ But if you look again to the upper part of the picture, “ there
 “ are in a line with Actæon, Salaminian (Telaonian) Ajax, and
 “ Palamedes playing at dice with Thersites. (Cf. PINDAR, *frag.* 95.)
 “ The other Ajax looks on at the game; his colour is that of a
 “ shipwrecked person, with the salt of the sea yet about his skin.
 “ Meleager is higher in the picture than Ajax Oileus. He
 “ looks towards Ajax. Of these, Palamedes alone is beardless.

“ In the lower part of the picture, after the Thracian
 “ Thamyris, is Hector, holding both his hands about his left
 “ knee, exhibiting the appearance of one in grief. After him is
 “ Memnon, seated on a rock, and Sarpedon grouped with
 “ Memnon. Sarpedon leans his head on both his hands; one
 “ of the hands of Memnon rests on his shoulder. All have
 “ beards; birds are wrought on the chlamys of Memnon. A
 “ naked Æthiop boy is beside Memnon.

“ Above Sarpedon and Memnon is Paris, without beard; he
 “ is clapping his hands (?), and the action appears as if intended
 “ to call Penthesileia to him; Penthesileia looks at Paris, but with
 “ an expression of contempt. She is represented as a maiden,
 “ with a Scythian bow, and a pard skin on her shoulders.

“ Above Penthesileia are females carrying water in broken
 “ vessels; there is one still young, and one more advanced in
 “ age. The women have no inscription individually, but one
 “ common to both expresses that they are of the Uninitiated.

“ Above these women is Kallisto, daughter of Lycaon, and
 “ Nomia, and Pero daughter of Neleus. Kallisto has a bear-skin
 “ for the cover of her couch; her feet lie in the lap of Nomia.

“ After Kallisto and the women with her, a precipice is represented, and Sisyphus is straining to push the rock up to the precipice.

“ There is in the picture also a *pithos*, (large jar or butt,) and an old man and a boy with women, a young one below the rock, (of Tantalus,) and an old one by the old man; the others are carrying water; the old woman has broken her pitcher, and what water is still left in it she is pouring out again into the *pithos*.

“ Below the *pithos* is Tantalus, enduring all the miseries Homer assigns to him, with the addition of fear of the suspended stone; in respect to which, Polygnotus evidently follows Archilochus.”

In this description we have numerous illustrations of the laxity with which Pausanias applies his prepositions, and it is fortunate that the course of the context repeatedly furnishes indications more conclusive and precise. Antilochus is *after* the Pandarids, who are *in a line with* Theseus, who is *below* Ulysses; but it is clear from the sequel that Antilochus is in the lowest line, and *after*, therefore, in this instance, means the next to be enumerated after, &c. We have already had an instance of this phraseology in the case of Oknos, who is in the same relative position to his antecedent as Antilochus—though not in the same row, the nearest neighbour. It seems necessary, however, to place the figures somewhat obliquely from the groups they come after, to account for their position not being rather indicated as *below* those groups.

Above (or *over*) is in itself as little determinate. Patroclus is *over* Achilles, but it is clear he belongs to the same row—the row above which is Phocus, above whom is Maira. So Paris and Penthesileia are *above* Memnon and Sarpedon in a very different sense to that in which, again, above them are the uninitiated women.

So, again, Meleager is *higher up* than Ajax, and Kallisto is *higher up* than the hydrophorai; but Meleager is clearly in the same general line as Ajax, for he is looking at him; and Kallisto

as clearly in a row above the water-carriers, for after her, in the same row, comes Sisyphus, who is *over* the *pithos*, and other water-bearers, who are *over* Tantalus.

Looking now at the present system of groups as developed, we find it exhibit very marked symmetry, or rather symmetrism, which is only modified to accommodate the natural articulation of the rest of the composition of which it forms a part.

It is the upper and lower rows that are here most closely occupied by figures; the middle row, in contrast to the first division, being comparatively open and unoccupied. On the lower line we have a group of five Greek heroes, answering to one of five Trojan worthies, and between them another group of five figures in which Orpheus is the chief person, and which asserts a central place in the arrangement by this parallelism at either side, by the interruption of the middle line by the tree, and by the distribution of other members. Above it is again a group of five Greek heroes, flanked symmetrically by two very analogous and corresponding groups, each consisting of three figures; and a like correspondence obtains between the two pairs of figures that flank the central space in the middle row.

If we now compare the two grand interior systems of groups, we observe that, while the important incident of the interview of Ulysses with Teiresias, gives animation to the first of them, it is in the second, with its more numerous and variously contrasted groups, and in its important and interesting heroes and larger space, that the art of Polygnotus found the greatest scope, and we therefore recognise again the same absence of technical counterpoise which we found and considered in the first painting. There is difference however, in the matter, which restores the general balance, inasmuch as, by a certain graphic polarity, it is at the terminal divisions of the double series that the chief energy becomes manifest; it is in the first portion of the commencing picture, and in the last of the concluding, that richness of association and pregnancy of meaning attain their

most emphatic expression; and thus it is only on arriving at the conclusion of the second picture, that the mind is contented with a sense of having received fulfilment of all the promise opened, but unsatisfied by the first. The awe of refining upon points that are either self-evident or hopelessly incommunicable, alone restrains me from pressing further the analogies between the correlative divisions of the two pictures, and between the principle observed in the apposition of the halves of the latter painting, and that which governs the general contrast of the two in their entirety.

We have now to do our best to find what was the principle of harmony in the inspiring and informing sentiment, that gave appropriateness to the figures selected, and their so closely studied ordination.

The triplet groups in the upper row, by analogy to the heroines of the first division, assist in blending the two, and again we find names, Maira and Pero, that occur in the Homeric *Nekyia*. Kallisto is seated on the skin of a bear, a type of her transformation into the animal; that her feet are placed on the lap of the Arcadian nymph Nomia—nymph, no doubt, of the Arcadian mountain Nomia, typifies, in a like spirit, the maiden's haunt of hill and forest while still in the train of Artemis. Pero is added to the group for a good reason, I doubt not, and perhaps to be found by searching for—but to me utterly unknown.

In the corresponding group, Maira so far answers to Kallisto, that, like her, she was slain by Artemis for faithlessness to the law of chastity, and her name also has astronomical relations. It were long to investigate the connexion between Maira, daughter of Prætus, and Maira the dog of Erigone, transferred as Canicula to the starry sphere; but the dog on a vase painting of Prætus and Bellerophon—the very same that enlivens the swinging scene of Erigone, convinces me that such there was. Pausanias notices that, according to the *Nostoi*, Maira died a maiden; even in this version of the story, as prematurely cut

off, a victim of the arrows of the sister of Apollo. The dog of Orion is named Maira by some authorities.

Another victim of the wrath of Artemis is Actæon, the next figure, and another instance of transformation; the fawn held by his mother, and the hound beside him, hint at this, and the latter aids the association with Maira, as his story admitted in antiquity interpretations from the physical influence of the dogstar. It was not unintentionally that these personages found their place in the upper part of the picture.

The group of Greek heroes at the bottom of the picture has many remarkable points; and here, as elsewhere, we find Polygnotus observant of Homeric authority and precedent, at the same time that he freely diverges from it, in obedience to dictates of his own imagination and the promptings of his proper theme.

Antilochus and Patroclus are at opposite ends of the group—the latter close to Achilles, as they are his attendants in the Odyssey. The arrangement makes the presence of Achilles diffusive and dominant over the group, though, in accordance with Homer, Agamemnon takes precedence of him. What may be the significance of the *rabdos* held by the king of men, is a question that I have but to repeat, as I cannot answer it. His appearance here helps to unite the two compositions, and aids no little in the enforcement of their moral, by recalling the sad account that he gives to Ulysses of his catastrophe, the treachery of his wife, the fate of Cassandra, who is so ominously introduced in the scene of the oath of Ajax.

The figure of Agamemnon is in marked contrast to the other heroes of the group, all models of youthful military prowess as well as of the quick blood and warm sympathies of young enthusiasm. Though Antilochus stands as the friend loved best by Achilles after Patroclus, he is in the Iliad brought into direct personal relation with him only on the occasions of the announcement of the death of Patroclus and at his funeral games; hence it is that friendship and its end that his presence

recals: he shared the same tomb as Achilles, though not, like Patroclus, the same funeral urn—a preference corresponding with that given in the painting.

As Achilles expresses heroic friendship, so does Protesilaus heroic conjugal affection. The first of the Greeks to land on Trojan ground, and the first slain, he revisited earth for a three hours' interview with his wife,—such boon the gods accorded to the prayers of Laodameia, and at the expiration of the time she voluntarily died to accompany him to Hades. It is, then, not without meaning and significance of contrast that such a neighbour is given to Agamemnon, victim of the adulterous yet not unprovoked Clytemnestra. Allusion to such a story obviously befits a picture which has for its subject a descent to Hades—the intercourse of the upper and under worlds. With Achilles, towards whom, and thus away from Agamemnon, he looks, he is obviously more in sympathy,—with Achilles, whose yearning for the upper world, solicitude for the welfare of his childless and unprotected parent, and interest in the exploits and honour of his son, give tone and character to his discourse with Ulysses.

The introduction of Briseis, Diomede, and Iphis in the first picture, prepared for the appearance and importance of Achilles and Patroclus in the second.

Antilochus, it may be added, sacrificing his life to save his father, Nestor, was the great heroic type of filial affection, the virtue that we have seen already enforced in the present picture, as the Pylian sage, the object of it, was prominent in the last. It may be said that there is nothing in the position of Antilochus whereby the reward of filial affection is very obviously set forth: this is true enough, and it is pleasing to recognise in the Greeks of this age, the theory of a duty paramount to calculation of what was to be got by it, either in the present world or a future.

It would be better, in the absence of an authority either way, that Protesilaus should be represented standing; and the words of Pausanias appear to require that the cheeks of

Antilochus should be enclosed within his hands, or at least rest on one of them.

Passing now to the group of Asiatic notabilities that answer to these five Greeks, the first is Hector, whose dejected expression seems due to reflection on the downfall of his nation, though the lines of Homer (*Iliad* xxii. 363) may be compared for what illustration they will give. Contrasted with him here, as in the *Iliad*, is Paris, who endeavours to engage the attention of Penthesileia—Paris still. He meets with only slighting regard, and one commentator has seen in this, the appropriate punishment in Hades of the professed lady-killer; but Paris, I doubt not, would readily persuade himself, with the usual philosophy of the frivolous—rational enough notwithstanding and better men may have occasion to envy them, that the loss was the lady's. In truth, I am disposed to consider that Pausanias misconstrues the gesture of Paris, or its intention, for there are notices enough to prove that a snap of the fingers had the same meaning—flippant disregard, in antiquity as now.

Between Paris and Penthesileia sit Memnon and Sarpedon together as friends; they have many characteristics in common; they both belong to the more remote allies of Troy: Sarpedon was slain by one of the friends of Achilles, and Memnon, more fortunate so far, slew Antilochus, the other, but only to meet his own fate from the spear of Achilles: victors and vanquished are thus in corresponding groups. Both Sarpedon and Memnon are of divine descent, and the body of either is carried away through the air by divine intervention for funereal honours. Compare the notice of the pair in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, v. p. 622.

On the robe of Memnon Polygnotus painted birds, in allusion to a mythus of his tomb on the Hellespont, and at his feet a naked Æthiopian, that is, a black boy—this evidently in concession to the associations with his name (*nigri Memnonis arma*, does not stand alone), though many monuments extant represent the prince, and his followers too, as of Hellenic pre-

sence, and also equipment, and so doubtless Homer conceived the slayer of Antilochus—the beauteous son of the Morning. Memnon and Penthesileia were distinguished in the Æthiopis of Arctinus; and that the beauty of the latter should attract Paris in the painting, is in accordance with its having suggested a slander against Achilles in the poem. Like Hector, she died by the hands of Achilles, and the close relations of the two groups are completed, by Paris having been with Apollo to aid—no derogation from the exploit, the slayer of Achilles himself. None of the Trojans are mentioned in the Homeric *Nekyia*.

Five more Greeks are grouped together at the top of the picture: first and single is Telamonian Ajax, the only one of the five mentioned in the *Odyssey* as seen by Ulysses. Next to him are Palamedes and Thersites playing at dice—the invention of the former; the lesser Ajax is looking on; he is stained with the brine from the shipwreck—punishment of his misdeeds, as set forth in the companion-picture, the sign of the disaster which his ancient enemy, Ulysses, is learning from Teiresias how he may avoid. Pausanias remarks that Polygnotus designedly placed the opponents and enemies of Ulysses together, and certainly we must admit the significance of the arrangement. Thersites, who fares so ill at the hands of Ulysses in the *Iliad*, might seem too mean for the painter's notice, but he was concerned importantly in the post-Homeric incidents. Palamedes was still more important in the *Cyclic poems*, and is not mentioned by Homer at all; it is very difficult to think that his story could have gained such place and favour in tradition, unless branches and germs of it were anterior to Homer, in which case the poet must have suppressed his concern in the Trojan war deliberately, and doubtless for good poetical reasons. Were these reasons his too great participation in the leading characteristics of Ulysses, and the troublesome imputation that tradition affixed to the latter, of having removed his rival by vile stratagem? So far as I can trace, the traditions as we have them are uniformly in favour of Palamedes, and against Ulysses, and I do not quite perceive how Polygnotus

qualified the ungracious reminiscence—if indeed he desired to do so, unless to make him an associate of such a gamester as Thersites was held to discredit him sufficiently.

Meleager closes the group. Homer tells how he was persecuted by Artemis, and Pausanias that he was, according to some poets, slain by Apollo. He also figures in tradition of a descent to Hades—that of Hercules, whom he seized the opportunity of engaging to marry his sister Deïanira.

We now come to the central group of our secondary system, again composed of five figures, of whom the chief is evidently Orpheus; and surrounded as he is, it cannot be but that an important and crowning significance pertains to him.

To Schedios, however, the leader of the Phocians at the Trojan war, seems assignable the middle place, and he serves to vindicate the connexion of this group with those around it—with the other assailants and the defenders of Ilium. There is, then, a pair of figures on either side of him, and of each pair one figure is a bard—on one side sits Thamyris in an attitude of deep depression, deprived of sight, his lyre broken at his feet. He challenged the Muses to a trial of skill; the stake he proposed enhanced the insult and impiety, and he now suffers for his shameful failure. On the other side sits Orpheus, “on a sort of hill:” the best comment on the expression is to be found in the conventional indication of hills in the vase paintings; one hand is on his lyre, with the other he touches the twigs of a willow tree, type of the grove of Persephone.

Orpheus, as putative son of Apollo, has special claim to a place in a picture at Delphi, and Thamyris also had certain relations to the place, as his name occurred in the list of Pythian victors, in the early ages when the contest was a hymn to the god.—PAUS. x. 7.

The cause of the introduction of Pelias is not so obvious; but, in a dearth of even conjectures, I think it worth remarking that at the funeral games of Pelias, an occasion of such great renown, we are told by Hyginus (273), that Orpheus gained the prize with the lyre, and Olympus, pupil of Marsyas, with

the flute. Olympus and Marsyas thus gain an additional title to their place, besides their common relation to Delphi and its god. Meleager who appears in the group above Olympus was highly distinguished at the funeral games of Pelias. The Pythian nome was the work of the musician Olympus, whom the painter does not care to distinguish from his mythical prototype.

Phocus and Iaseus have claims to place from local relations, and correspond, as a group of an old man and a youth, to Olympus and Marsyas: some farther parallelism would be satisfactory, but none occurs to me.

Pausanias notices the profuse hair and beard given to Thamyris—they suggest the epithet *Σαμῆες*; and the conjecture to an allusion to his name is quite fair, while like allusions are admitted in the white head of Pelias (*πολιός*), and the hand-to-hand weapon (*σχεδία*) of Schedios.

The meaning of the gesture of Orpheus, could we satisfactorily elicit it, would determine much. As Schedios is crowned with leaves from his native Parnassus—the *agrostis*, may we regard Orpheus as about to break off a wreath for his brows. Hercules, on his descent to Hades, cooled his brows with a wreath from the poplars of the same or a like grove of Persephone, and the underside of the leaf coloured by the sweat of the hero became white, and is so to this day. The story of the golden branch, which obtains for Æneas entrance to Hades, may be descended from the same associations; and, lastly, we find notice that the happy denizens of Elysium, those who enjoy the benefits of initiation, are crowned with chaplets. A passage in the Clouds of Aristophanes, v. 1006, always reminds me of this group of Orpheus and his companion; but it may not be easy to communicate the force of the illustration.

Orpheus, then, I have no doubt was intended to be placed in triumphant contrast to the defeated and dejected Thamyris at the opposite end of the group, a contrast corresponding to that between Ulysses and the Ajaces; and this is quite in ac-

cordance with his remarkable relations to the under-world and to mystical initiations.

By this significance, of which more remains to be said, the son of Apollo has the same subjective pre-eminence in the second half of the painting, that belongs to Ulysses in the first. Neither of these protagonists, however, occupies the exact centre of his proper symmetrical system, and it is thus that Polygnotus preserved the feeling that those systems are dependent parts, not independent or even companion wholes, and caused them, we may say, mutually to gravitate towards each other. Ulysses verges to the right of one side on the upper row, Orpheus to the left of the other on the lower line: and thus, in distribution correlative yet contrasted, they throw the balance of import towards each other, and towards the middle line of the picture, and compensate, by a pictorial *cæsura*, for the weakness and blankness of the space so strongly occupied in the companion picture; and thus was braced a system of unity and purport such as no restoration we can provide will adequately set forth.

Among the first figures enumerated in this picture were, as we have seen, Tellis and Cleoboia, of Paros and Thasos, representatives of the worship of Demeter, and the introduction of her mysteries into the latter island. The great interest of these mysteries centered in the influence assigned to them in procuring for the Initiates safety through the perils of Hades, and happy return in due time to upper light; hence the appropriateness of the allusion, in a picture representing a successful descent to Hades, for such mythical descents and re-ascents, whether of god or hero—of Dionusos, or Kore, or Herakles, and therefore by analogy of Ulysses, were held to be types and guarantees of the true hope held out to the Initiate. So the safe return of Hercules was distinctly ascribed to his previous initiation; and in the picture before us we see the fate of the uninitiated confessedly typified in the endless and hopeless occupation of the hydrophoria—whether to fill a leaky cask, or broken pitchers. Now Orpheus had himself descended to Hades and returned, and he was accepted, in a certain range of tradition, as the great

mystagogue—the great inculcator of the futility of the fears of death, and the great example of the truth and reality of his doctrine. See the most important literary authorities,—Lobeck; *Aglaophamus*, p. 238.

Authorities as important for our present purpose are the pictorial decorations of Greek vases from Lower Italy. They present us with Orpheus in a scene of the under-world, and types of all the ideas that are so significantly assembled by Polygnotus. Orpheus, the mystagogue, in the Thracian costume which Pausanias is evidently surprised to miss, advances playing on his lyre to the palace of Hades and Persephone, and the Initiated are sometimes following, sometimes stand listening to him, and regarding him with attention like the Promedon—otherwise unknown, of our painting. Above are the powers or priestesses of the mysteries, clearly marked by their symbols, and mythical examples of respect or contempt for the solemnities—the Dioscuri, or Theseus and Pirithous. Below, Hercules, divinely conducted, drags the triple-headed Cerberus, undismayed by the Furies. Around, and bounding the scene, as in our painting, are the punishments of Sisyphus, Tantalus, &c.

One remarkable difference there is between the painting of Polygnotus and the vases: in our painting, the Uninitiated are typified by figures of various ages and either sex, who are engaged in the futile task of carrying water in leaking vessels; but on the vases, the maidens with vases in the scenes of the under-world are evidently not represented as punished, but rather as cheerfully celebrating a sacred rite. The analysis of the incongruity is a subject in itself. I can only notice here, that the punishment ascribed to the Danaids in Hades is clearly traceable by historical notices, to the polemical ingenuity of rival sanctuaries: the Argives claimed for the Danaids the honour of introducing the mysteries of Demeter into Greece, and rival claimants replied by assigning to the Danaids a place among the types of impiety in their Hades, and transforming their most sacred rite into a symbol of the imputed futility of their offices.

There can be little doubt that Pausanias was right in asso-

ciating the group around the *pithos* with the two water-carrying females, to whom the inscription *Uninitiated* was more immediately attached. There is, however, a little uncertainty as to their exact occupation; the words of the description appear to imply that the four figures were carrying water from, not to, the *pithos*, as one of them, whose pitcher is broken, is said to be pouring back what water remained. The sense and intention of the group, however, would remain the same, and the variation of the circumstances may be safely interpreted as nothing more than one of the fanciful, or more than fanciful, alterations in which, as we have seen, the painter asserts his right of originality.

From the illustration that the vase paintings mutually afford to each other, and derive in common from literature, their general significance under all variety of treatment is sufficiently recognisable, and in its leading lines is the same, and is that of the paintings of Polygnotus. In the practice of natural piety and respect for consecrated things, conjoined with conformity to certain symbolical rituals, of all which the initiating ministers of whom Orpheus was a type, were the great instruments and interpreters, lay the hope of the Greek religionist for peace in the grave and life beyond it. But as mere doctrine and inculcation tell but with secondary force, to promises that such would be the efficacy of worthy initiation, was added distinct averment that such it had been; thus the Dioscuri, thus Herakles, thus Orpheus or Ulysses, had surmounted the perils of the nether world—to pass over Dionusos, himself a god though son of Semele, and who, though a god, was precedent for human hope, like Egyptian Osiris, by himself having submitted to violent death, the condition of his triumph. Warning was as little wanting as example, and Sisyphus, Tantalus, Ixion, with a band of worthy comates, completed the requisite hieratic apparatus.

But what belief and what influence could such inventions, in which allegory, and poetry, and arbitrary fiction, come forward into notorious daylight so constantly, have over reasonable beings—over Greeks? The question is no slight one:

that influence they did command, I must here assume, and it is most certain. It is another question whether such result was dependent on the peculiar state of the popular mind at a certain stage of historical development, or whether it exists as a permanent characteristic; and it behoves one who would be satisfied on this head, to examine whether he himself is so free from the weakness as to be entitled to propose the question; or, not being so, whether he is prepared to entertain temperately whatever suggestions the discussion, conscientiously conducted, may be found to lead up to.

Western Paganism had exhausted its last development, and was verging inevitably to the decrepitude that is unto death, when the forms of fable, in which it had so variously, but ever with a certain pervading homogeneousness, found expression for more teaching than it ever dogmatized, were confronted and compared with the substantial incidents—the promises and precedents, of a new faith. It is difficult at the present day for any but archæologists to appreciate the liveliness with which the Jewish controversialist, Tryphon, recognises in the supernatural story, urged upon his credence by evidence from his own prophetic books, nothing but the reproduction in yet another mythus—informed with whatever spirit, of the staple theory of man that the world was tired of, that had seemed effete and on the point of dying out. The analogy is not denied nor evaded by Justin Martyr, who conducts and records the deliberation. Few among us now, it is true, will assent to his confident solution of the difficulty, by ascribing the resemblance to the *finesse* of devils—prescient of the coming revelation, and preparing for confusion and cavils; but we must admire the candour with which the Father accepts his adversary's challenge for an answer, and look forward to the appearance of an inquirer and expositor, of better historical acumen but only equal self-respect, for the elucidation of one of the most interesting questions connected with the history and progress of our race.

WILLIAM WATKISS LLOYD.



Iryk Son, Lith^d to the Queen



THE FRIEZE OF POLYDORUS IN THE TEMPLE AT DELPHI

THE PART OF THE LEFT HAND
THE CENTRE OF THE FRIEZE

XIV.

ON THE SCULPTURES OF THE IONIC MONUMENT
AT XANTHUS,
DISCOVERED BY SIR CHARLES FELLOWS.*

IN an age so distinguished by the researches of men of learning, the discoveries of zealous and enterprising travellers,—by whose labours we are enlightened and instructed, and through whom we are enabled to behold the acts and monuments, the manners and customs, of ages almost obliterated and swept from the records of time,—are entitled to the highest praise.

By the labours of such individuals we are enabled to obtain a just and correct knowledge of the religion, legends, and traditions of various and distant people, tracing the progress of each from its distant and original source, and thus to clear up many obscure passages, and to explain satisfactorily many historical events, of which few or very slight records at present remain: and it is thus that many facts recorded by ancient historians, and which the changes of ideas and customs in modern ages had condemned as fabrications, have been fully verified and confirmed.

Among late discoveries of this description, we may class the monument recently discovered in Lycia by Sir Charles Fellows; a monument in itself of the highest importance as regards the sculpture with which it is adorned, and the remote and interesting historical events which its bas-reliefs clearly reveal to us. We cannot but admire the zeal and perseverance

* This Paper has been kindly presented by the Council of the British Archaeological Association.

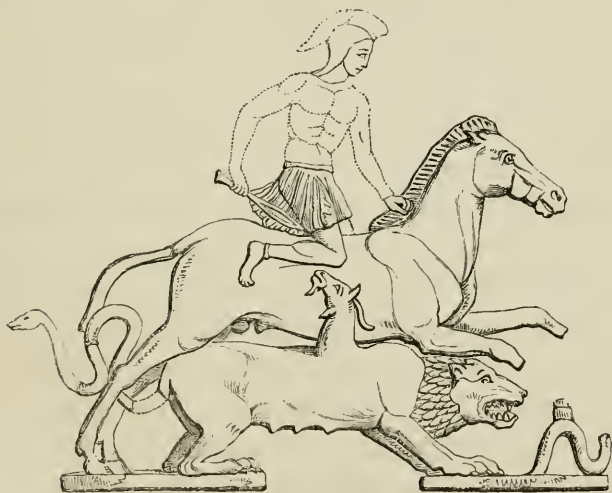
with which our enterprising traveller and countryman prosecuted his researches, and the ability and intelligence with which he conducted the excavations, so as to bring forth and restore to light a monument which had been lost for so many ages, and which is so important as illustrating an event recorded by the great Father of History,—the conquest of Lycia by the united forces of the Persians and Ionians. That this is the subject of the monument it will be my endeavour to prove, from the facts recorded to us by ancient authors, and from an examination of the structure itself.

The monument occupied the summit of a gentle eminence, standing on the edge of a cliff of nearly thirty feet in height, and situated about a mile from the city of Xanthus. The base of the monument measures thirty-three feet in length by twenty-two in breadth, and is of the natural stone of the country. The superstructure is of white marble; the pedestal of which is adorned with two rows of bas-reliefs—the lower and larger one representing a general battle of horse and foot, and the upper series offering all the incidents consequent to the siege and taking of a town. Upon this stylobate stood a peristyle, of four columns at each end and five on each side. They are of the Ionic order, and the building terminates with a ridge roof, and pediment at each end. A female statue in light drapery, with an emblem at her feet, occupies each intercolumniation. On the apex of the front pediment are two male statues, holding up a boy. The frieze of the entablature has hunting and battle scenes at the sides, and Persians and Greeks bearing offerings at either end. The frieze of the cella, within the peristyle, is ornamented with representations of funereal ceremonies.

In these relievos we see clearly people of distinct nations, as is manifest from the difference of costume. To know who they are, and who they represent, it will be necessary to refer slightly to those events of Lycian history which may throw light on the subjects represented in the sculptures of this monument, which, from its differing so essentially from every other object in this

country in its style of art, naturally leads us to conceive that it owes its origin to some foreign influence.

The fabulous history of Lycia records to us the myths of Bellerophon, and of the carrying away of the daughters of Pandarus by the Harpies. The latter event is represented on, and has given its name to, one of the stelæ in the city of Xanthus. The accompanying representation of the story of Bellerophon is taken from a beautiful terra-cotta found in the island of Melos, and now in the British Museum. It is of early Greek art, anterior to the time of Phidias; and this corresponds with the fact, that the ancient poets make no reference to a winged Pegasus. It bears evidence of having once been decorated with colour.*



Bellerophon, a son of the king of Corinth, having murdered his brother, fled to the court of Prætus, king of Argos. Being unjustly accused of intriguing with the king's wife, he was sent to Iobates, king of Lycia, bearing instructions for his own death. For this purpose Iobates furnishes him with troops, and

* A very beautiful and superb Roman mosaic pavement representing this subject, discovered at Autun, in France, has lately been exhibited in this country.

directs him to kill the Chimera, a horrible monster, described by Hesiod as having the head of a lion, the body of a goat, and the tail of a dragon, which was possessed of great velocity, which belched forth fire from its mouth, and which had for a long time laid waste Lycia.* Now the poets have generally interpreted this extravagant animal by the supposition, that it might have been a formidable volcano of this name in the Gulf of Telmessus, the summit being inhabited by lions, the centre by goats, and the foot of the mountain by serpents; and that the fable originated from Bellerophon's having reduced this tract of land and rendered it habitable.

Now it is absurd to suppose that Iobates would send Bellerophon with troops to the impossible task of destroying a volcano: it is most probable he was sent out on a military expedition; and with the suggestions afforded us by Tzetzes on *Lycophron*, we may be enabled to determine that he was sent against an enemy of three united people: for Tzetzes tells us that the lion was the emblem of the Solymean people, given to them by the poets on account of their bravery; that the goat was given to another neighbouring people, celebrated for their agility, and whom he names Amazons; and that the serpent typified those who inhabited the plains.†

The fact of Iobates endeavouring, in fulfilment of the instructions given him by Prætus, to cut him off in an ambuscade on his return, shows clearly that it was a military expedition, and that Bellerophon, or the man of council, (*Βουληφόρος ἀνὴρ*), had destroyed the confederacy and conquered them. With this mythical introduction, we proceed to the historical description of the country.

* From this animal, Hesiod tells us the Greeks derive the origin of their Sphinx: hence Bellerophon, Pegasus, and the Sphinx, occur frequently in the sculptures and on the coins of Lycia. The coins of Grecian Lycia, however, present the head and emblems of Apollo, whose worship in later times generally prevailed through the whole country.

† See also HOMER, *Il.* vi.

Lycia is a maritime province of Asia Minor, of peculiar interest, whether it be with respect to its historical records, or for the remarkable contrast of its past and prosperous condition with its fall and present desolation. Lycia was the ancient Mylias, bounded on the north by Phrygia, on the east by Pamphylia, on the west by Caria, and on the south by the Mediterranean. Xanthus was the capital, on the banks of the river of the same name. During the period of ancient civilization, this region was greatly populated. In the time of Pliny there were thirty-six cities in Lycia, and before that period there were thrice that number.

The most ancient notice we have of the people of Lycia is furnished by Homer and Herodotus. They were courageous and valiant warriors, and especially renowned for their dexterity in throwing the dart, and in the handling of their arms. The prince of poets frequently mentions the name of Pandarus, the son of Lycaon, who signalized himself in the war of Troy against the Greeks: and he also records the deeds of Sarpedon, king of Lycia, and of Glaucus, who came to the assistance of the Trojans,* “bringing with him numerous squadrons from a great distance, from Lycia and the winding Xanthus.” Herodotus tells us, that the city of Xanthus was originally peopled by the Cretans, who, according to the common tradition, founded a small kingdom under the government of Sarpedon; this colony being a different one from that which he had formerly sent into Asia Minor, when he had ineffectually contested the crown with his brother Minos, king of Crete. Lycus, the son of Pandion, being driven from Athens by his brother Ægeus, joined Sarpedon at Ternikæ, and succeeded him as king, and from him the country was called Lycia.

Defended by its fastnesses, and the bravery of its inhabitants, Lycia had constantly maintained its independence; but on the death of Cræsus, Cyrus turning his attention to

* HOMER, *Il.* v.

Asia Minor, sent an expedition to bring it into subjection. After reducing Ionia, Æolia, and Caria, and incorporating them with his armies, Harpagus marched immediately to the plains of Lycia, and proceeded to the capital. As Herodotus gives us so clear an account of his proceedings, we will quote it in his own words:—

“When Harpagus moved his army to the plain of Xanthus, the Lycians drew out their forces, few against the many, and gave proof of the greatest valour; but being overcome in battle, and driven back into the city, they collected into the citadel their wives, children, servants, and treasures; then setting fire to the citadel, the whole were consumed. This done, they bound themselves by the most solemn oaths; when, sallying forth and fighting valiantly, all the Xanthians were cut to pieces. The Lycians who at the present time claim to be Xanthians are all foreigners, excepting eighty families, who at that time happened to be abroad, and so they survived. Thus Harpagus gained possession of Lycia, and in a similar manner he possessed himself of Caunus, for the Caunians, for the greater part, imitated the Lycians.”*

Every incident here narrated we find depicted in the sculptures of this monument, which thus becomes of twofold interest; interesting from its characters as a work of art, and from its accordance with and corroboration of ancient history. Thus in the larger frieze of the pedestal, we have the general battle of horse and foot, “the fight of the few against the many.” In this spirited composition we may distinguish a style totally distinct from, and much more advanced than, the Archaic style of Lycian art, and nearly approaching the compositions of the Phigalean frieze, but not so correct in their proportions. The artist has illustrated this part of the composition with such incidents as are consequent to a general battle, and which add to its spirit and interest. Thus, in one of the sculptures

* HEROD., i. 176.

we see a Greek soldier who has struck his lance through the head of a Lycian. He has placed his foot on the prostrate foe, and is drawing back his lance, notwithstanding the resistance of his unhappy victim: an incident which I do not remember to have seen in any other ancient bas-relief, though we meet with similar incidents in the poets.

“Fierce from his knees the hapless chief he thrust,
The monarch’s javelin stretch’d him in the dust,
Then pressing with his foot his panting heart,
Forth from the slain he tugg’d the reeking dart.”

HOMER, *Il.* vi. 61.

An interesting peculiarity exhibited in these sculptures is afforded by the circumstance, that several of the figures carry shields, to which is attached a piece of dependent drapery. A similar appendage is frequently seen on the painted vases, but this is the only instance among the bas-reliefs of antiquity in which it is represented.

In a beautiful Greek vase published by Inghirami, we have an Amazon leading a Greek warrior, which, as explained by Millingen, represents Antiope leading Theseus to the walls of Thesmisceyra. To the shield of Theseus is attached this pendent drapery, on which an eye is painted in strong lines. It is fixed



to the shield by a bar and rivets, precisely in the manner indicated in the bas-reliefs.

This appendage* may probably have been made of leather, with the eye painted upon it as an emblem of vigilance. On many parts of the sculptures before us we have faint traces of painted lines, and I doubt not the eye has been indicated upon these shields, although no trace of colour is now to be found.

We have three instances of its representation in these sculptures: one occurs in the large frieze already mentioned, the others in the smaller frieze. It is borne by a Lycian, heading a sally from the gate of the besieged city, and it distinguishes one of the chiefs assembled before Harpagus. From these circumstances, we may conclude that they were the badges of leaders, (*στρατηγοί*,) or officers; and that Theseus is thus distinguished as being the leader of the Grecian army.

The subject of the larger frieze appears, from the space allotted to it, to have been judged of greater consequence than the other bas-reliefs, the broad band being equal to the upper band and cornice together.† This upper series contains the incidents consequent on the termination of the war.

The principal group is that of Harpagus, in the act of dictating terms to the Lycian chiefs. He is represented seated on his throne, with his feet reposing on a footstool. An attendant holds an umbrella over his head, a well-known eastern and Persian emblem of authority.‡

* I find that Prof. Welcker and Mr. Birch have identified it with the *λαισήϊον*. It is mentioned by Homer, *Il.* v. 453, and Herod., xii. v. 426. It is always applied to Barbarians or Asiatic Greeks. Cf. MÜLLER, *Arch. der Kunst.*, § 342, n. 6. The covering is a raw hide: its use was to protect the lower limbs from arrows or stones. Herod. (vi. 91) mentions its use by the Cilicians.

† Or it may have been selected from the more artistic flowing of the lines produced by men and horses in varied action; or from the difficulty of representing the many incidents indicated in the upper row, were the frieze to have been increased in height.—ED.

‡ The princes are thus distinguished in the sculptures of Persepolis.



On his head he wears the cap which is commonly called Phrygian, and which may show the common intercourse which these nations had with each other. Something similar is described by Strabo, xv. 3: and the same cap is seen on the group of the Persian Mithra.

Behind Harpagus are the principal leaders of the Grecian allies, and before him stand the Lycian chiefs, recognisable by their dress and long hair, as described by Strabo. The action of Harpagus is dignified and severe. His right arm is elevated, and he appears to be dictating his terms to them as a conqueror. The action of the Lycian chiefs, on the other hand, is simple, natural, and noble: though vanquished, they stand firm, and answer the Persian general with dignity and composure.

In another compartment are four Lycian prisoners, with their hands tied behind them, and conducted by soldiers in front and rear. As their backs are turned from the city, they may have been separated from their countrymen in their hasty retreat to the gates, and thus made prisoners.

The next compartment represents the taking of the city, the representation of which perfectly resembles the peculiar architecture of this country. Soldiers are seen mounting the scaling ladders;* others, kneeling down, hold the ropes which

* Engines for sieges were invented and used in the East many years before the Greeks of Europe appear to have had any knowledge of them.

fasten the ladders to the walls; while others, again, crouch behind their shields, to protect themselves from the missiles thrown by the besieged. The conception is spirited, and each figure in energetic and appropriate action.

In another, we have the sally from the gates. The Lycians are led, as has been before mentioned, by the figure with the *λαισήϊον*. The Xanthians appear to be throwing stones, such stones as are described by Homer:—

Οἱ δ' ἄρα χερμαδίοισιν εὐδμήτων ἀπὸ πύργων
Βαλλον

Il. xii. 154.

This sally brings us to the great and last catastrophe of the war, so well described by Herodotus—"When sallying forth and fighting valiantly, all the Xanthians were cut to pieces."

The principal compartments of the bas-reliefs on the base-ment of the monument being now described, we proceed to speak of the statues which adorn the intercolumniations of the peristyle. A very ingenious idea has been published,* appropriating these statues to the Nereids; but however plausible such an hypothesis may appear, it destroys the connexion of the monument with the history of its erection, and dispels that unity and harmony which are so conspicuous in all the works of the great artists of antiquity, and for which they are so justly and greatly admired.

Now, as we have seen that the fall of Xanthus, and the consequent subjection of Lycia, is represented on these bas-reliefs,—then, that the statues of the peristyle must be subservient and relative to the same event, will be equally clear, when we take into consideration the universal custom of the ancients of erecting trophies in memorial of their conquests. Jealous lest oblivion should throw her dark veil over their exploits, they were ever anxious to hand down testimonials of their valour to their latest posterity.

* *Xanthian Marbles: the Nereid Monument*, by WILLIAM WATKISS LLOYD, (8vo, Pickering, 1845,) the merits of which we cannot here discuss.—ED.

At first their trophies were formed of the arms taken from the enemy on the field of battle. Afterwards they became more costly in their substance, and were erected of more permanent materials, as stone or marble.

These statues having each a distinct and separate emblem at their feet, as a fish, a dolphin, a crab, a dove, a snake, a shell, &c., gives them at once a positive and definite character. Believing, then, these emblems to be peculiar attributes, I look upon the statues as personifications of the cities and people of Ionia and Æolia, who furnished the contingents to augment the army of Harpagus,* and conjointly with whom he conquered the Xanthians. This opinion I will endeavour to establish by reference to the coins of these cities, these affording the surest data by which we may obtain information.

MILETUS.



On the conquest of Lydia by Cyrus, the Milesians alone, of all the Ionians, were received into alliance by Cyrus, and as allies they must have rendered essential aid in the conquest of Lycia.

The city of the Milesians was the capital of Ionia: it was founded by Miletus the Cretan, and we find several medals struck to his honour; this being one of the few cities whose

* The name of Harpagus being given to a Median prince has been matter of surprise to some, it being a word of pure Greek origin, if it be not a Hellenized equivalent for this name in the Persian. I am inclined to believe that as it was the custom, particularly of the eastern nations, for their princes to assume epithets and titles taken from their divinities, or from some remarkable circumstance, it might be an epithet assumed by the lieutenant of Cyrus, who might have styled himself the *rapacious* or *exterminating sword*. The custom was very prevalent among the Greeks in early times, as Homer constantly applies various titles both to the gods and heroes.

† A silver Drachm. Brit. Mus.

founders are known by the coins or medals struck in commemoration of the event. The Milesians eventually rose to such eminence, that they founded upwards of eighty cities in different places, chiefly maritime.

The city was famous for the Oracle and Temple of Apollo Didymeus at Branchidæ. It was burnt by Xerxes, but afterwards rebuilt with such extraordinary magnificence, that, from the testimony of Vitruvius, it was one of the four edifices which rendered the names of their architects immortal. We may therefore reasonably suppose, that in the erection of this monument Miletus should hold a conspicuous position. The Branchidæan Apollo was the protecting deity of the Milesians, who, among other various names, as we are informed by Strabo, called him *Salutiferus*, regarding him as the protecting and healing god: whence, having the same attributes, he is easily confounded with his son Æsculapius.*

The figure of Apollo occurs on the coins of Miletus, on the reverse of which is a lion, an emblem of the people. In the Museum San Clementi are two coins of this city: one has a figure of Apollo with his bow in his left hand, and apparently holding a stag in his right: on the disk are seen the two initial letters of the name of the city, M I, (the I being placed in the middle of the M,) and on the reverse a lion, with an inscription beneath, probably the name of a magistrate. On the other is the head of Apollo, and on the reverse a lion, near the mane of which are the initials, M I, of the city. With the assistance of Strabo and Spanheim, we may explain the snake or serpent†

* Vide SPANHEIM, *De Priest. et Usu Numm.*

† The only instance we can find of a serpent appearing as an emblem of this city, is in Mionnet: "—— ΝΕΡΩΝ Tête laurée de Néron à gauche. R. — ΕΠΙ . ΤΙ . ΜΙΑΗΤΟC. Miletus en habit militaire, debout, entre deux proues de vaisseau, tourné à gauche: il tient de la main droite une épée, autour de laquelle est un serpent, et de la gauche une lance transversale."—MIONNET, *Suppl. Ionie*, No. 1252. Mr. Gibson, to whom we have communicated this coin, considers it interesting, in showing the connexion between the worship of Apollo and the adoration of the sun by the ancient Assyrians, whom they represented as holding a sword.—ED.

at the feet of one of the statues as having direct reference to the city of Miletus; while the lions which occupy the end intercolumniations may, by the help of the coins, be shown to refer to the Milesian people.

As the ancients were greatly attached to their early symbols, and regarded them with reverential and religious veneration, they constantly adhered to the primitive type in representing them, a circumstance which may account for the Archaic style of these animals.

PHOCÆA.



Phocæa was the first of the Ionian cities which fell into the hands of Harpagus. Herodotus narrates that the Phocæans were unwilling to submit to his yoke, and determined to defend their liberties to the utmost. Being hard pressed, they demanded a day to consider of his terms, which Harpagus granted, though he professed to know their intention in asking it. The Phocæans fled by sea, leaving their town empty, and binding themselves by oath never to return to Phocæa till a large red hot mass of iron, which they threw into the sea, should rise again. But during the voyage the greater part of them were seized with such regret at leaving their former and ancient residence, that they returned to Phocæa,† and, submitting to the invader, must also have increased his army with their contingents.

On several of the coins of Phocæa we find a wolf seizing a fish, as represented in the above woodcut. Hardouin was the first to point out this fish to be the phoca. Though some

* A Greek Imperial Coin. Brit. Mus. † Autonomous Coin. Brit. Mus.
 ‡ HEROD., i. 164-5.

numismatists have disputed it, his opinion is confirmed by the testimony of Stephanus Byzantinus, who says:—"The Ionian city, Phocæa, was so called because many phocæ followed the founders;" and Sistinus shows that this fish is the dog-fish, which abounds in those seas. The wolf is said to have been regarded by the Egyptians as the emblem of the course of the sun, and the animal was also dedicated to Apollo, or the sun, by the Greeks. Macrobius says the year was anciently called by the Greeks *λυκάβαντα*, which Pier. Valeriano derives from *λύχω*, signifying a wolf.

The letter L occurs on several medals, and has been mostly taken as a numeral by the older numismatists; but as the Greeks adopted two forms of the *λαμβδα*, the *Λ* and the *L*, and this last form is used on coins for the word *Λυκάβαντος*, the year, so the wolf on this coin may refer to the year when the colony was founded; or as the inhabitants of these coasts were expert mariners, and occupied with fisheries, it might refer to the time of year when these fisheries took place, for something of the kind is intimated by Ælian* as having existed on the lake Mæotis, at a place called Canopium.

COS.



†

When Harpagus had subdued the Ionians on the continent, the inhabitants of the islands, terrified at the fate of their brethren, immediately submitted.

In the statue with the crab at her feet, we have the emblem of the Island of Cos. This island was anciently known by

* V. H., vi. 65.

† A silver Tetradrachm. Brit. Mus.

various name, as Cea, Staphylus, Nymphæa, and Meropis.* It contained a very celebrated temple of Æsculapius, as also an equally celebrated and more ancient one of Juno, concerning which Theodorus wrote a treatise.† The crab was dedicated to this divinity, and was by her placed among the constellations.‡ Hence the crab occurs frequently on the coins of this island. Mionnet gives seventeen such coins, bearing the head of Hercules with the lion's skin, and the crab on the reverse. Sometimes they are seen with a figure of Apollo before a tripod, and on the reverse a crab; and, again, with a female head, and on the reverse a crab; with a club placed horizontally, and the name of a magistrate beneath. The crab also appears on the coins of Agrigentum, that city being a colony of Cos.

MYRINA ÆOLIDIS.



A maritime town of Æolia, and named by Herodotus as one of the eleven cities of Æolia.

Two cities of this name are met with in ancient authors,—one in the Isle of Lemnos, which was noted for the shadow of Mount Athos falling into its forum when the sun was in the solstice, and the other this Æolian town of Herodotus. Strabo§ says that it derived its name from Myrina, an Amazon.

A coin attributed to the city represents a *dolphin*, beneath which is a trident, with the inscription MYP. From this animal, therefore, we may conclude that the city of Myrina is represented by the statue which has a dolphin at her feet.

* THUC., viii. 41.

† VITR., lib. vii.

‡ HYG., *Poet. Astr.*

§ Lib. xiii.

PYRNUΣ.



This city of Caria is noticed by Stephanus. It is mentioned by Pliny:† by some it is also called Urnus. On the coins of Pyrna a head of Apollo in full is seen, and on the reverse a marine shell.

So little is said about this city by ancient authors, that scarcely more than the name can be determined.

Grynea is mentioned by Herodotus after he names Myrina. Stephanus calls it a small town of the Cyrenians; but here the text is evidently corrupt, for instead of reading Γρύνοι Πολιχνιον Κυρηναίων, it should be, according to Strabo,‡ Πολιχνιον Μυρναίων. He says,—“then Grynea, a small town of the Myrineans, which had a temple of Apollo built of fine white stone, and an ancient Oracle, known as the Grynean Apollo.” In the time of Pliny there only remained the port. On the coins of this city are found the head of Apollo in front, with the crown of laurel, and on the reverse the inscription ΓΥΡ, and the emblem of the city, a marine bivalve shell.§ From this shell we are enabled to appropriate another of the statues.

CNIDUS.



The Cnidians were a Lacedæmonian colony, whose territory occupied the peninsula called Triopium. On the north they

* An Autonomous copper Coin. Brit. Mus.

† *H. N.*, v. 28. ‡ Lib. xiii.

§ It is the *Pinna*, a molluscous animal of the conchiferous class.—ED.

were bounded by the bay of Ceramus, and on the south by the sea which flows near Syme and Rhodes.

It was while under apprehension of being attacked by Harpagus that they purposed converting this promontory to an island, but were dissuaded from so doing by the Oracle, which said:—

“Nor build, nor dig: for wiser Heaven
Had, were it best, an island given.”

The city of Cnidus was famous for the worship of Venus, and it became still more celebrated, at a later period, from possessing one of the finest works of Praxiteles,—his statue of Venus.

The worship of Venus was very ancient, and long prevalent in the East, especially among the Assyrians. The name they gave her was Mylitta. She was worshipped under the title of Urania, or the Divine, and considered to be the general principle of vivifying life. But in the transition of her worship to the Greeks this idea was soon lost sight of, and she became the goddess of love and pleasure.

The dove was sacred to her, and the Babylonians held her in especial reverence. They adopted the dove as their national emblem, and placed it on their standards. Thus, in Jeremiah,* we read in the Vulgate:—“Their land was made desolate by the face and wrath of the dove.”

From this place her worship appears to have extended to Ascalon, on the coins of which city we behold a female figure with an acrostolium in her left hand, an altar before her, and behind her a dove.

The worship of Venus next established itself in Asia Minor, and at Cnidus became very famous, in which city she had a splendid temple. It was open on every side, so that the statue of the goddess could be seen perfectly from every point of view.

* xxv. 38.

From Cnidus her worship passed to Troas, and from thence to Erix in Sicily, where she had a magnificent temple: and here doves were held as sacred as they were either in Palestine or Syria. Two days in the year were kept as solemn festivals; the one called *Αναγωγή*, or the Departure, at which time, as the doves had disappeared Venus was supposed to depart over sea and leave the island; and the other, *Καταγωγή*, when it was believed she had returned, as a beautiful purple dove, considered to be the goddess herself, was observed to fly to the shrine of the goddess. On the coins of Erix are seen a head of Venus, and on the reverse a dove.

Another city in which Venus was especially worshipped was Aphrodisias. This city was under the jurisdiction of the Cnidians,* and we find on its coins a female figure with a dove.

From the foregoing, we may conclude that the female statue with the dove at her feet, represent Cnidus and her dependant towns.

On the coins of Cnidus we sometimes see a turreted head of the city, which has been mistaken for Cybele,† and on the reverse a lion, an emblem of the people, which may be represented, therefore, by one of the lions on the monument.

The remaining statues are not sufficiently perfect to allow of their emblems being sufficiently distinguished.

An objection will naturally be raised, that the ancients generally represented provinces and cities in sculpture as either standing, or sitting in a quiet posture. But it would appear that this was by no means an invariable rule with them; and it will be seen that both Greeks and Romans altered the representation of provinces and cities on their coins in various ways, as time and circumstances required. Some-

* Vide STEPH. BYZAN. *de Urb.* a Tho. Pinedo, Amst., 1678, p. 144.

† ECKHEL., 3, Nr. 219—6; Nr. 228—3, § 339; Nr. 202 to 213; Supp. 6—480; Nr. 213 to 225. A female head with a turreted crown: on the reverse, a lion's head. Mionnet gives seven other coins with the head of Venus, and on the reverse the half-figure of a lion, with the inscription, KNI. and KNIΔΙΩ.

times the city or province appeared in a more quiet and reposing attitude, and sometimes it was represented of a more warlike aspect.

On a medal of Hadrian we see Spain reclining in perfect repose, with an olive branch in her hand, the emblem of peace; the other arm resting on a rock. On one of the medals of Galba she is seen in a totally different costume, dressed nearly as an Amazon, extending her right hand, in form of alliance, to another figure, which from the inscription is Gaul: and on another medal of Hadrian she is seen in a more warlike aspect:—



In her right hand she holds ears of corn, as an emblem of the fertility of the soil; and on her left arm she carries a round shield and two javelins; whilst her drapery is flowing and agitated by the wind, as though she were moving in rapid motion, almost in the same manner as the statues of the Xanthian marbles.

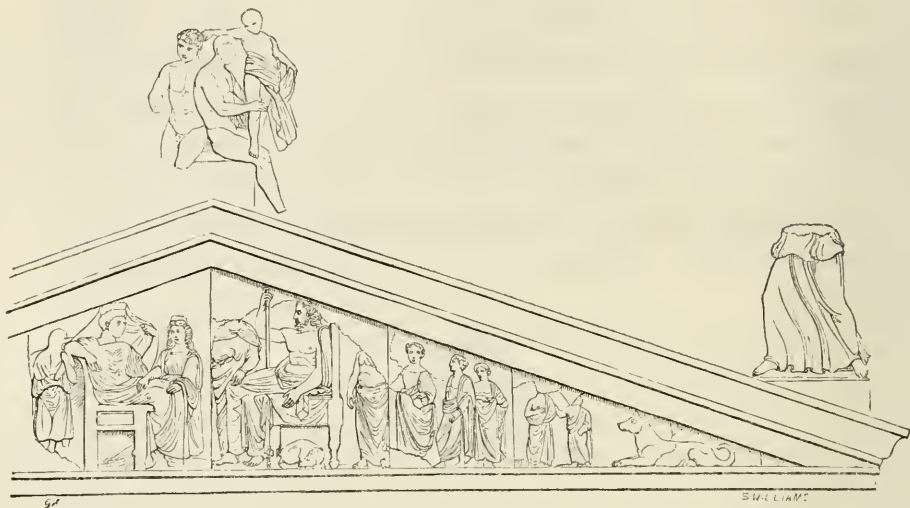
In a coin of Mostene, struck by L. Verus, we see the city, with her turreted crown, represented as an Amazon on horseback:† the motion represented in which may be intended to designate the migration of the Amazons from Thermodon to Phrygia, Æolia, Ionia, Lydia, &c., in which countries several cities were founded by them.

Having thus endeavoured to identify the statues of the peristyle with the several Greek cities which sent their contingent forces to the army of Harpagus, we have now to examine

* An Aureus of Galba. Brit. Mus.

† Amazons riding on horseback, says Oderici, are seen on other Greek coins; "but Amazons riding with a turreted head I do not remember to have seen, except on the coins of those cities which were founded by Amazons, and a turreted head is always an emblem of the city."—*Numismata Græca*, p. 26.

whether the sculpture in the pediment has any connexion with the subject represented in the lower part of the monument.



In the centre of the eastern pediment we see a male and female figure sitting opposite to each other, with an attendant standing on each side of them. The difference in size between the principal figures and their attendants is a sufficient evidence of their representing divinities. This custom of representing the gods of colossal size was borrowed by the Greeks from Egypt, in order to give a more supernatural and elevated idea of the nature of the gods.

Thus, in the eighteenth book of the *Iliad*, v. 516, we have the following description of the shield of Achilles. In one compartment of the shield is represented a city at war, with Mars and Minerva leading out the youths to battle:—

“They marched, by Pallas and by Mars made bold,
Gold were the gods, their radiant garments gold,
And gold their armour, these the squadrons led
August, divine, superior by the head.”

The words are more expressive in the original—

Οἱ δ' ἴσαν, ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφιν Ἄρης καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη,
Ἄμφω χρυσεῖω, χρύσεια δὲ εἴματα ἔσσην,
Καλῶ καὶ μεγάλῳ σὺν τεύχεσιν, ὥστε Σεῶ περ,
Ἀμφὶς ἀριζήλῳ λαοὶ δ' ὑπολίζονες ἦσαν.

It was in this manner that the gods were invariably represented in the time of Homer, and several Greek bas-reliefs might be cited in proof of this assertion. Zoega, indeed, is of opinion that this custom was even more prevalent among the Greeks than among the Romans.*

The male deity is seated on the right hand, leaning his arm on a sceptre. Opposite to him is the female divinity, with a diadem on her head, and veiled. Before her is a priestess, whose two hands are placed upon the knees of the goddess, in the action of praise and thanksgiving. We have no difficulty in recognising by these traits the attributes of Juno. The former figure must then represent Jupiter. A priest stands in like manner in front of him, and places his hands on the knees of the divinity. The attribution of these figures to Jupiter and Juno will be considered satisfactory, when we reflect that the edifice itself, being of the nature of a military trophy, was held sacred, and consequently dedicated to Jupiter and Juno, both of whom, as we are informed by Lycophron, had the title of *Triumphalis*. Again, the Samians who were anciently called Leleges, were especial worshippers of Juno, who, according to the myths, was born and educated among them.

Jupiter was so universally worshipped by the Carians, that he was especially named the Carian Jupiter. (HEROD., i. 171, v. 66.) The Carians had a celebrated and very ancient temple erected to his honour at Mylassa; and on the coins of Milyas of Pisidia he is seen seated with a spear in his hand, exactly as we see him in the pediment of this monument—he is as usual half-naked, the knees clothed with his pallium.

Beneath his throne is a dog sleeping; another dog is placed in the angle of the pediment, and there was probably a corresponding one in the other angle. Now these dogs alone are

* ZOEGA, tom. i. p. 73.

sufficient evidence to show that the edifice was erected by the Carians; for Hesychius, Diogenianus, and Arnobius, inform us that it was the custom of the Carians to offer dogs in sacrifice, and indeed that they were proverbial among the Greeks for so doing. This custom was probably derived from Crete and Asia, for we find that in the island of Crete dogs were dedicated to Jupiter, and a golden image of a dog was placed in his temple.* The dog was held in great veneration by the Persians, and the image of a dog was carried in battle as a standard by the Egyptians.†

Dogs were not unfrequently employed in war, as by the Colophonians and Magnesians; and thus, as the dog was so much used in this portion of Asia, both for sacrifices and in war, its appearance is easily accounted for in the pediment of this monument.

The placing of the hands on the knees being an act of prayer and thanksgiving, the subject of the pediment of this monument is the priest of the Carian Jupiter and the priestess of Juno returning thanks for the victory and triumph obtained over the Lycians.

Herodotus affirms that the Carians first inhabited the islands, and that they were driven from them by the Dorians and Ionians; and he tells us that he derived this information from Crete.‡ This relation was denied by the Carians, for they declared themselves to have been always inhabitants of the continent; in proof of which they showed at Mylassa their ancient temple of Carian Jupiter, the joint privileges of whose worship they permitted to the Lydians and Mysians alone, as having one common origin with themselves. According to the tradition of the Carians, Lydus, Misus, and Cares, their founders, were three brothers, and thus the use of this temple was granted to their descendants.

* ANTONINUS LIBERALIS, xxxvi. 56. Edit. 1568.

† DIOD. SIC., lib. 1.

‡ HEROD., i. 171.

To confirm, then, as it were, their early tradition, and to make it a national trophy, they placed the statues of Lydus, Misus, and Cares on the apex of the pediment. As Cares is last named, he may be the youngest, who is represented as held up on the knees of his brother.

The bas-reliefs occupying the place of frieze and architrave, represent hunting and battle scenes. On one part of the frieze we see both Persians and Greeks bringing their offerings. The Persians are recognised by their costume, and their offerings consist of dresses, tapestry, &c., whilst those of the Greeks are of goats and kids. It was customary for the soldier, when he had finished his campaigns, to make an offering, and dedicate his arms to the god of war, and those who spent time in hunting also brought their offerings to the gods. The Greeks were accustomed to offer goats to Juno, on which account she was denominated *Αιγοφάγος*.

A cella being attached to this edifice, gives it the appearance of having been erected also as a sepulchral heroum. Since it was the practice of the Persian kings to confer the government of a conquered province on the general who conquered it, and make him satrap, there can be little doubt but that Harpagus was made governor of this part of Lower Asia; and from him it probably descended to his family. The inscription on the stele at Xanthus speaks of a son of Harpagus,* and we read of another of this name who defeated Histæus, the tyrant of Milesia, and sent his head to King Darius.†

As the exploits of Harpagus form so conspicuous a feature on this monument, it might have served as the family heroum; and if it may be permitted to conjecture, I should think it probable that it was erected about fifty years after the conquest of Lycia. This opinion appears supported by the circumstance, that the

* See SHARPE, *On the Inscriptions*, in *Appendix* to Sir C. FELLOWS' *Lycia*, 1840.

† Vide HEROD., vii. 29, 30.

monument was never finished; for in the bas-reliefs of the cella, which represent men on horseback, the outer legs only of the horses are executed, the two other legs being not even indicated; and this leads us to consider that the blocks were placed in their situation before finished by the sculptor.

The date of the conquest of Lycia by the Persians and their allies being about 550 years before the Christian era—then if, as is supposed, this monument were built about fifty years after that event, it would bring us to the year 500 before Christ, something more than half a century before the erection of the Temple of Apollo at Phigalia, and the Parthenon at Athens. This period will agree very well with the character of the sculpture, which evinces an absence of that compact and refined composition to be seen in the Elgin frieze; and again, the inaccuracy of the proportions observable in the shortness of the limbs of the figures, is a further proof of their early period of execution, which is as distinguishable from the correct proportions and elegant and refined taste which characterised the sculpture of the age of Phidias, as are the elongated forms and looser compositions, though spirited conceptions, of Scopas and his contemporaries, a century later, in the Boodroom marbles.

This monumental heroum of Xanthus seems to have stood through all the vicissitudes of Lycian history, until a late period of the Christian era; and to have apparently been thrown from its eminence by an earthquake, for the lead used in binding the marble blocks together was found intact. These regions of Asia appear to have been much subjected to the convulsions of nature. We read of twelve cities of Asia being overthrown in one night by an earthquake, in the reign of Tiberius. Pausanias mentions another earthquake, which happened in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and which overturned the cities of Lycia and Caria, and the islands of Cos and Rhodes; all of which the emperor restored at considerable expense. As Antoninus Pius reigned in the early part of the second century, it

would appear that it was not then destroyed. Though the monument might have been much injured, it must have been restored along with the other buildings, and its final destruction must have been at a much later period, for we find that Sir Charles Fellows carried his excavations through the debris of this fallen monument, and found a Christian village buried beneath the ruins of the structure, which had fallen upon it from the cliffs above; and in the course of excavation he discovered the crosses and remains of paintings which adorned its churches. These paintings could not have been executed till near the fourth century, for the first notice we have of the use of pictures, is a censure on this innovation, by the Council of Elvira, about three hundred years after the propagation of Christianity.*

Thus, then, the finding of these Christian pictures will carry us to the fourth century, as the era of its total ruin; for from this period up to the middle of the fifth century, a series of the most terrible convulsions of nature seems to have devastated the whole of the eastern parts of the Roman empire. Zosimus gives us a relation of the terrible earthquake which was felt throughout the greater portion of the Roman dominions in

* As the seeds of the gospel had been planted in these regions by the zealous and unceasing labours of the great apostle of the Gentiles, and carefully watered and cultivated by his disciples and their followers, so, at the end of the second century, a vast number of professing Christians were found to abound in the country which extended from the Euphrates to the Ionian Sea. Being surrounded by the corrupt practices and superstitions of paganism, they were anxious to preserve the doctrines of Christianity as pure as they had received them; and they looked with a cautious and jealous eye on the introduction of pictures within the precincts of their churches, as a too near approach to paganism. Thus, we find that when Diocletian issued his edict for the suppression of Christianity, on the 23rd of February, A.D. 303, at the early dawn of that day the Prætorian præfect proceeded to the cathedral church of Nicomedia, attended by his generals, tribunes, and revenue officers, when, breaking open the doors, and rushing into the sanctuary, and diligently searching in vain for some visible object of public worship, they seized the volumes of the Holy Scriptures, and committed them to the flames.

Asia, in the second year of Valerian and Valens, A.D. 365, when the island of Crete, the Peloponnesus, and the rest of Greece, except Athens, were violently shaken; and a little before this, the cities of Palestine, together with Nicomedia, and the other cities of Bithynia, had been overwhelmed by a similar calamity: mountains were overturned, and much damage done to the public monuments and edifices through the countries of Macedonia, Asia, and Pontus.*

BENJAMIN GIBSON.

ROME, 1847.

* AMM. MARCEL., xvii. 13.

XV.

ON THE MAUSOLEUM, OR SEPULCHRE OF
MAUSOLUS, AT HALICARNASSUS.

“ Si aprono degli scavi nelle vecchie città per rinvenire monumenti da illustrare, e si scartabellano i classici per arricchire di erudizioni le illustrazioni. E perchè non fareino noi una specia di scavo negli stessi libri onde ci venga fatto il descrivere le fabbriche, di cui gli autori ci portano i documenti? Di quante grandiose opere, egizie, greche, romane, ci si accennano le situazioni, le misure, gli ornamenti, e tante altre circostanze che combinate, e messe in ordine a uso di arte, ce le farebbero vedere cogli occhi, e quasi palpare colle mani?”—MARQUEZ.

AMONG the various architectural themes which have engaged the thoughts of scientific and learned writers, as the Temple of Solomon, the Temple of Diana, the Tomb of Porsenna, Pliny's Villas, or the restoration of Vitruvius' description of a Greek or Roman house, none has attracted such general attention, of late, as the Mausoleum, or Sepulchre of Mausolus—an interest which is greatly to be attributed to our having lately come in possession of the bas-reliefs which are supposed to have formed a portion of this celebrated structure. The following Essay was written at the close of 1847, shortly after the restoration of the monument by Professor Cockerell was published in Mr. Newton's *Memoir*;* but owing to various circumstances it has been set aside till the present time. Since that period two other theories have been propounded, the authors of which, like myself and all who have preceded us, feel confident in the accuracy of their own individual conception; and I am induced to give diagrams of these two designs, in order to show in how many different manners the same words may be interpreted.

* *On the Sculptures of Halicarnassus*, by CHARLES NEWTON, Esq., M.A., in the *Classical Museum*, v. 170, April, 1847; to which the reader is referred for much interesting matter connected with this subject.

I must first put my readers in possession of the particulars on which these theories are founded. In the twenty-sixth book of Pliny's *Natural History*, we read:—

“Scopas habuit æmulos eadem ætate Bryaxin et Timotheum,
 “et Leocharem, de quibus simul dicendum est, quoniam pariter
 “cælavere *Mausoleum*. *Sepulchrum hoc est ab uxore Artemisia*
 “*factum* Mausolo Cariae regulo, qui obiit Olympiadis centesimæ
 “sextæ anno secundo. Opus id ut esset inter septem miracula,
 “ii maxime artifices fecere. Patet ab austro et septentrione
 “sexagenos ternos pedes, brevius a frontibus, toto circuitu pedes
 “quadringentos undecim; attollitur in altitudinem viginti
 “quinque cubitis; cingitur columnis triginta sex. Pteron vo-
 “cavere. Ab oriente cælavit Scopas, a septentrione Bryaxis, a
 “meridie Timotheus, ab occasu Leochares; priusque quam pera-
 “gerent regina obiit. Non tamen recesserunt, nisi absoluto jam,
 “id gloriæ ipsorum artisque monumentum judicantes; hodieque
 “certant manus. Accessit et quintus artifex. Namque supra
 “pteron pyramis altitudine inferiorem æquavit viginti-quatuor
 “gradibus in metæ cacumen se contrahens. In summo est
 “quadriga marmorea, quam fecit Pythis. Hæc adjecta centum
 “quadraginta pedum totum opus æquavit.’

One of the two writers I have referred to is M. Texier, the eminent architect sent out by the French government to conduct the architectural exploration of Asia Minor, Armenia, Persia, and Mesopotamia. He is now appointed *Conservateur des Monumens* in Algeria; and, having seen the ruins of an extraordinary monument near Constantina, he became impressed with the conviction that it presents to us the true type of the celebrated mausoleum. The following report of a lecture delivered by M. Texier, before the *Société Libre des Beaux-Arts*, in Paris, is copied from *La Tribune des Artistes*:*—

“There is in the neighbourhood of Algiers a tumulus called

* *Journal publié sous les auspices, et avec la collaboration de la Société*, par JAQUEMENT.

the Tomb of the (female) Christian, (Koub er Rommah,) because a cross appeared to be recognisable in a panel by the side of the door. The monument, in all probability, served at one time to receive the mortal remains of the kings of Mauritania. At Medraun, to the south of Constantina, the tomb of Syphax is likewise in the form of a tumulus. Under the Romans, the tumulus-construction acquired a greater regularity, as in the tombs of Augustus and Hadrian, which are circular in plan, and covered with a conical roof. The form of these monuments might enable us to reconstruct, after the description by Pliny, the tomb raised in the city of Halicarnassus to Mausolus by his queen, Artemisia. But, in truth, the text which relates it has been *evidently altered*, and the difficulty, therefore, consists in correcting (cancelling) what has been added, at the same time that we observe scrupulously the particulars given to us by Pliny himself.*

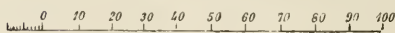
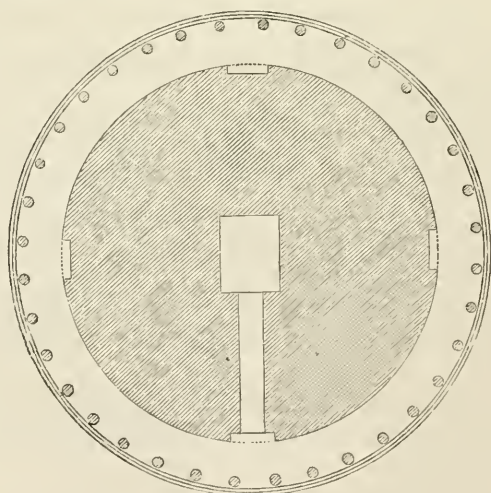
"The lecturer remarked that the restorations of this monument, as M. Quatremère de Quincy had observed, were more and more approaching to reality, as Greek art had become more understood. It is, therefore, as in possession of a fresh element that M. Charles Texier now comes forward to investigate this question; and this element consists in the knowledge of the general form of Greek tombs, and in particular of those of Syphax and of the Christian.

"The Lecturer then described the former of these tombs, which consists of a circular basement of 54 metres 70 centimetres (179 feet 6 inches); at the four cardinal points four doors are feigned, with their architraves and cornices. The basement is surrounded by sixty† columns of Greek architecture (Doric). It rises from the ground with two steps, and above the colonnade

* "En effet, le texte dont il s'agit a été évidemment altéré, et toute la difficulté pour arriver à la vérité consiste à corriger l'interpolation, tout en respectant les termes principaux de l'auteur."

† Count Caylus's drawing represents it with three steps, twenty-four columns, a pyramid of fifty steps, and domed within.—*Mem. de Littérature de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, tome xxvi. Confronted with this account, the "twenty-four steps" and the "curved meta-like roof" appear to want authenticity.

is a pyramid (cone) composed of twenty-four steps, and which is curved towards the top in the form of a Roman meta. On the summit is a platform which appears to have been decorated with a quadriga or a statue. The total height is 18 metres (59 feet). This description, translated into Latin, would exactly correspond with the text of Pliny, and would be nearly identical with it in respect to the dimensions, except that, from the use of the word *pteron*, the tomb of Mausolus must have been peripteral, whereas this is pseudo-peripteral. Now, how have commentators explained the difficulty which exists between the detail measurements given by Pliny and the total dimension (circumference) of the monument? Why, by supposing an area which never existed, and of which Pliny does not say one word, and by giving to the tomb itself a *mesquin* proportion, in opposition to all authority, which represents it as one of the most gigantic constructions of antiquity. Influenced by these considerations, M. Texier has felt obliged to dissent from the opinion of previous commentators, and, impressed with the appearance of the tombs of the Christian and of Syphax, he has given to the monument of Mausolus a circular, in lieu of a quadrilateral form."



By the foregoing notice, it will appear that M. Texier proposes a tumulus, girt about with a wall, and adorned with thirty-six columns, the total circumference of which shall be 411 feet. The height of the pyramid, or cone, would naturally be equal to the whole lower part of the monument, and so far he may be said to agree with Pliny. But as he does not refer to the total height of 140 feet, to the length of the longer side being 63 feet, or to the fact of the fronts being shorter than the sides, it would appear that he regards all these particulars as "interpolations." Of course he does not even notice Martial's epigram, and it would indeed require more than even the lively imagination of a Frenchman, to believe that a tumulus could ever appear as though "suspended in the heavens."

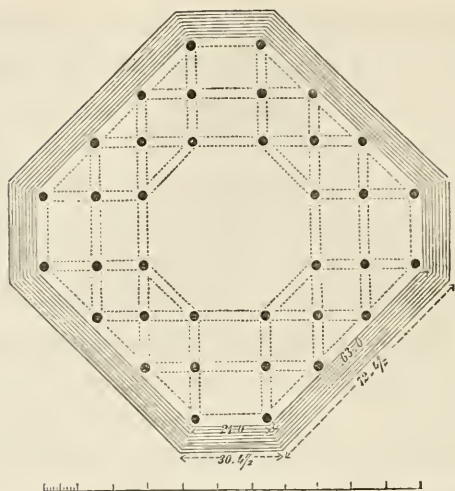
This objection cannot be laid against Mr. Fergusson's design,* for he makes his intercolumniations 17 feet in width. Impressed, in his travels in India, with the beauties of the architecture of that country, he begins by stating:—

"Out of some hundreds of designs for this building, no two resemble one another in hardly any particular, and no one either agrees with or reconciles the exigencies of the text. The knowledge, however, of the Indian connexion, coupled with the details of the monument at Mylassa, may help us to a solution of the riddle."

He then proceeds to knock away all former theories, previous to laying the foundation for his own structure.

"Besides, that a building of 63 feet wide in its greatest dimensions, and 140 feet high, is so awkward and ugly, and so unlike anything the ancients ever did, that I should have no hesitation in rejecting it on that account alone, if the context did not afford another and a more feasible mode of accounting for it."

* See *Historical Inquiry into the true Principles of Beauty in Art.* 8vo, Lond., 1849.



This done, he takes for his model the principle of construction adopted in the domes of Eastern architecture. Having placed eight columns in an octagon, he prolongs four sides of the octagon at pleasure, and marking off the width of an intercolumniation, he obtains any number of intersecting points for the centres of other columns. Thus, by adding two intercolumniations every way, he forms an outer octagon, the sides of which are in the ratio of 63 : 21. These sides are extended by steps till they make 72 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and 30 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches—the total circumference thus amounting to 411 feet.

One objection to this design is the great width of the intercolumniations; but Mr. Fergusson observes—"This is certainly greater than any other building I am acquainted with; but *unless there were something extraordinary about it*, why was it one of the wonders of the world?"

Other objections might be urged, but Mr. Fergusson continues :

"It could be built; and I would undertake to execute it to-morrow, as I have restored it; and if carried out with purity and beauty in its details, I believe it would be a more beautiful mausoleum than has been erected in modern times, or *left us from antiquity*: while there is not one of the restorations hitherto produced which would not be only inartistic in itself, but most unlike any tomb or mausoleum in any part of the world."

Notwithstanding this derivation from the Indian dome, and the anachronism of the employment of the Corinthian capital, (though he suggests that the true capital for such a building would be the Indian bracket-cap,) he concludes:—

“I feel convinced that it” (his design) “is one that produces in every respect the text of Pliny, and at the same time satisfies the ethnographical as well as the artistic exigencies of the question, neither of which requisites are found in any of the preceding ones that I am acquainted with; and the only criticism I shall accept will be the production of a better.”

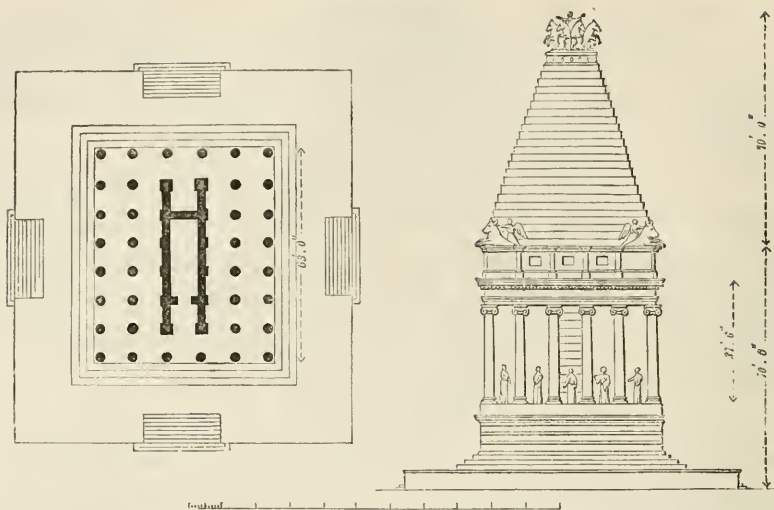
Among the hundred projects for the restoration of this monument, the design of Mr. Fergusson’s, considered in an “ethnographical” and chronological point of view,—to say nothing of its constructive or artistic merits,—is certainly not one of the least remarkable!

The two writers just quoted have been biassed by their travelled recollections. The one seeks his model in India—the other among the monuments of Algeria. I propose to found my restoration on the proportions of Greek architecture. So far am I from wishing to put forward some totally new idea, I begin by accepting the general features of a plan which has been already suggested.

With due deference to the opinion of the last writer, I consider that Professor Cockerell has been the first to render the plan of this monument intelligible, and to afford us the key for the restoration of the structure.

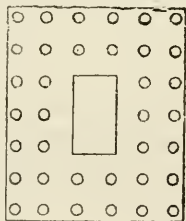
When a discovery is made, it seems extraordinary that no one had thought of it before: so, when Mr. Cockerell restored the mausoleum with a dipteral arrangement at the sides, it seemed wonderful that the various writers who had preceded him should have conceived such preposterous ideas as those embodied in their designs.

“The invention all admired, and each, how he
To be the inventor missed; so easy it seem’d
Once found, which yet, unfound, most would have thought
Impossible.”



Professor Cockerell, therefore, was the first who gave us any insight into the structure of this building; and to his discovery all future illustrators must stand indebted.

His plan has been since slightly modified by Mr. Watkiss Lloyd, by completing the dipteral arrangement, and this amended plan I have unhesitatingly adopted as the basis of my design:—



On Mr. Lloyd's communicating to me his idea, that if the columns were disposed in a dipteral arrangement all round the tomb, it would be still more in character with Martial's description—

*"Aere nec vacuo pendentia Mausolea
Laudibus immodicis Cares in astra ferant—,"**

and yet preserve the same number of columns, I felt convinced of the probability of the arrangement, as well as of its beauty;

* MART. *de Spect.*, i. 5, 6.

and this probability* it will be my endeavour more clearly to show in the following pages by calculation, at the same time that I attempt to determine two other features of the design, by the discovery of a passage in an ancient author which has hitherto escaped attention.

THE type from which the mausoleum is derived is the tumulus of the heroic ages: the body was placed in the ground, and covered with a pile of earth or loose stones. Such are the monuments we so frequently read of in Homer and other ancient writers, and in the Sacred Scriptures; and

* Mr. Watkiss Lloyd's remarks were published in the *Archäologische Zeitung*, iii. p. 81*, the editor of which (Prof. Gerhard) thus notices them:—

“We have received a series of epistolary remarks by Mr. Lloyd, on Mr. Cockerell's restoration of the mausoleum. As M. Botticher and M. Strack have already done at the Berlin Archæological Society, so we find Mr. Lloyd strongly objects to the extreme length of the cella of Mr. Cockerell's design. Mr. Lloyd endeavours to remedy this awkwardness of plan by another distribution of the thirty-six columns, namely, by double rows of six columns in each front, and seven in each side. The whole plan thereby becomes more regular, the cella is reduced to the proportion of 2 : 1, and the porticoes appear freer and more passable, as the expression in Pliny, *cingitur columnis*, would seem to require. The difference of only one column between the front and sides agrees very well with the *brevius* of Pliny, and Mr. Cockerell has shown himself disposed to accept this distribution. Mr. Lloyd thus continues:—‘The analogy of the monuments of Mylasa, of Xanthus, and others of these Asiatic regions, make it probable that the peristyle rested upon a basement of considerable height. That part, therefore, of the total height of 140 feet, which in Mr. Cockerell's restoration is given to the attic, may perhaps be added to the basement, the height of which would thus become a suitable place for the sculptures of Leochares and his fellow artists. It is impossible, however, that the bas-reliefs brought over from Boodroom ever formed part of these celebrated works. Notwithstanding all their beauty, they have too many faults; their best parts are not above mediocrity; besides which, their dimensions and their probable appropriation render it unlikely that they occupied a position so near to the eye as that assumed to have been afforded by the podium. Perhaps the real sculptures of the podium may yet come to light by future excavations.

On the top of the mausoleum there might be formed a platform on which to place the quadriga, corresponding with the proportion of the cella. At the angles might perhaps be lions, as on the tombs named from the chimera and the winged chariot. Artemisia, and the worship of Artemis in that country (PAUS. iv. 31.) may have been the principal causes for decorating the mausoleum with Amazonian subjects. Further illustration of the peculiarities of the mausoleum may be derived from the analogy of numerous Syrian and neighbouring monuments of similar plan, among which Müller (*Achæol. der Kunst*, 151, 1.) has particularly brought forward that of the High Priest Simon (*Olymp.* 160; JOS. xiii. 6) with seven pyramids.’”

similar to these are the monuments or barrows we still see remaining in different parts of the world—in the plains of Tartary, and in the steppes of Russia,* and Bulgaria. But the most extraordinary structure of this description is the tumulus of Alyattes, within a few miles of ancient Sardis, and which Herodotus tells us† was upwards of six stadia in circuit. Adjoining this, among the hills, in a situation invisible from below, are countless tumuli, the forms of which are still quite perfect. The Turks call them *Bin-bir Teppi*, or the “Thousand-and-one Hills.” They form an unique example in this respect; tumuli, I believe, being in every other instance, like the pyramids in the desert,‡ placed in plains, that their form might be more striking to the eye. They will probably some day form a rich mine for the excavator: and, indeed, it is extraordinary that the tomb of Alyattes should have remained so long inviolate, considering the treasures, both of art and precious metal, which it is likely to contain.

The next process was to build an upright wall round the base of the tumulus, to prevent the earth from falling away. This feature we observe in the tomb of Alyattes, just referred to; in those of Tarquinia, of Cære, of Viterbo, of Tantalus on Mount Sipylus; in the sepulchre of Cæcilia Metella, and in one at Antioch: and such a wall is described as forming part of the tombs of Ino at Megara,§ of CEnomaus in Elis,|| of Auge in Pergamus,¶ of Amphion at Thebes,** and of Æpytus in Arcadia:†† and it was added to the tumulus of Car, between Megara and

* In a journey from Petersburg to Odessa, on the second day after leaving Kieff I passed two such barrows; the next day, twenty-five; on the fourth day, forty—without counting those on the horizon, which in many parts seemed quite notched with them; on the fifth day, twelve; and on the sixth, eight. Their sizes varied from ten to forty feet in height. Those of Bulgaria are nearly as numerous.

† HEROD., i. 93.

‡ The view of St. Paul's from Greenwich, and, still more accurately, that of St. Peter's from the Campania, will give an idea of the appearance of the pyramids as seen from Cairo: all minor objects are merged in the horizon, and these alone seem raised above the soil.

§ PAUS., i. 42.

|| *Id.*, vi. 21.

¶ *Id.*, viii. 4.

** *Id.*, ix. 17.

†† *Id.*, viii. 16.

Corinth, in obedience to the order of an oracle.* This ornamenting and fortifying with stone was considered as an honorary distinction, as in the sepulchre of the sons of Medea.† Thus arose the type so frequently followed in after-times,‡ and of which the mausoleum is an instance, in which the tomb is in the form of a cube or circle, with a pyramid or cone at the top.

The style of architecture employed in the mausoleum must have been Ionic, for Ionic is the style generally adopted by the ancients for sepulchral purposes; besides which, although the earlier buildings in Asia Minor, as in Europe, were erected in the Doric style, as the temples at Miletus and Samos, the later edifices, including these very temples when re-erected after their conflagration by the Persians, were built in the Ionic style. Mausolus died in the same Olympiad as that in which Alexander the Great was born, and during his lifetime the Ionic temples at Ephesus and Priene were in course of erection, and the latter temple was consecrated by him.§ It is fair, therefore, to presume that the mausoleum at Halicarnassus would not only, like those temples, be in the Ionic style, but that it would likewise assimilate to them in the proportions and detail of that style.|| For this reason I have selected the Asiatic Greek examples as a model, in preference to the European.

Unfortunately, the temples of Asia are all in ruins (except Ephesus, the pride and glory of them all, which has disappeared). The buildings have perished, but in their fall they have raised

* PAUS., i. 44.

† *Id.*, ii. 3.

‡ Another instance occurs in the mausoleum of Augustus, the form of which was precisely similar. (STRABO, p. 236.)

§ As shown by an inscription still lying among the ruins.

|| The model for one of those columns of the Temple of Diana, which were ornamented with *calatura*, was executed by Scopas, the very same sculptor to whom the decoration of the eastern or principal face of the mausoleum was committed. This is, therefore, another argument for supposing that a similar proportion would be found in these buildings; especially when, as we shall presently see, (p. 170, note,) similar proportions were adhered to at neighbouring places and at similar epochs.

a pile, which is an everlasting monument of their grandeur. In their present confused mass, it is difficult to procure a plan, or to measure the proportions of the order—a detached cap, or a few scattered details, are all that can be obtained: but this very circumstance is interesting to us, when we consider that at some future period, like the ruined cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, they may become the means of disseminating the principles of beauty and of by-gone art. In consequence of this state of ruin, we do not possess satisfactory measurements of any one temple: we can neither determine the plan of the temple, nor set up its order: the difficulties that prevent the effecting of this can only be overcome by the liberality of an enlightened government.

The sculptures from Halicarnassus, now in the British Museum, presented by the Sultan to the British nation, through our ambassador, Sir Stratford Canning, are generally believed to have formed the frieze of the mausoleum:* and it has been ingeniously proposed, *ex pede Herculem*, or, as Lucian says, from the claw-nail of Phidias's lion,† to set up the order from this datum. In so doing, however, we meet with a difficulty at the very outset. With one exception, which is too irregular to serve as a guide, we have no example of the Ionic frieze of an Asiatic Greek temple‡—the exception I refer to is the Propylæa of Priene, the architrave, frieze, (die only,) and cornice of which, including its bed-moulds and cyma, are in the relative proportion of—

·708 ·437 and ·956;

but the bed-moulds of the cornice very unusually predominate,

* A small fragment of a sculptured frieze has lately been brought from Halicarnassus by Captain Spratt, and has been supposed to have formed part of the mausoleum; but as its height is only eleven inches, and its style later than that of the larger slabs, it is probable that it belonged to some other monument.

† LUCIAN. *Hermot.*

‡ Those shown in the Dilettanti Society's works on Priene and Branchidæ are merely conjectural.

and thereby detract from the height of the frieze; probably so contrived on account of the latter having no sculpture.

We must calculate the frieze, therefore, from the proportions of European examples.

TABLE OF THE PROPORTIONS OF THE IONIC ORDER.—(HEIGHTS.)

European Examples.

	Height of col. in diameters.	Archi- trave.	Frieze.	Cornice.	Entablature.
Temple on the Ilissus . . .	8·238	·928	·825	·536	2·289
Eastern Portico of the Erech- theum }	9·334	·901	·854	·583	2·338
Northern ditto	9·	·844	·795	·514	2·153
Temple of Victory Apteros .	7·684	·894	·848	·845	2·587
West front of Erechtheum .	9·004				
Mean . . .	8·652	·892	·830	·620	2·342

Asiatic Examples.

					Without bed- moulds.
Priene: Temple of Minerva	—	·792	—	—	·798
„ Propylæa . . .	9·282	·708	—	—	·783
Teos: Temple of Bacchus .	—	·727	—	—	·812
Branchidæ:* Temple of }	9·416†				
Apollo }	10·101‡				
Mean . . .	—	·742	—	—	·798

An examination of the foregoing proportions will show that the architrave of the Asiatic examples is very much shallower than that of the European, while the cornice, by the introduction of dentils and bed-mouldings, is proportionably increased. Accepting, then, the proportions of ·742 for the architrave, and ·798 for the cornice, exclusive of its bed-moulds; and calculating the height of the frieze from the

* In this table, I have omitted the architrave of the Temple at Branchidæ, which is ·548, on account of the great disparity between it and the other Asiatic examples.

† TEXIER, *L'Asie Mineure*.

‡ Dilet. Soc.

architrave, in the ratio of 892 to 830, as in the European examples, we obtain '690 for the frieze of the mausoleum, which, being 2' 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ " in height, makes the diameter of the column equal to 3' 6·391".

The diameter of the column being thus established, we proceed to examine how it will apply to the plan:—

TABLE OF INTERCOLUMNIATIONS, ON FLANKS OF TEMPLES.*

<i>First Class: Doric.</i>		<i>Diameters.</i>
Selinus: Third Temple†		·997
„ Temple of Jupiter		·999
Syracuse: Temple of Minerva		1·095
Pæstum: Pseudo-dipteral Temple†		1·104
„ Temple of Ceres		1·106
Segesta		1·105
Selinus: Smaller Temple†		1·106
Pæstum: Third Temple		1·146
Agrigentum: Temple of Concord		1·204
„ „ Juno Lucina		1·205
Corinth		1·235
Mean		1·117
<i>Second Class.</i>		
Parthenon		1·350
Ægina		1·407
Thoricus		1·426
Eleusis: Temple of Ceres		1·440
Sunium: „ Minerva		1·444
Athens: „ Theseus		1·573
Rhamnus: „ Nemesis		1·661
Metapontum		1·705
Mean		1·501

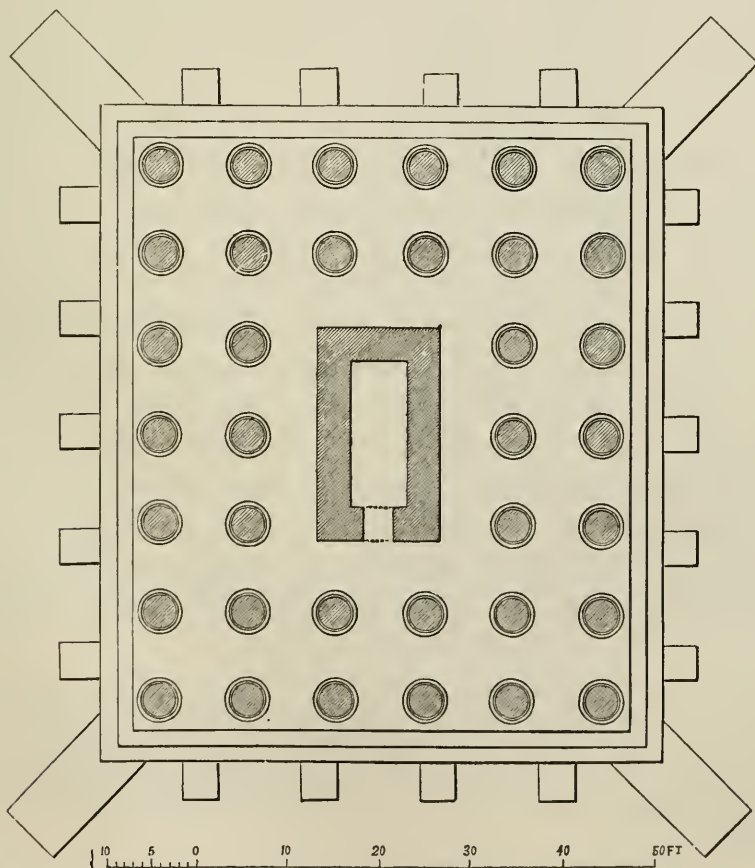
* This table shows that similar proportions were adopted at neighbouring places and at similar epochs. Thus, two temples at Selinus differ only ·002; two temples at Pæstum, the temple at Segesta, and one at Selinus, have the same difference, while that at Syracuse is only ·009 less; two at Agrigentum differ only ·001; the Erechtheum and Temple of Victory Apteros, but ·002; and those of Ægina, Thoricus, Eleusis, and Sunium, approach each other tolerably near. Mr. Cockerell has made a similar observation on the proportionate heights of columns. (*Temple of Jup. Olymp. Agrigentum*, p. 6.)

† So called by Wilkins.

Ionic.

Athens: Temple on the Ilissus	2·120
„ Erechtheum, west front	2·162
„ „ east portico	1·994
„ Temple of Victory Apteros	1·992
Priene: * Temple of Minerva Polias	1·739
Teos: Temple of Bacchus (as described by Vitruvius)	2·25
Ephesus: Temple of Diana (by calculation) . .	2·25
Branchidæ: Temple of Apollo	1·360
Samos: Temple of Juno	1·623
Mean	1·943

The length of the mausoleum being 63 feet, and deducting 1' 9·195" for the projection of the base and cornice, and allowing seven columns at the sides—



* The Propylæa at Priene has an intercolumniation of 2·554; but these sacred

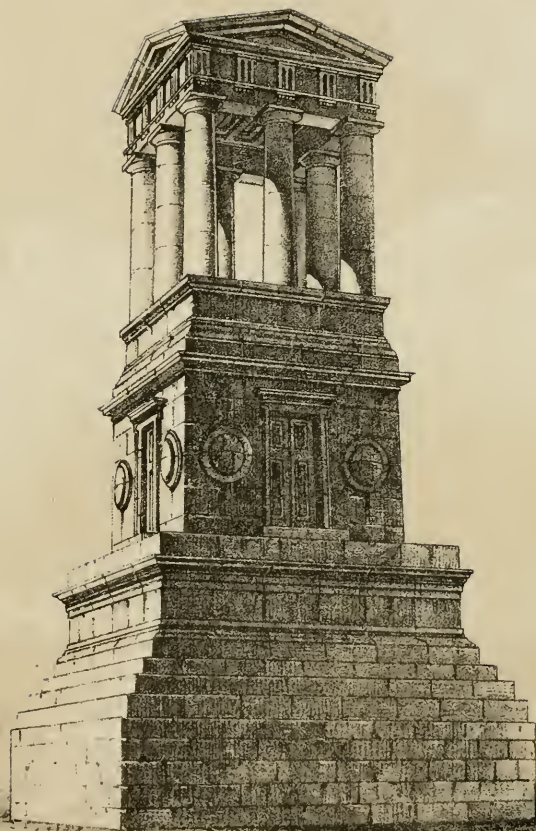
we have an intercolumniation of 6' 1·011", or 1·722 diameter, which is nearly the same as that of Priene.

If we suppose one column less at the sides instead of seven, we shall not be able to get in the total number of thirty-six columns; and if we propose one column more, we shall find that the intercolumniations will become reduced to 4' 8·525", or 1·333 diameter, which is less than that of many Doric temples: we are therefore *compelled* to adopt seven columns at the sides of the building. It will be objected that an odd number of columns would be productive of an unsightly effect; but though it is opposed to the mechanical proportions with which we are too often in the habit of shackling architecture, I think it may be proved that the Greeks, so far from considering it as a defect, often esteemed it as a beauty—so far from avoiding an odd number of columns, frequently selected it. The majority of temples, as is well known,* have an uneven number of columns on the flanks—several in the fronts: while we may almost regard it as the fixed principle in hypæthral temples to have an odd number at the extremity of the naos†—a principle, the reason of which it would take too long to enter into in the present notice. The houses at Pompeii furnish an interesting particular in this respect: many of the peristyles have an uneven number of columns both at the sides and ends, where there is no necessity for this arrangement. The best example that can be cited is the "house of the Faun," the most splendid house yet excavated, and which has seven by nine columns in the peristyle, and eleven by thirteen in the hortus; and the "house of the coloured capitals,"—which, from its sym-

entrances necessarily required a greater opening. The porticoes of tetrastyle porticoes, as that on the north side of the Erechtheum, which is 3·619, are also frequently increased, in order to give greater breadth to the composition.

* Professor Cockerell has brought to my notice the circumstance, which I had overlooked, that an uneven number of columns occurs in several of the Egyptian temples.

† See the plans of the Parthenon, (as established by Mr. Knowles, *Ground Plan of the Temple of Minerva at Athens*,) the Temples of Apollo at Bassæ, of



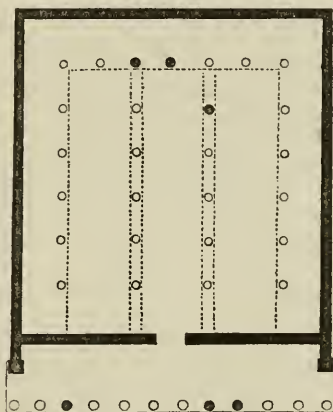
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THE MAUSOLEUM OF CONSTANTINE IN ALGERIA
CALLED MOURA THE TOWER

metry and regularity, we may regard, in common with the "house of Pansa," as a type of the ancient Roman house,—has five by nine columns in the hortus. But not to speak of temples and houses, but to confine our attention to sepulchral monuments—the tomb of Micipsa at Souma, in Algeria,* affords us another example of this arrangement; and if I am right in

Apollo at Miletus, of Ceres at Eleusis, and the Temple of Jupiter Olympius at Agrigentum. If the accompanying diagram of the manner in which I have



attempted to restore the plan of the Temple of Ceres be correct, there would be an odd column in every division. The three naves might have a mystical signification to the tripartite worship of the temple.

* *Souma*, in Arabic, signifies a tower or minaret, a name which clearly shows the nature of the monument, though it is now a heap of ruins. It lays fourteen kilomètres (nearly nine miles) south-east of Constantina. The details of the monument are of pure Greek architecture, which is the more remarkable, as all remains in this country are of Roman date; but Strabo informs us that Micipsa greatly enlarged and adorned his capital city, Cirta, afterwards called Constantina, and for that purpose called in a Greek colony. The total height of the monument is supposed to have been 18 metres 56 centimetres, which is equivalent to 60 feet 10½ inches English measure. The accompanying view is projected in perspective from the geometrical restoration by M. Ravoisie (fol. Paris, 1846). From the very great projection of the lower pedestal, it is probable that this portion of the monument was decorated with sculpture at the top, perhaps with lions; and it is remarkable that both the upper and lower pedestals, and the steps beneath, all taper considerably. How much more elegant and natural these sepulchral monuments appear than the heavy, formal, vulgar mausolea which are beginning to adorn our cemeteries! How perfectly the Greeks understood the manner of uniting in these monuments the simple with the grand—elegant beauty with solemn sadness!

my restoration, the monument at Ooràn, in Asia Minor,* gives us yet another evidence of this principle.

We now pass to another feature of the plan. Pliny tells us that the whole circuit (of the monument) was 411 feet. But as the sepulchre measured only sixty-three feet on the larger side, it is evident that Pliny here speaks of the surrounding area. But for what purpose, and of what description was this area? Was it merely a terrace to give base to the design, or may it not rather have been an enclosure, or peribolus, surrounded by a peristyle? It must strike every one that the manner in which Pliny gives us the dimensions of the plan is of the most complex description. He first gives us only the length of one side of the mausoleum, merely telling us that the front was less; and then, describing the area, he gives us its circuit. In the first case, without a careful analysis of the proportions of Grecian temples, we are unable to tell how much less the front was; in the latter, we are obliged to calculate a parallelogram, which shall be in proportion to the sepulchre, and the circuit of which shall be exactly 411 feet, before we can tell what the respective sides of this area were. But is it not possible that we are misunderstanding Pliny? Is it likely that he would have adopted the clumsy method of giving us the circuit of the area, when it would have been so much more intelligible to have given us its relative dimensions? Is it not therefore possible, that as Pliny gave us the *latus longius* of the sepulchre, he gives us here the *latus longius* of the circuitus? and that the passage runs thus: (the larger side) measures on the north and south flanks 63 feet: the fronts are shorter; on the whole circuit (or the *surrounding enclosure*, the longer side) is 411 feet. In conformity with this supposition, I projected a plan, showing a peribolus,

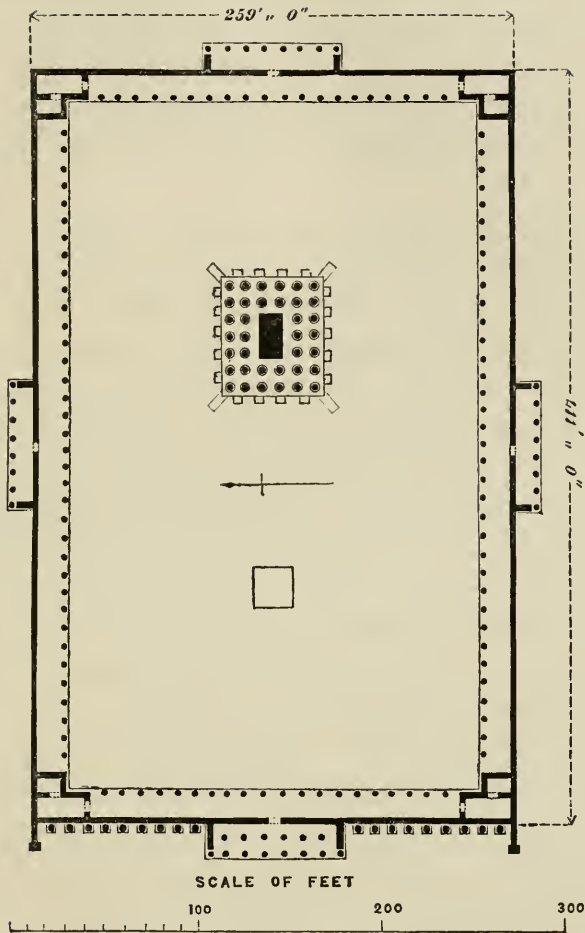
* This monument I discovered, in 1844, on a hill called Ooràn, five hours' journey from Denizli. The only parts remaining above the surface are the six large piers, measuring 4ft. 6in. square, and 5ft. 6in. high, *carved on each face* with bas-reliefs. Time did not permit me to sketch the sculptures, but one subject represented a figure in a chariot, and another a female with a drawn sword, standing over a prostrate enemy.



E. F. rest. Oct. 2 1844

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TOMB AT DORAN NEAR DENDEL IN EGYPT.
DISCOVERED BY E. FALCONER



one side of which measured 411 feet in length, and supposing that the sepulchre might have occupied one end, and the pyra the other, I considered that, to be in proportion with the monument and these requirements, the width might possibly have been about 300 feet.

Some time after having completed this plan, I discovered the following passage in Hyginus, which had hitherto escaped the attention of commentators:—"Monimentum regis Mausoli, lapidibus lychnicis altum pedes LXXX, circuitus pedes MCCCXL." (*Fabulæ*, ccxxiii.) This dimension of 1340 feet will be found

to coincide very precisely with what I had conceived to be the best proportion for a peribolus to enclose the tomb itself and the funeral pile, and the longest side of which was 411 feet. I therefore regard it as determined that the tomb was furnished with a peribolus, and that it measured 411 feet by 259 feet.

It is possible that this peribolus is referred to in the following passage from Vitruvius,—“*Per mediam autem altitudinis curvaturam, præcinctionemque, platea ampla latitudine facta, in qua media mausoleum,*” &c.: although I am not aware of the word *platea* being used otherwise than as a *street*. “But in the præcinction, or middle curvature of the height, a broad area of ample dimensions is made, in the middle of which the mausoleum,” &c. We should thus obtain an ample area, proportioned to the sepulchre, and fitted for the celebration of those ceremonies which it was customary to pay to the memory of deceased friends and heroes,* and large enough to receive the sacred pyre—the whole surrounded and protected by the *lorica*.† This practice of enclosing tombs was very common among the ancients. Pausanias gives us two instances; the tomb of Opheltes in Nemæa, which was enclosed by a wall which contained certain tombs;‡ and the sepulchre of the Phoezi (Arcadia), which he says, was surrounded by a low wall.§ The περιβολος || of Alexander’s tomb at Alexandria contained not only the body of Alexander, but those of the

* TIBUL. i. 3, 8, 9; ii. 6, 31—34; iii. 2.

† In a note from Captain Spratt, who was employed in the survey of this coast by the Admiralty, he states:—“On the western side, at ten or twelve feet from the masonry, stand the two posterns of a doorway, or approach by steps, since there was no opening in the masonry behind them. The position of these marble doorposts thus will correspond to your idea of such an approach, as denoted in your restoration of the mausoleum; upon seeing which I was forcibly struck with the conviction of these porticoes being *in situ*, but until now felt some doubt about it. —Feb. 5th, 1848.” He considers that there were two platforms contiguous to each other, with a difference of level of from five to six feet, and that they measured together at least 1100 feet in circumference.

‡ PAUS., ii. 15.

§ *Id.*, viii. 11.

|| STRABO, p 794.

Ptolemies. The *enclosure* of Nero's tomb was of Thasian stone;* and in Cicero, we find the peribolus of tombs called *vestibulum*, or *forum*.† The tomb of Cyrus at Pasargarda also appears to have been enclosed by a peribolus, in the angles perhaps of which were chambers for the magi, who had the privilege of guarding his body.‡ Many of the tombs of Pompeii still remain enclosed by their protecting wall; but a very convincing proof of the practice of enclosing tombs is exhibited in the coin of Byblus, pointed out to me by Mr. Newton, and which represents a mausoleum in the centre, surrounded by its *pteron*, and terminating in a pyramid, the whole enclosed by a peribolus, the front side of which the artist has been obliged to leave out, in order to place the mausoleum. He does not show the columns of the peribolus, but he represents its roof, the ridge-tiles of which slope inwards on all sides.

As yet, we have determined only the plan of the building; we will now proceed to consider its height.

Pliny begins by saying that it was raised in height twenty-five cubits, or thirty-seven feet six inches: "*attollitur in altitudinem viginti-quinque cubitis.*" This dimension has been interpreted as the height of the order, but there is no indisputable authority in the original for this appropriation; and it is far more probable that Pliny here intended us to understand that the principal part of the monument, *i. e.* the portico, or *pteron*, was raised from the ground twenty-five cubits.

After describing the disposition of the columns, he goes on to say that the pyramid equalled the lower part in height, and that, including the quadriga, the total height was 140 feet. Taking 37ft. 6in. as the height of the order, Professor Cockerell divides the total height in two equal parts, one of which he gives to the pyramid, and apportions the other to the order, the height of which, 37ft. 6in., has been already found,

* SUET. *in Nero.*, 50.

† CIC. *de Legibus*, ii. 24, 61.

‡ ARRIAN, *Exped. Alex.*, vi.

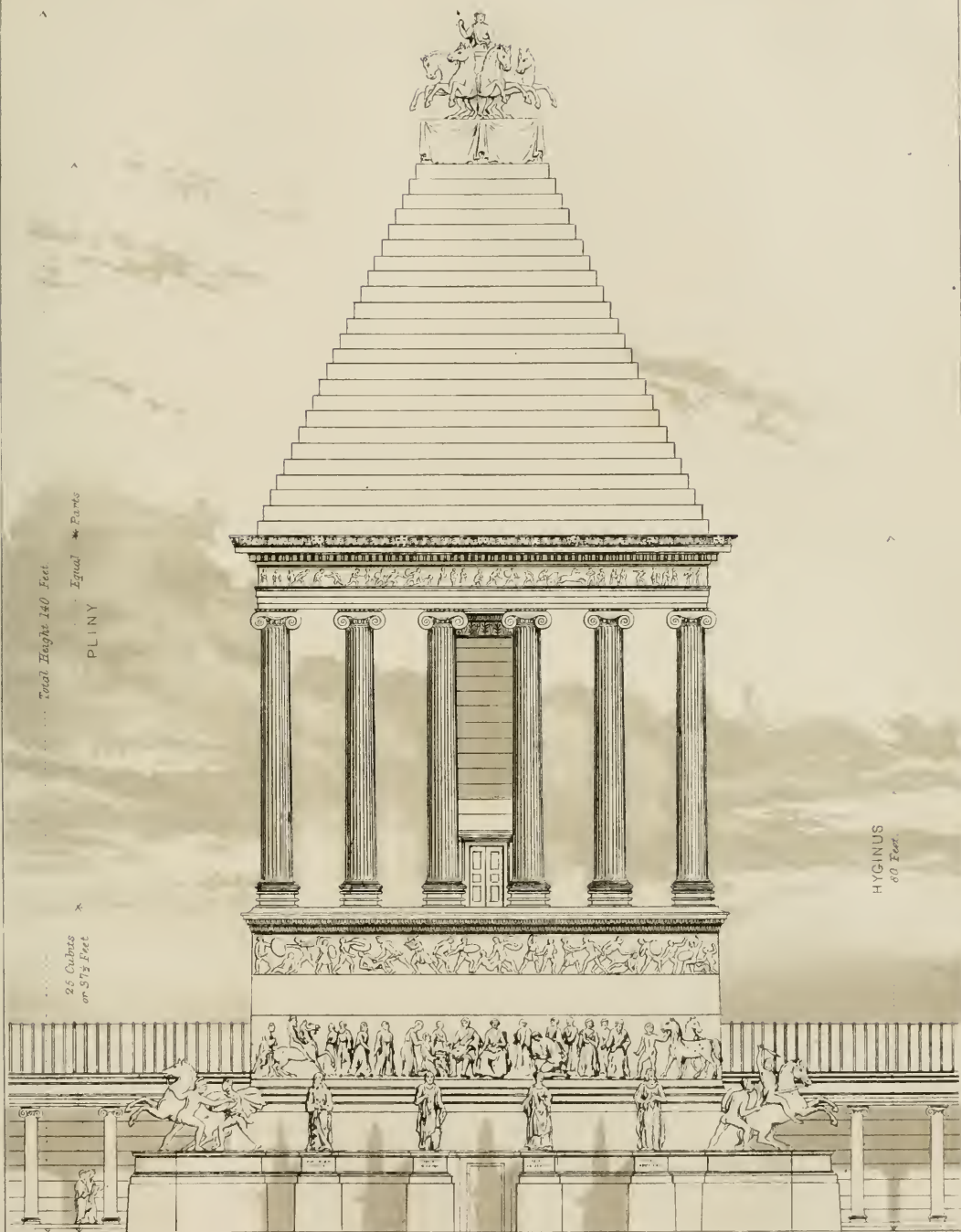
and to an attic and a basement, without any certainty as to the exact amount to give to either.* This difficulty is avoided if we consider the 25 cubits to have reference to the stylobate. We then merely have to deduct the 37ft. 6in. and the height of the quadriga from the total height, and we have a remainder which, divided in two equal portions, gives us at the same time the height of the order and of the pyramid above.

On discovering the passage in Hyginus, referred to above, I at once appropriated the dimension—1340; but, like commentators in similar difficulties, I fancied the LXXX feet must be a corruption of the text, or, as M. Texier would say, an “interpolation.” This arose from having accepted the height of 25 cubits as that of the order; but on attributing it, instead, to the height of the stylobate, it immediately occurred to me that Hyginus considered the height of the building to extend from the ground to the top of the cornice, and that he regarded the pyramid merely as a roof. On deducting, therefore, 37ft. 6in., I obtained 42ft. 6in. for the height of the order, and the like quantity for that of the pyramid; and thus there remained only 17ft. 6in. for the marble quadriga at the top.

We have seen that the proportionate heights of the architrave, frieze, and cornice, without bed-moulds, are 742, 690, and 798. Above the sculptured frieze, and on the same block, is an astragal and fillet, which measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch: as the astragal is enriched, there must have been an ovolo over, which would be about twice and a half that dimension in height, making together $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, or $\cdot 124$ of a diameter; which, added to $\cdot 798$, gives the total height of the cornice as $\cdot 922$ including its bed-moulds. Thus we get the

Architrave	$\cdot 742 = 2' 7\cdot 454''$
Frieze	$\cdot 690 = 2' 5\cdot 025''$
Cornice	$\cdot 922 = 3' 3\cdot 084''$
Total Entablature . .	$2\cdot 354 \quad 8' 3\cdot 788''$

* The accompanying design is drawn to the same scale as that of Professor Cockerell's in the *Classical Museum*, already referred to, in order to afford more easy comparison.



THE MAUSOLEUM,
OR SEPULCHRE OF MAECOLUS
AT
HALICARNASSUS



Deducting this amount from the height of the order, 42ft. 6in., we have 34ft. 2·212in. for the height of the column, which is equivalent to 9·677 diameters; which, by reference to the preceding table, will be found to agree very well with the only Asiatic examples that have been determined—the Temple at Priene, and that at Branchidæ.

I have thus endeavoured to show how the various dimensions, which at first sight appear so contradictory, may be reconciled together, both in the plan and elevation; and, secondly, how the proportions thus established correspond most perfectly with the proportions of ancient temples. I must now consider two or three points, respecting which there is less certainty.

The first objection that may be urged against this restoration, will be the excessive height of the basement, and the unsightliness of such a blank wall; and, secondly, that the pyramid becomes too flat, and loses the application of Pliny's description, *in metæ cacumen se contrahens*.

To the first objection I would reply by two arguments: I think it can be shown that the lofty and rising basement is more in character with other monuments approaching the same antiquity—witness the tombs of Souma and Phrygia, given in this memoir—the Harpy tomb, and the other square elongated stela at Xanthus—that at Palmyra—the tomb of Scipio at Taragona—the monuments at Rome, as the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, and the sepulchre of M. Plautius near the Ponte Lucano—the tomb on Mount Lebanon, and others which are so generally divided into two nearly equal heights—and the general character of the tombs of Caria and Lycia; and, secondly, I would refer to the accompanying engraving in proof that a lofty basement does not necessarily imply a bare plain wall, without the opportunity of embellishment. On the contrary, I conceive that *the basement was the most richly decorated part* of the structure, and that it was to the sculptures of this part of the monument that the praises of Pliny, Pausanias, and Lucian are directed. The sculptures of Grecian temples, though proportioned to the

friezes, were capable of being seen, because the eye of the spectator was nearly on a level with the base of the columns; but if the sculptures of the mausoleum were confined in like manner to the frieze, they would be scarcely visible, being raised up to twice the height of those in temples.* They would consequently become mere decorations, and could never have elicited the high commendations of Lucian. Being confined to a narrow frieze, the architectural symmetry of which it was necessary to study, it would have been preposterous to divide the four sides among such celebrated sculptors as Scopas, Bryaxis, Timotheus, and Leochares; to confine the *capi d'opera* of such artists to a situation where they could never have been seen; to employ them as mere decorative sculptures; to divide off 228 feet of a narrow frieze, the detail of which would be invisible, between four such artists, when 386 feet of metopes and 528 of large frieze, making a total of 914 feet run of sculpture, independent of the pediments, were executed in the Parthenon, from the designs and under the superintendence of Phidias alone. The diversity of styles again, and manner of treatment, adopted by these several sculptors, would be in want of harmony as an architectural composition. We are, therefore, obliged to conclude that these sculptures were displayed in the stylobate, where they would be so much better seen. I have accordingly indicated two lines of bas-relief running round the monument, the figures in the lower one of which would be of the size of life, and have skirted its base with statues in the solid.

These two lines of sculpture I have adopted from the monument at Xanthus, for the discovery and acquisition of which we are so much indebted to Sir Charles Fellows. Another example of this disposition of sculpture occurs in the monument in Lycia, recently discovered by Professor

* The frieze of the Parthenon is 3 feet 4 inches, and the metopes 3 feet $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height, and raised 44 feet above the level of the surrounding area: while that of the mausoleum is only 2 feet $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and raised nearly 80 feet.

Schönborn, and described in No. I. of the *Museum of Classical Antiquities*; and in addition to the authority which these monuments afford for introducing sculpture in the stylobate, the Temple of Victory *apteros* affords us a beautiful example of the same practice. The ordinary Greek stelæ generally contain a bas-relief representing a valedictory scene, and the later Roman monuments usually have a sculptured frieze, as in the monument of Philopappus, representing a triumph or an important incident in the life of the deceased,* or the banquet of Elysium, which he was supposed to be enjoying.

In the funereal car of Alexander, described by Diodorus (c. 28), there were four *parallel* paintings (which in Quatremère de Quincy's design are shown continuous, not parallel). These paintings were filled in with figures, and were equal to the walls. In the first (or upper line), Alexander was seated on his throne, surrounded by his Macedonian and Persian guards; in the second was a train of elephants, with their Indian attendants and Macedonian infantry; in the third, his cavalry; and in the fourth, his vessels of war in order of battle.

Though there is sufficient authority, therefore, for the application of bas-relief to the stylobate, the introduction of statues may appear more questionable. But in the first place, we invariably find statues in those medals which represent the rogi or funereal piles, and which appear to be copies of sepulchral monuments; we see them introduced in the intercolumniations of the monument at Xanthus, already alluded to;† and they are applied in a similar position in the restorations of previous illustrators: if, therefore, they are admissible in one position, they are in another; and as I show none between the columns,—the intercolumniations of which will not allow of them,—I think myself justified in applying them to the

* Thus the tomb of Pyrrhus, at Argos, was ornamented with a representation of his armour and his elephants. (PAUS. ii. 21.)

† A tomb at Antioch was covered with such statues.

decoration of the stylobate. But, independent of this reasoning from analogy, I think the descriptions of Cassiodorus, Pausanias, Lucian, and even Vitruvius, will confirm the appropriation of them. Cassiodorus does not speak of its magnitude or grandeur, but merely of its *beauty*: he calls it *pulcherrimum monumentum*.^{*} Neither does Vitruvius describe its magnitude, nor make use of any corresponding expression, but speaks of its *wonderful works*, in the plural: "Mausoleum ita *egregiis operibus* est factum." Pausanias says, "it was erected by Mausolus, who reigned in Halicarnassus; and through the magnitude of the work, and the *splendour of its ornaments*, (καὶ ἐς κατασκευὴν περίβλεπτος τὴν πᾶσαν,) the Romans were so struck with wonder, that they call all their sepulchres *mausolea*."[†] The words of Lucian are still more remarkable: "No monument in the world is equal to it in magnitude *or beauty*: nor embellished like it in such an elegant manner, with men and horses copied to the life." (ἀλλ' οὐδὲ οὕτως ἐς κάλλος ἐξησκημένον, ἵππων καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον εἰκασμένων).[‡]

This latter statement I have taken advantage of, as it seems to show that men and horses were carved in the solid, and I have accordingly placed statues of men under each of the columns,§ and horses at the angles.

Another consequence of the increased height given to the basement, is a more perfect accordance with Martial's description of the Mausoleum, as being *suspended in the void air*: for

* CASSIOD. *Var.* vii. 15.

† PAUS. viii. 16.

‡ LUCIAN, *Dial. Mort.* xxiv.

§ This position of them is corroborated by the Temples of Diana at Ephesus, and of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, each of which had statues in front of the columns. Statues may also be seen in a similar position on medals of Antoninus Pius, and on the temple in the back ground of the picture, representing King Latinus receiving the Trojan ambassadors, and in other instances. Among other restrictions introduced by Solon, to prevent the expense incurred by such immense sepulchres as had been erected in the Ceramicus, he expressly forbids the introduction of statues, or *Hermes*; which proves that, before this law, they were commonly employed in the ornament of their tombs. (CIC. *de Leg.* ii. 26, 65.)

being placed at so great a height, the solid* pier in the centre of the *pteron* would be scarcely visible, being concealed by the lines of perspective—thus furthering the analogy between the monument and this description of Martial's, obtained by placing a double line of columns all round the central pier.

To the second objection, that my pyramid becomes too depressed, and in want of conformity with Pliny's description, I would submit whether it be not in stricter analogy with it in this respect than previous designs; that is to say, whether Pliny's expression, *in metæ cacumen se contrahens*, does not rather give us to understand that the entire monument resembled a meta, and that, like it, it was drawn inwards towards the top? for metæ are never in the form of pyramids, but are always represented as elongated parabolic cones, nearly straight at the bottom, and contracting in a sharp curve towards the top.†

Another argument in favour of the proportion which I have assigned to the pyramid, is that it more nearly assimilates to the *angle of repose*; for if we suppose that the pyramid of the mausoleum is copied from the tumulus of the heroic times—as it undoubtedly is—the form of the pyramid would be made to assimilate to that of the tumulus, or, in other words, to the angle of repose: and this is the angle we find observed in other monuments, as in the tomb at Mylassa,‡ and the tomb at Constantina, in Africa.§

The above are the observations I have thought it necessary to give in elucidation of my design; there are, however, some features of the mausoleum which require further notice: the first of these is the quadriga. It was the custom of the ancients

* I speak merely with regard to its *appearance*, without reference to whether it were really solid. It might have contained the bust of Mausolus; the body was probably deposited in the ground in the first instance, and the monument raised over it, like the tumulus over the grave. (See 1 Macc. xiii. 27.)

† The tomb in the Via Appia near Albano is of this form.

‡ DILET. SOC., *Ion. Antiq.* It is incorrectly given in the *Classical Museum*.

§ *Mem. de Littérature*, xxvi. p. 334, pl. 4.

to raise columns over the tombs of their friends, whereon were inscribed the names and achievements of the deceased; and where the monument was of a more important character, statues or other emblems relating to the deceased were added. We have several instances in Pausanias of this practice. Over the sepulchre of Lais, in Corinth, was a lioness holding a ram in her fore-feet, (ii. 1). The sepulchre of Coræbus, in the forum of Megara was surmounted by the figure of Coræbus slaying the monster Pœna, (i. 43). A golden ram stood on the sepulchre of Thyestes, near Argos (ii. 18), because, says Lucian (*De Astrologia*), he discovered that sign of the zodiac. A rough stone was placed over the tumulus of Phocus, in Ægina, because he was killed with it by Peleus, who used this stone instead of a quoit (ii. 29). On the tomb of Pittheus, at Troezen, were placed three thrones, being those in which he and his colleagues* are reported to have sat in judgment (ii. 31). Over the tumulus of Auge, in Pergamus, who was celebrated for her beauty, was placed a naked woman of brass (viii. 4). Over the sepulchre of Androclus, the founder of Ephesus, was the figure of a man in armour (viii. 2). On the sepulchre of the Thebans who fell in battle against Philip, at Chæronea, was placed a lion, to signify the valour of those men in battle, (ix. 40.) And, finally, the stones which formed the foundation of the tumulus of Amphion, at Thebes, were said to be the very stones which followed the harmony of his lyre (ix. 17).† Thus, the quadriga of the sepulchre of Mausolus would be placed there as an emblem of the grandeur and glory of the King of Caria, his opulence and his military renown.

I have introduced a curved moulding in my design between

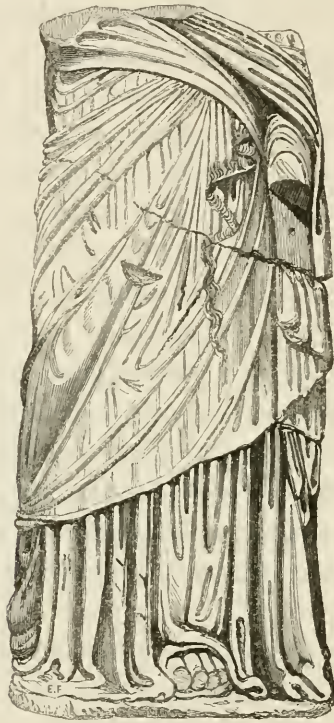
* The governors of the cities of Hyperca, Antheca, and Posidonias, which were afterwards united into Troezen. (PAUS. ii. 30.)

† On the tomb of Archimedes was a globe and cylinder (CIC. *in Tuscul.*); on that of Diogenes the cynic was a dog, (LAERTIUS *in Vita*); and a siren stood on that of Isocrates (PLUT. *Rhet.* 10).

the stylobate and the pteron, partly to prevent the projection of the cornice below from hiding a portion of the columns, and partly in reference to the character of the building. The portico of the monument being inaccessible from without, it would be an impropriety to represent steps, as in a sacred building; but a curved moulding in lieu of steps would serve to denote that the portico was not intended for use, but merely as a decoration. The choragic monument of Lysicrates is another instance of a building, ornamented with a colonnade, raised considerably above the ground—having the same feature of a moulded plinth between the portico and the stylobate. The expedient adopted in the Xanthian monument is exceedingly interesting in this particular. The cornice, although composed of several mouldings, is of very low projection, in order not to hide the bases of the columns; while, still further to remedy this evil, the bases of the columns have an extraordinary elongation. They are equal to a whole diameter in height, whereas the other Asiatic examples are only half a diameter. This was, doubtless, contrived to remedy the necessary concealment of a portion of the base by the projecting lines of the cornice. The *Ionian* base being so characteristic of this country, I have introduced it in my design, giving it an altitude of three quarters of a diameter.

There is a strong presumption that the mausoleum was decorated with statues, but whom these statues represented, it is, of course, impossible to assert; in the absence, however, of a more probable idea, I would suggest the following:—Mausolus might occupy the central pedestal on one side, with his father and mother and two brothers, making a group of five. Artemis might occupy a corresponding position on the other flank, with Artemisia and captive Rhodes on one side, and Ada the sister of Artemisia, and Artemisia the daughter of Lygdamis, on the other; while the eight remaining pedestals, four in either front, would support statues of the eight cities which were united

together by Mausolus into Halicarnassus.* Parallel instances are exhibited in the trophy of Artemisia's conquest of Rhodes, which represented Artemisia and captive Rhodes,† and in the monument to the memory of Homer, built by Ptolemy Philopater, who placed round the statue of the poet representations of the different cities which had claimed the honour of giving him birth.‡



Since writing the above, I find there is the trunk of a female draped statue in the British Museum, the height of which, curiously enough, exactly corresponds with those in my design. It was brought from Halicarnassus with the bas-reliefs, and is

* STRABO, p. 611. In the same manner, the cities Hyperea, Anthea, and Posidonias, which were afterwards united into Troezen, were represented on the tomb of Pittheus, as already noted, (page 184, note.) Figures of cities are also represented on the pedestal of the statue of Tiberius, found at Puteoli.

† VITR., *Arch.*, ii. 8.

‡ ÆLIAN., *Var. Hist.*, xiii. 22.

considered in the *Bullettino dell'Inst. Archeol. di Roma*, (1832, page 168,) as having formed part of the decoration of the mausoleum. Though some doubts may possibly be entertained whether it be of so early a date, it is nevertheless a beautifully executed statue; and the delicacy with which the deep folds of the stola or tunic are rendered just perceptible under the flat surface of the pallium, is very remarkable. The fringed border, considered to be a mark of later age, may possibly be an indication of Barbarian extraction.

The monument being nearly square, having six columns on one side, and seven on the other, the door being of minor consequence, if perceptible, and the only indication of the front, independent of having one column less, being the position of the quadriga at the top of the building, it appears doubtful how Pliny could speak of the monument having a front, or how the spectators could readily distinguish it; and I therefore submit the *possibility* of the hexastyle porticoes at front and back having been surmounted by a pediment, as in the Xanthian monument, and as we so universally find in the rock tombs of Lycia. I have not, however, followed this suggestion, for I cannot deny that a pyramid resting on a pediment would be contrary to the principles of Greek art.

I close these remarks by referring to two monuments in Syria. In speaking of sepulchres worthy of admiration Pausanias signalises two only; the mausoleum of Mausolus, "and one in the country of the Hebrews, at the city of Solymæ, (Jerusalem.) It was the sepulchre of Helena, a native woman, but was razed to its foundations by the Emperor of the Romans" (Titus).^{*} Unfortunately, we have no description of this monument, but we find the following references to it in Josephus and Eusebius. It was situate in the suburb called Ælia, and although three furlongs distant from Jerusalem, it appears to have given name to one of the city gates, a sufficient proof

^{*} PAUS., viii. 16.

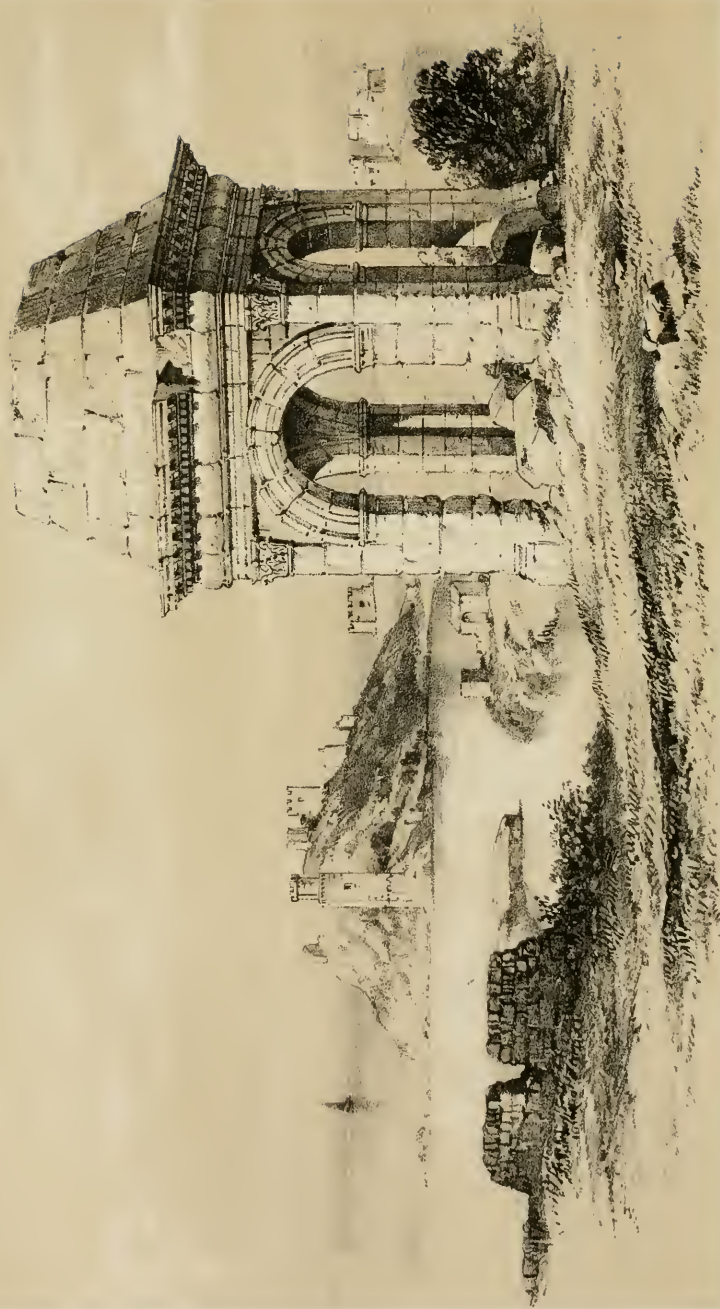
of its splendour and magnificence. Queen Helena erected the monument which was called "the three pyramids" in her lifetime, and on her decease, 45 B.C., was buried there by her son, Monobazus, king of Adiabene, who also buried there the bones of Izates, his brother.* The other monument in this country was the sepulchre of the Maccabei, and which, with the substitution of the ships and armour for the chariot of Mausolus, seems to have borne a most remarkable resemblance to the mausoleum. This monument was erected, B.C. 143, by Simon Maccabeus, over the sepulchres of his father, his mother, and his four brethren, at Madin, the city of his ancestors, which was one mile from Joppa. Over the graves he built six pyramids, one for each of them, and which were all of great size and beauty. And in the centre he erected a very large monument of white and polished stone, and raised it to a great height, so as to be seen a long way off, and *finished it with a pyramid*.† And he ornamented it with sculptures, and encircled it with porticoes (στοὰς περὶ αὐτὸ βάλλεται), of columns of one block; and upon the top he made representations of their armour, and ships, carved, for a perpetual memorial. A work it was wonderful to see.‡ A proof of the magnificence of this monument is evinced by its being described as still standing in the time of Josephus, who died A.D. 93, and of Eusebius, who died A.D. 342, or about 500 years after its erection. The custom of raising one monument to the memory of those who died together, or to members of the same family, was very common.

The accompanying view of a tomb at Celenderis, in Cilicia, which I took in May, 1844, may prove interesting, as showing the continued existence of the pyramidal type supported by piers, to a late period of Roman architecture. The most

* EUSEB., ii. 12; JEROM., *Orat. de Obit. Beat. Paulæ*; JOSEPHUS, *de Bello Jud.*, v. 2, 2, and 3, 3; *Antiq.*, xx. 4, 3.

† Which is evident, from the historian telling us there were *seven* pyramids, 1 Macc. xiii. 28.

‡ 1 Macc. xiii. 27—30; JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xii. 11, 2; xiii. 6, 6.



Ford & George, Lithographers, 54, Essex Court, London.

TOMB AT CELEUDERIS, IN CILICIA

beautiful example of this very common form is the tomb of St. Remi, in France. Another almost as beautiful, but a less known example, is the tomb at Ijel, near Trèves. It consists of three steps ornamented with sculpture, a square pedestal, in like manner enriched; above this is an open arcade, with a pilaster at each angle filled in with arabesque, a high frieze, attic, and pediment, all enriched with bas-relief. It is crowned with an ogee roof, enriched with laurel leaves, finishing with a Corinthian cap and eagle on a globe.

EDWARD FALKENER.

XVI.

DESCRIPTION OF A VERY ANCIENT STATUE
OF MINERVA, AT ATHENS.

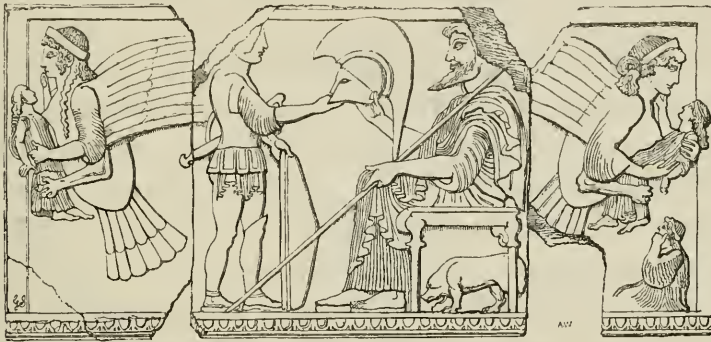
“The statue of Minerva, lately discovered on the Acropolis, was probably a copy of the old Minerva Polias, which was said to have fallen from heaven.”

THE above quotation from my note-book is one of a short series of remarks on ancient art, communicated to me at Athens by that distinguished archæologist, Carl Otfried Müller, in June, 1840. I propose, on a subsequent occasion, to give these remarks in all their integrity, and will now confine my observations to the description of this statue, particularly as I am not aware of any engraving of this remarkable figure, except that from a sketch by Sir William Gell, and the one published by Adolf Schöll, in the *Hinterlassenen Papieren*, von C. O. MÜLLER, Frankfurt, 1843, in which many of the details—in the hair, costume, and style—are not sufficiently indicated.

This sitting figure of Minerva is four feet six inches in height, and is of white Parian marble. It has a very Archaic character; the posture is formal and angular; the knees are close together, but the left foot a little advanced: the head and arms are wanting. Round the neck, and hanging like a cape, so as to cover the shoulders and body as low as the waist, is a broad ægis; the edges are indented, and holes remain at regular distances, probably for the insertion of bronze serpents. The shape of the breast is distinctly marked beneath the ægis, but no folds are visible on this surface. A large boss directly in front, and now perfectly smooth, was most probably adorned with a painted head of the Gorgon Medusa, whilst the ægis itself was coloured like scales, as we see on the painted vases. The hair falls in plaits over the shoulders, and in a great mass at

the back. A similar fashion is to be seen in many other Palladian figures, also preserved on the Acropolis.

It is worthy of observation, that the texture of the remaining drapery is fine ribbed, and in wavy lines, such as are frequently represented on early vases, and archaic sculpture. From its lightness and peculiar gauzy quality, it is only to be seen used as an under garment; and where the figure wearing it is seated, a mantle is invariably thrown over the knees. In the painted Sosias cup, in the bas-relief from the Villa Albani, and in the Harpy monument from Xanthus, this is conspicuously shown.*



BAS-RELIEF ON ONE OF THE SIDES OF THE HARPY TOMB, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Here, however, it is the only garment to the limbs, and from the very want of an outer covering a serviceable argument may be derived. Müller regarded this as a repetition of the type of the old Minerva Polias, chiefly judging by the art-characteristics about it, and from the position in which it was found. The statue was discovered, it is believed, at the Aglaurium.† This locality is situated immediately at the foot of the Acropolis, under the Temple of Minerva Polias (SCHÖLL, p. 24). Pausanias says that her most sacred statue was a common offering of the demi, before they were collected into the city; it was preserved in the Acropolis, and reported to have fallen from

* Zoëga, *Bassi rilievi di Roma*, Tav. xli.; Müller *Denkmäler*, Tav. xlv.

† A view of this celebrated grotto, taken by the writer in 1840, will appear in the next number of the *Life and Travels of St Paul*, by Rev. J. S. Howson, M.A.

heaven. He tells us also that an ancient sitting statue of Minerva was to be seen on the Acropolis, with an epigram upon it, signifying that it was the offering of Callias, and the work of Endæus, a disciple of Dædalus (PAUSANIAS, i. 26). In neither instance does he name the material, and on both occasions uses the word *αγαλμα*. This old statue seems, according to Athenagoras, to have been of olive wood—a mere *ξοανον*—and it was to this—the Minerva Polias—and not to the Minerva of the Parthenon, that the Panathenaic peplos—the “embroidered fasti of Athenian glory”—was periodically dedicated. The peplos, again, was not a veil suspended before the statue in the temple—it was the drapery in which the statue itself was invested,* accompanied with ceremonies like those hinted at in the sixth book of the *Iliad*. Hecuba proceeded to her store of treasure, and selecting the finest and most valuable embroidered garment, gave it to the priestess Theano as an offering to Minerva. The priestess received and placed it upon the knees of the goddess, (Θῆκεν Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γόονασιν, *Il.* vi. 303,) and, praying, supplicated. Thus might fancy picture the prototype of this ancient and simply disposed figure, whose attitude seems best adapted for the purpose, raised on a pedestal, with the ever-burning lamp of Calimachus before it, and wrapt in the many-folded vestment, gorgeous and heavy from its embroideries. Such drapery could only be adapted to lie upon so flat a surface, unless applied to a standing figure of colossal proportions, and even then the limbs must have been disposed in more violent action. Whether so really primitive a figure would have been represented sitting may admit of doubt, but it was the opinion stated by the learned Professor after he had seen my drawing, and as such entitled to the utmost respect; though Schöll, who does not incline to its exhibiting an early type, seems, by the wording of his notes, to indicate wavering upon the part of his distinguished fellow-traveller.

GEORGE SCHARF, JUN.

March 22nd, 1851.

* WORDSWORTH, pp. 126, 127.



1846

Museum of Glass Art

THREE VIEWS OF A VERY ANCIENT STATUE,
ON THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS

XVII.

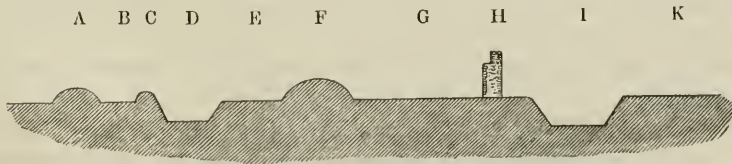
NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

- 1.—REV. JOHN COLLINGWOOD BRUCE, M.A. *The Roman Wall: a Historical, Topographical, and Descriptive Account of the Barrier of the Lower Isthmus.* 8vo. Newcastle, 1851. John R. Smith, London; W. Sang, G. B. Richardson, Newcastle.

ARCHÆOLOGY, instead of being now an abstruse and dry study, is become an interesting and a fashionable one. Instead of the cumbrous tomes of Horsley and of Hodgson, works which, with all their learning and research, are unattainable and perhaps unknown to the general reader, we have in the elegant volume before us a well digested compendium of those earlier works, together with a statement of the author's personal investigations, and of the more accurate inductions which he is thereby enabled to draw—the whole presented to us in a clear and succinct manner, doing credit alike to the author's literary taste and to his antiquarian study.

On the conquest of Lower Britain by the Romans, the more warlike of the inhabitants joined the nations of the north. Advancing to the Lower Isthmus, Agricola, in the second year of his campaign, sought to maintain his position by a series of insulated forts. In the following year he pushed on toward the Upper Isthmus, which he fortified in like manner. These lines of defence were subsequently strengthened by the construction of an earthen barrier across the Upper—and of a stone wall across the Lower Isthmus.

This wall, called the Roman Wall, extends from Bowness to Wallsend, a distance of nearly sixty-nine miles.



THE WALL, EIGHTEEN MILES WEST OF NEWCASTLE.



THE WALL, HALF A MILE WEST OF CARRAW.

It consists of—

- I. The Stone Wall: intended as a defence against the Picts.
- II. The Vallum, or Turf Wall: a defence against the Britons.
- III. Stations, Castles, and Watch Towers.
- IV. A Military Way.

I. The wall (μ) varies in its dimensions, and even in its mode of construction. The masonry is of the kind called by Vitruvius the Roman *Emplectum*, consisting of squared stones on each face, and filled in between with rubble; differing from the Greek *ἐμπλεκτον*, in not having the bond-stones, *διατόνοι*, and in not being worked up course by course. The stones are about twenty inches in length, ten or eleven in width, and eight or nine in thickness; being such as a man might easily carry on his shoulders. Most of the bricks are tooled or “scabbled,” and sometimes marked with what appear to be masons’ signs. The average thickness of the wall is eight feet; a platform ran along the top, protected by a parapet, making a total height of eighteen or nineteen feet.

On the outside of the wall is a fosse (ι), averaging thirty-six feet wide and fifteen feet deep.

The wall and its fosse are projected in as straight a line as the nature of the country would allow. Like the Roman Wall near Ratisbon—“no mountain is so high, no abyss so steep, no wood so thick, no morass so profound, through which it does not penetrate.” It never deviates from a right line, except to occupy the highest parts, and never fails to seize them when they occur, however often it may be thereby forced to change its course. These deviations of direction are always in angular, never in curved lines.

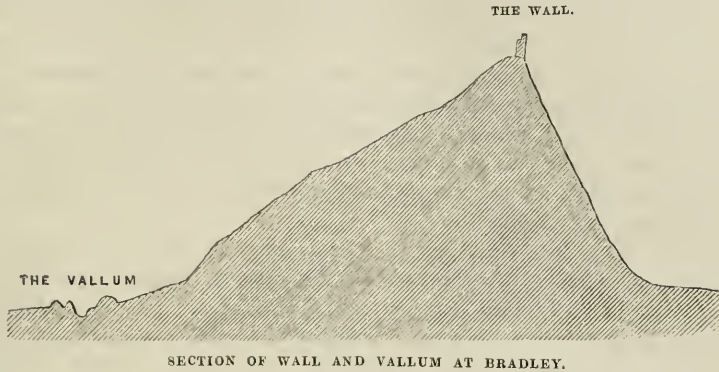
The Wall crowned the summit of cliffs, whose precipitous face would appear to have offered a sufficient bulwark; and this the author attempts to explain by the supposition that it served, in such situations, merely as a protection against the cold; but as the wall is not diminished in thickness, we think it more probable that it was in all cases calculated for defence against an enemy, to whom even the rocky heights of Sardis would have afforded no insurmountable obstruction.

The fosse follows the line of wall with undeviating constancy: it has been drawn indifferently through alluvial soil, and rocks of sandstone, limestone, and basalt. At Tepper Moor, enormous blocks of whin lie just as they have been lifted out of the fosse. When a flat and open country is passed through, a portion of the ground taken out of the ditch has frequently been deposited on its northern bank, thus making small outer agger (at κ). In some parts the fosse appears to have been filled with water.

II. The Vallum, or Turf Wall, is properly a triple one. In the centre ran a second fosse (ν), the earth from which, conjointly with that from the great fosse, has been used in forming the principal vallum (ρ) on the north of the second fosse. Its dimensions must have corresponded with those of the fossæ, but at present it does not exceed six or seven feet in height. The southern glacis of the trench is fortified by an agger, or rampart (ς). To the south of this is the third agger (α), which Horsley makes the least considerable.

I. II. The two lines of defence proceed across the isthmus in nearly a parallel course, and are generally within sixty or seventy yards of each other. Sometimes there is scarcely room for the Military Way between them, and sometimes they are half-a-mile apart. The greatest distance apart occurs in the mountainous districts

of the country, when the wall seeks the highest ground, and the vallum takes its course along the plains below.



The murus usually formed the northern side of the station, and the vallum the southern side, but sometimes they serve as defences to the east and west gates. The interval between them is always contracted in crossing a river; by this means they required one bridge only, which was more easily defended.

III. At distances along the line, of about four miles, were stationary camps, (*stationes*, or *castra stativa*.) These formed the nuclei of military cities. They were from three to five acres in extent, of a square form, divided into four quarters by streets at right angles, at each extremity of which was a gate. The streets were narrow and the houses small, in order to economise room and render their position one of greater strength. An advantage attending this uniformity of plan consisted in the facility with which fresh troops could be allotted to their respective quarters, even before arriving at a station. The ground usually sloped toward the south, and was defended by a fosse and earthen walls. Although at nearly equal distances apart, their position was determined partially by the nature of the country; and one of the most important requisites was an abundant supply of water. Suburbs extended round the cities for the convenience of camp-followers; and it is remarkable, that although many of them must have been of considerable importance, adorned with temples and other public monuments, there is scarcely one at present which is not converted into sheep-walks. The sites of seventeen or eighteen stations may still be traced, and the names of many of them, from Wallsend to Birdoswald, have been determined by reference to the *Notitia Imperii*.

The *Castella* are situated about a Roman mile apart. One is generally found, however, close to a river or a mountain-gorge, in order to defend the pass. They measure from sixty to seventy feet square. Between each of them were four turrets for sentries. Thus a constant communication of signals and orders could have been kept up from one end of the line to the other.

IV. An important part of the great barrier was its Military Way (G). This ran between the two defences, so that by the murus on the north, and by the vallum on the south, it was effectually concealed from view on either side, and thus troops could pass backwards and forwards without obstruction. It is usually seventeen feet wide, and is cambered, so as to give a rise in the centre of about eighteen inches. The road keeps an independent course; it is sometimes nearer to the murus, and sometimes to the vallum; the object of the engineer having been to afford the most

easy and direct communication between the various castles and stations. A smaller road ran immediately below the wall, and another on the south of the vallum (at B).

The *Upper Isthmus* was protected by a barrier which is called "Graham's Dike." It extended from Borrowstoness, on the Firth of Forth, to West Kirkpatrick, on the river Clyde, a distance of twenty-seven miles. It consisted of an immense fosse, forty feet wide and twenty deep, which extended over hill and dale in one unbroken line from sea to sea. Within a few feet of its southern side was an agger of twenty-four feet in thickness at the base, and twenty feet in height. Behind this ran the Military Way, about twenty feet wide, communicating with nineteen stations and several intermediate castella.

It is remarkable that the Upper Barrier is immediately to the north of the Clyde, the Lower Barrier to the north of the Tyne, the Irthing, and the Eden, and the "Devil's Wall," near Ratisbon, to the north of the Danube. The author endeavours to show, and with great probability, that the reason for not availing themselves of the natural trenches of river basins, was that they might be enabled to take advantage of the higher ground on the north banks of the rivers—to prevent surprise by the approach of an enemy up the rivers, concealed by the neighbouring forests,—and to enjoy to themselves the advantages accruing from the rich alluvial plains of these rivers.

In the Fifth Part the author discusses the question—"Who built the wall?" and we think that he has made a very clear case in favour of Hadrian, in opposition to the more general opinion, which ascribes it to Septimius Severus; and as the barrier of the Upper Isthmus was formed in the reign of Antoninus Pius, the adopted son of Hadrian, the supposition seems extremely feasible that the Antonine Wall is but an advanced work of Hadrian's entrenchment.

We have contented ourselves in giving but a summary account of the Second Part; in the First is an epitome of the history of Roman occupation in Britain; the Third and Fourth contain a local description of the works; and the Sixth, an account of the antiquities discovered.

It would be a delightful process to follow the author in his description of the works, traversing the Isthmus from one extremity to the other, and pointing out at each step the several points of interest which present themselves. Among the objects so described, are the "Baths" at Hunnum, p. 162; a Roman bridge over the North Tyne, p. 170; extensive remains at Cilurnum, p. 174 (which have been described by John Clayton, Esq., in the *Archæologia Æliana*, iii. 142); the West Portal, and other remains of Borcovicus, pp. 216—228; the Castellum at Cawfields, p. 248; an Aqueduct, or Watercourse, at Æsica, p. 257; the Station of Amboghanna, p. 280; and the remains at Plympton, or Old Penrith, p. 358. Among the antiquities discovered, we would call attention to a silver "lanx," or dish, found at Corbridge, p. 334; and to a very elegant altar at Nether Hall, p. 363.

The publication of this work has prompted the Duke of Northumberland to announce his intention of instituting further researches, on a larger scale, on the site of the Roman Wall. We trust that Mr. Bruce will take an active part in the prosecution of these researches, and that he may be induced to give us some further account of the Roman Wall from the discoveries which may ensue.

The work contains 450 pages, nearly every leaf of which is embellished with a lithograph or woodcut.

- 2.—PROF. BUCKMAN, F.L.S., F.G.S., &c.; and C. H. NEWMARCH, Esq. *Illustrations of the Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester, the Site of the Ancient Corinium.* Geo. Bell, Fleet-street; Baily and Jones, Cirencester. 4to. London. 1850.

AMONG the various publications which have appeared on topographical antiquity, there are few that can compete with the present work in beauty and interest; but we trust that the example set by Cirencester may be speedily followed by other cities of equal antiquarian importance.

Casual excavations, as the digging of a well, or the laying the foundations of a house, have almost invariably brought to light some evidence of ancient art at Cirencester; but these have taken place at protracted intervals, and their results were either wholly unheeded, or printed in scattered publications, and the remains themselves perhaps neglected or destroyed. With the increased zeal for antiquarian research, there is no fear that the latter evil will again occur; and the authors have endeavoured to remedy the former, by collecting in one chapter a relation of all previous discoveries, and referring to the various volumes in which they have been published.

It is not merely within the walls of the ancient Corinium that these antiquities have been discovered, but remains of some of the most beautiful villas in England have been found in its immediate vicinity—as at Stancomb Park, Woodchester, Whitcomb, Withington, and Crippetts near Leckhampton; thus denoting the importance of this city, and its long occupation by the Romans, many of whom appear to have selected it from its well-secured and tranquil district.

We are indebted for the present volume simply to the circumstance, that two pavements were discovered in consequence of making a sewer in Dyer-street in the year 1849: and the principal portion of the work is naturally devoted to their description, and to a relation of the objects discovered in the excavation: but the authors have taken advantage of the opportunity, to publish at the same time, a third pavement, discovered at the Barton in 1825, but which had remained till now unedited. These three pavements are drawn, engraved, and coloured in the most careful and beautiful manner, and with such distinctness, that we can, as it were, count every tessella, and form an opinion ourselves on the character of the representations. Owing to this finished execution of the engraving, we would suggest that the toga of Orpheus in the Barton pavement is not “variously striped,” as stated by the authors, but that the lines of colour merely designate the folds of the drapery, in the same manner that what they designate as “pantaloons” and “shoes” are simply the lines of the anatomy of the naked figure.

In the centre of this pavement (Plate VII.) is Orpheus, surrounded by a circular frieze of various birds,—the distinctive characteristics of which, as usual, are expressed with great truth,—walking round the circle in rapid strides. Round this is a larger frieze, containing various beasts of prey, treading the ground with measured steps and slow, to the sound of the music. This pavement measures twenty-one feet square. In the same Plate is an octangular star pattern, which is remarkable from its exact identity with the pattern so frequently employed by the Byzantines and Saracens in their geometrical mosaics. These pavements are now well protected by the erection of a house over them.

The first of the Dyer-street pavements (Plate VI.) is precisely similar in general

form to a pavement in the House of the Mosaic Fountain at Pompeii; but though more elaborate, it is not equal to it in purity of design. In the centre is a spirited representation of a chase; three out of four dogs remain, but the quarry is destroyed. It forms a square of fifteen feet.

The third pavement (Plate II.) is the largest and most elaborate. It is twenty-five feet square, and consists of nine entire circles, in three rows of three. The central circle appears to have had a centaur, the fore-legs only of which remain. It probably represented Chiron and Achilles. In the circle above is Bacchus; in that below, Silenus on an ass; that on the right represents Actæon, torn in pieces by his dogs; the other on the left is destroyed. The angle medallions—three of which are preserved—contain heads of Ceres, Pomona, and Flora. As in the former pavement, so in this, we are not disposed to agree to the “trousers” and “shoes” of Silenus, nor can we at all consent to the opinion that, as the antlers are but beginning to shoot out of the head of Actæon, and the metamorphose is only commencing, Actæon must have “smelt strongly of venison,” or his dogs would not have attacked him. Artists, in depicting such representations, selected always such points as best explain the nature of the history: the induction, therefore, “that the dogs of the ancients never followed by sight as our greyhound,” must be regarded as gratuitous. Had the transformation completely taken place, it would have been a deer-chase, not a representation of Actæon.

The three heads of Ceres, Pomona, and Flora, follow in Plates III., IV., and V. They are drawn with great freedom and breadth of composition: that of Pomona is very fine, but the Ceres is remarkably beautiful.

The description of the pavements is followed by an interesting analysis of the materials of the tessellæ, including a Report by Dr. A. Voelcker on the composition of ruby-coloured glass. On the discovery of this pavement, the head of Flora appeared to be crowned with green leaves and flowers. The colour of the flowers being of a more dusky hue than that of the leaves, led the authors to examine the pavement more minutely, and they discovered that the tessellæ of which these parts were formed, consisted of bright ruby-coloured glass, the surface of which had become oxidized, and changed to this green colour. This circumstance is worthy of observation, as pavements in other parts may exist, the design of which might be incorrectly published, from ignorance of this fact. In these pavements, glass is used where broad masses of colour are required; but in those mosaics of Italy which were executed by Greek artists, glass is employed, not so much for local colour, as to give delicacy in the detail and finishing.

The next chapter describes the various modes of constructing tessellated floors, and it is rightly remarked, that the existence of “*suspensuræ*” is not always an evidence of their being remains of baths. Though in Italy and more southern regions this is invariably the practice, in the cold damp climate of the north it was requisite to keep the pavement dry and warm, in order to render the house habitable, otherwise it would have been necessary to cover the mosaic constantly with matting, which would conceal the beauty of the ornament. The larger pavement is remarkable, in being partly on a solid foundation and partly suspended on *pilæ*, the reason of which manifestly is, that hot flues under one-half of the pavement were considered capable of warming sufficiently the whole apartment: and, therefore, Mr. Tucker’s opinion that this room served the double

purpose of a *Triclinium hybernum* and of a *Triclinium æstivum*, cannot be entertained. If any difference existed, the portion of the room over the hollow pavement would naturally be the warmest in winter and the coolest in summer, and, consequently, at all times preferable: besides, the distribution of pavement so universally employed for Triclinia does not here exist; and, moreover, by this supposition, this beautiful mosaic would have been divided in two by a partition.

The exteriors of Roman houses were far from being, as supposed by the authors, "inornate." From the paucity of openings in the lower floor, this portion of the exterior was generally very simple in its treatment. Pilasters occupied the quoins and doorways, but the remainder of the wall was plain. In the upper floors, however, there is reason to believe that greater richness and freedom prevailed. From the beauty of the pavements, and from the circumstance that ashlar stone was discovered on the exterior of the walls, we feel convinced that the exterior of this house must have corresponded in character and importance with the interior.

It is with great pleasure that we find further investigations are about to be made (p. 21), especially as the smaller pavement was discovered merely by an "experimental shaft," and it is very desirable that the entire plan of this magnificent dwelling should be exposed to light, even should the modern Portici be sacrificed in order to recover the ancient Herculaneum. The plan, as at present given (p. 62), is so exceedingly indefinite—not a single door being indicated—that it is perfectly impossible even to guess at the distribution of the mansion. It is very certain, however, that the arrangement proposed in page 70, has no analogy with that of a Roman villa. If we might hazard an opinion from consideration of the character of the mosaics, without reference to the plan of the dwelling, we would suggest, that from the representations of Actæon, and of Chiron and Achilles, these rooms might have formed a portion of the Gynæceum of the mansion.

We cannot close the book, without noticing the great care with which these pavements have been copied and engraved. Complete tracings were taken of the mosaics by Mr. T. Cox, which were then coloured on the spot: and these fac-similes were then reduced by the Talbotype apparatus by Mr. Philip De La Motte, thus ensuring the most perfect accuracy.

We rejoice to see so numerous a list of subscribers, and that the Archæological Institute have so greatly promoted its publication: and we feel assured that the book will eventually force its way into every antiquarian library.

3.—GIO. ORTI MANARA. *Di un Antico Monumento dei tempi Romani che trovasi nella terra delle Stelle presso Verona.* 8vo. Ver. 1848.

IMBUED with love for his native city, and meditating on its ancient glory, derived from the importance of its geographical position as one of the keys of Northern Italy, and from the remarkable vestiges of ancient monuments which attest its former power and opulence, the Conte Orti has proposed to himself "to collect together all the documents which refer to such monuments, to examine them with diligence and attention, and to delineate them with scrupulous fidelity and care, in order that he may be enabled to describe them with requisite accuracy and precision." Various works have already appeared from his pen, and we may shortly

expect a very interesting description of the excavations which he has conducted at the Villa of Catullus on the Lago di Gada.

The present pamphlet treats of a subterranean viaduct and conduit, the former of which gives access to two small chambers, one of which is decorated with a mosaic pavement and fresco paintings. Santa Maria delle Stelle derives its name from a stella found in one of the above-mentioned chambers. It is near Quinto, a village so called because five Roman miles from the city. The monument appears to have been unexplored by Maffei; while Dionisi, Venturi, Da Persico, and Bennassuti, considered it to be a Cave dedicated to Jupiter, or Mercury Trophonius. Others, again, from the supply of water, have considered the chambers to have been baths. Conte Orti refutes these opinions, and establishes clearly that they served as the sepulchral vaults, or columbaria, of the individual who laid down the conduit. The entrance is by a flight of steps, on descending which is the gallery or viaduct, about four feet high. At a little distance is a square chamber, ten feet high, communicating with two vaults, the further side of which is formed into a semicircle. They measure nineteen feet six inches by fifteen feet; they are thirteen feet high, and are ventilated and lit by small shafts from above. Beyond this are two larger shafts, from the further of which an inclined plane leads to the source of water. The stella or cippus found in one of the chambers bears the following inscription :—

POMPONIAE
ARISTOCLI
AE
ALUMNAE.

4.—EDWARD GERHARD. *Mykenische Alterthümer*. 4to. Berlin, 1850.

THIS pamphlet will be interesting to the architect, from its elucidation of the symbolic character of the Gate of the Lions at Mycenæ. The learned archæologue endeavours to point out the connexion which these animals had with the worship of Io. The text is accompanied with a folding plate, in which is a representation of the Gate of the Lions, and of a terra cotta figure of the metamorphose of Io, found at Centorbi, in Sicily.

5.—EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M.A. *A History of Architecture*. Masters, Aldersgate-street. 8vo. London. 1849.

THE title is a general one; and the subject requires great experience, profound knowledge, and, above all, an enlarged mind, and an unbiassed judgment. The Author, however, is an ecclesiologist. He acknowledges himself to be devotedly attached to Teutonic forms, and puts forward the engraving of a church in the perpendicular style as the frontispiece to his work. Instead, therefore, of writing a history of architecture, he writes an eulogium on Gothic architecture; and instead of treating Gothic architecture in a broad and comprehensive manner, he confines all the references and examples to ecclesiastical buildings, (p. xvii.)

As it is not the province of this journal to treat of Gothic art, we turn at once to the chapters which touch upon classic architecture. He informs us that this branch of his subject is "little more than a compilation from other writers" (p. 8). We find, however, that he holds extreme, and we trust peculiar views. He begins

by asserting that "Gothic architecture is beyond all comparison the noblest effort of the art" (10); that "the products of Grecian heathenism neither can nor ought to be reproduced in Teutonic Christendom" (106). He affirms that "the Ionic and Corinthian orders are modifications, if not corruptions, of the Doric" (104); that "the Ionic can hardly be said to be the development of any idea" (111); that the Erechtheum "is as great an absurdity as anything that Vitruvius or Palladio could have produced" (117); that the choragic monument of Lysicrates, that of Thrasylus, and the Tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes "could have been far better carried out in the Romanesque or Gothic" styles (120, 121); that "in domestic architecture their style must have failed" (131); and he regards the Elgin marbles, in their present position, as mere antiquities (108).

In the next chapter, which treats of Roman architecture, he affirms that it is simply the exceeding excellence of the two elements—the perfect loveliness of Grecian detail, corrupted as it was by its Roman imitators, and the magnificent boldness of the genuine Roman construction—"that saves any of its productions from absolute hideousness" (140).

In the concluding chapter, which treats of the revival of the classic styles, he says, "Italian architecture must be looked upon as simply detestable" (444). He acknowledges St. Paul's to be a grand building, "wretched as is its style, glaring, and even ludicrous, as are its individual defects" (446). He describes the lingering adherence, in the middle of the seventeenth century, to the old northern and Christian forms, as "the material reflection of that Catholic movement in the English Church, which has *immortalized* the names of Andrewes and *Laud*,* and a host of inferior worthies" (440).

Something of this *Catholic* feeling we fancy we perceive in other passages. Thus, not to speak of the "demons of heathendom" in St. Paul's (446), he says of other cathedrals, "the *fabric* of Ely and Westminster may be renewed; but *while the laity throng the choir*, and pagan nudities stand unrebuked, the *Church* is unrestored" (451).

Several glaring errors might be pointed out—as that the Greeks never placed one colonnade above another (129); that the whole end and aim of Grecian architecture was to produce an exterior (130); and that the Doric column had no entasis (110), &c. &c.: but we abstain.

Such is the book which has been sent to us for the expression of our approbation!—such the tenets to which we are expected to subscribe!

6.—ARCHIT. ARCHÆOL. AND HIST. SOCIETY OF CHESTER. *Journal*. Part I. 8vo. July, 1850.

WE are delighted to see an Archæological Society springing up in the good old city of Chester, and trust that the ample materials which they have before them in their own city will be amply worked out. In Part I. we find, among other papers, a description, by the Rev. W. H. Massie, of a Roman wooden bridge, found buried

* *Laud*!—that Christian prelate and "worthy" of the Catholic Church, who cropped the ears and slit the noses of those who dared to question the authority of the Church.

fourteen feet under the silt at Birkenhead, pp. 55 and 68. This paper will be found very interesting, from the singularity of the bridge being built of wood, and from the evidences which the author adduces of the great alterations, both of land and water, which the neighbouring country has undergone.

- 7.—EDMUND GETTY, M.R.I.A. *Notices of Chinese Seals found in Ireland.* 4to. Belfast, 1850. Hodgson, 13, Paternoster-row ; Hodges and Smith, Dublin ; Marcus Ward and Co. Belfast.

IN establishing an Archæological Journal of classic art, we might have expected that that most ancient nation, the Chinese, would not long defer advancing their claim to honourable distinction. The work which they have sent us is a collection of sixty seals, all of which are in the form of a small cube, with a monkey at the top, serving as a handle, which it would be profaneness to say is anything but classic in its drawing. The impressions are accompanied with five translations, by which we are enabled to judge of their general accuracy. The mottoes are as vague and strange as any that are enclosed in bons-bons. No. 1. *To sing with the wind and play with the moon* ; 6. *Plumtrees and bamboos* ; 17. *Intimate with all the Savans of the world.* Forty-six of these seals were found in different parts of Ireland ; but how they got there no one at present has been able to explain. Chinese vases have been found at Thebes and other parts of Egypt, but whether brought there by the ancient Egyptians, the Romans, or even the Arabs, is uncertain. On one of these was found the following motto :—*The flower opens, and lo ! another year.*

- 8.—MARCUS WARD AND CO. *St. Patrick's Bell, and its Jewelled Shrine.* Small folio. Belfast, 1850. Hodgson, 13, Paternoster-row ; Hodges and Smith, Dublin ; Marcus Ward and Co. Belfast.

ALTHOUGH we have as great respect for that preacher of pure Christianity, St. Patrick, as any Irishman possibly can, we are not able to say much in commendation of his bell. It is of a square form, and composed of two pieces of sheet iron rudely riveted together, without any attention to shape or ornament, and must have made about as delightful music as any broken kettle. It is, indeed, almost as ugly as “our black lady of Loreto,” and, like it, is enclosed in a costly and magnificent shrine. This latter is of brass, inlaid with gold and silver and precious stones. But what gives it the greatest merit is the beauty of the arabesques and ornaments, which partake much of an Oriental character.

The birds, the twisted “serpents” or lizards, and the scroll-work, so closely resemble the ornamental writing of the East, that we might almost believe some hidden signification is expressed therein. The sides are all different in design, and a separate plate is given of each.

The work has been got up as a specimen of Irish chromo-lithography, and its execution is so beautiful, that we sincerely hope Irish artists will henceforward be employed in the publication of Irish works, whether they be on literature, science, or antiquity.

XVIII.

ARCHÆOGRAPHIA LITTERARIA.

II.

Collections from the ARCHÄOLOGISCHE ZEITUNG herausgeben von EDUARD GERHARD. 4to. Berlin, 1843—1850 inclusive. Vols. I.—IV.

[The letter A denotes Anzeiger; B, Beilage; and D, Denkmäler.]

- Abacus.* Athenischer— C. BöCKH, iii. 42
Agora. Ueber die Märkte hellenischer Städte. E. CURTIUS, ii. 292
Amphitheatre. See *Constantinople*.
Archäologische Bibliographie. i. 216, ii. 4, iii. 4, 195, iv. 4, 131.
 Besides very copious Lists in ii. B. Nos. i. ii. iv. v. and vii.—x.
 iii. 13,* 27,* 46,* 59,* 78,* and 93.*
 iv. A. 45, 79, 101, 127, 157, 181, and 213.
Aricia. Discoveries at— LUDWIG ROSS, iii. 2, 9
Asia Minor. Griechische Inschriften. Falkenerischen Sammlung. iv. A. 43, 168
Assyria. Discoveries in— i. 381; ii. 51,* 70,* 107,* 379,* iii. 161; iv. A. 51, 71
Athens. Discoveries at— LUDWIG ROSS, iii. 2, 9
 ——— über des Theseion zu— E. CURTIUS, i. 97
Branchidæ. Die Statuen am heiligen Wege der Branchiden. L. ROSS, iv. D. 130
Carthage. Karthagische Alterthümer. H. BARTH, iv. A. 147
 ——— aus Liverpool. iv. A. 148
Chiusi. Clusinische Wandgemälde. EMIL. BRAUN, iii. 310
Cologne. See *Mosaic*.
Constantinople. Amphitheatre at— C. BöCKH, iv. A. 22
Corfu. Ueber die Insel der Phäaken. G. von ECKENBRECHER, ii. 133
Corinth. Die Quelle Pirene auf akrokorinth, und das Kraneion unterhalb Korinth.
 C. GÖTTLING, i. 326
Cos. Discoveries at, by Prof. Ross:—Temple of Ceres Augusta, i. 299; Friesplatten
 von Asklepiostempel, ii. 281; Das Brunnenhaus der Businna, iv. D. 241; and
 the beautiful Ionic Heronum of Charmylos, i. 299; iv. D. 241.
Crimea. Discoveries in the—. Griechisches in Russland. iv. A. 8
Cyprus. The Island Kurias, off—. Kurion, und das Heiligthum des Apollon
 Hylates auf Kypros. LUDWIG ROSS, ii. 99
Cypselus. Composition des Kastens des Cypselus. T. BERGK, ii. 150, 167, 182
 ——— OTTO JAHN, iv. D. 191
Cyrene. Das Griechische Theater in—. H. BARTH, iii. 233
Egypt. Notice of Dr. Lepsius's Discoveries. i. 78, 237
Egyptian Art. Ägyptisches aus Etrurien. E. GERHARD, i. 308
Erechtheum. Neueste Forschungen über das—von Bötticher. Notice of, iv. A. 120
Etruscan Art. See *Chiusi* and *Museum Gregorianum*.
Excavations. Report on— i. 209; ii. 1, 201; iii. 1, 194; iv. A. 1
Fountains. Ueber Städtische Wasserbanten der Hellenen. E. CURTIUS, iii. 19

Fountains. See *Corinth*.

Halicarnassus. Halikarnass und das Mausoleum. . . . L. URLICHS, iii. 169

————— E. G., iii. 169, 177, 81*

————— Sculptures. S. BIRCH, iii. 202

Hecate. Dreifache Hecate. Marmorbild im Königl. Museum zu Leiden. . i. 132

Kalymna. Terra Cottas from— iii. 277

Karabel. Ueber das Felsenrelief zu Karabel. R. LEPSIUS, ii. 271

Labyrinth. See *Egypt*.

Laocoon. Ueber den— F. G. WELCKER, iii. 83*

Lares. Ueber den Hausgottes dienst der alten Griechen. Vortrag. von Prof. Petersen.

Notice of, iv. A. 115

Lindos. Discoveries at—Temples of Jupiter, and of Minerva Lindia. L. ROSS, i. 300

Mausoleum. Roman Monument between Mizda and Kasr Ghurian in Africa.

Discovered by H. BARTH, iv. A. 187

Mosaic at Cologne. i. 271

Museum. Biondi, Monumenti Amaranziani. Notice of, ii. LXII.

————— British—Der Bronzensammlung. TH. PANOFKA, ii. 220

————— Disney Collection. iii. 157

————— Gregorianum, Rom. Notice of, i. 94

————— Louvre. Marmorsäle des— ii. 150

————— Mantua. Sculpturen zu— E. GERHARD, ii. 353

Niobe. Tochter der—in Königl. Mus. zu Berlin. Ditto, i. 301

Olympia. Discoveries at— iii. 2, 8

Paintings. Wall—See *Chiusi* and— i. 213

Parthenon. Pediment-Groups of—. Alte Denkmäler, erklärt von F. G. Welcker.

Erste Theil, Gott. 1849 Notice of, iv. A. 177

Phœnicians. Zur Kunst der Phöniciër. . . . H. BARTH, iii. 326, 346, 362, 388

Pompeii. Haus des M. Lucretius. iii. 26;* iv. A. 8

————— TH. PANOFKA, iii. 56,* 110, 142

Rhannus. Der Kleine Tempel in— L. ROSS, iv. D. 167

Rhodes. Felsengräber auf— Ditto, iv. D. 209

Rome. Discoveries at— Ditto, iii. 2, 9

————— TH. MOMMSEN, ii. 226

————— W. HENZEN, iv. A. 165

————— House in the Via Graziosa. Dr. E. BRAUN, iv. A. 27, 166

————— On the Colossal Group on Monte Cavallo. i. 238

————— Ueber die Lage der Curia Hostilia. L. URLICHS, ii. 306

Sculpture. Discovery of Ancient— i. 212; ii. 3, 13; iii. 2

Sesostris. Das Sogenannte Monument des—bei Smyrna. . . H. KIEPERT, i. 33

Smyrna. See *Sesostris*, and Head of Statue from— iv. D. 1

Syme. Tumulus auf— LUDWIG ROSS, iv. D. 134

Telos. Discoveries at—Temples of Minerva and of Jupiter. . . . Ditto, i. 300

Theatre. See *Cyrene* and *Amphitheatre*.

Tyros. Die Galerien und die Stoa von Tyrinth. . . . C. GÖTTLING, ii. 17

Tomb. Ueber die Motive antiker Grabmäler. . . . M. PETERSEN, iv. A. 220

Trophonius. Ueber ein Marmorkopf des Fürsten Talleyrand. TH. PANOFKA, i. 1

Xanthus. Das Harpyienmonument von Xanthos. Ditto, i. 49, 65

————— Das Denkmal des Harpagos zu Xanthos, und dessen Trümmer in Brit-
tischen Museum. E. GERHARD and EMIL BRAUN, i. 353, 371

THE
MUSEUM OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES.

No. III. — JULY, 1851.

XIX.

REMARKS
ON THE COLLECTIONS OF ANCIENT ART
IN THE MUSEUMS OF ITALY, THE GLYPTOTHEK AT MUNICH, AND THE
BRITISH MUSEUM.

THE following remarks originally formed part of a report drawn up by the Author after visiting the Museums of Florence, Rome, and Naples, and the Glyptothek at Munich, in the autumn of 1848, and officially submitted to the Trustees of the British Museum. The cursory survey of Foreign Museums which the Author was enabled to make in this tour suggested to his mind some general conclusions, which he thought worth recording while the impression of what he had seen was still fresh in his memory; and it appeared to him that these views might be most clearly and compendiously stated by comparing the several collections he had recently visited in respect of their extent and riches,—the British Museum serving as the standard of comparison for them all. The subject-matter of this comparison being very varied, both in form and material, and the estimate to be formed being one rather of qualities than of quantities,—requiring, not a mere statement of the number of sculptures, vases, or coins contained in the several museums, but a careful appreciation of their relative values, according to some recognised standard, it may be convenient to class the objects to be compared under one general head as works of art, and to consider them rather in their original order of produc-

tion than according to any system of arrangement grounded on their differences of form and material; to divide the whole history of Ancient Art into periods, and inquire what each museum contributes as examples of the several successive styles, and to consider sculptures, bronzes, vases, gems, coins, terra cottas, and other antiquities, as a whole, capable of arrangement in the mind in one great chronological series.

For the illustration of that primeval period in the history of art which precedes, as it is believed, the earliest productions of Greek civilization, and reveals to us two distinct sources from which that civilization may have been derived, the collections of the British Museum are unrivalled. In no other of the museums here under consideration is the character of Egyptian art so clearly and emphatically stated; none exhibit so many monuments of the best period of that art, and of such colossal size. In the British Museum alone are these works placed in immediate and instructive juxtaposition with that style to which they form the most singular contrast—the style of Phidias, as seen in the sculptures of the Elgin room. The Egyptian collections of Naples and Munich are comparatively insignificant. In the Vatican, indeed, we find the same great impressive monuments of the best period, but these have not altogether escaped those restorations and retouchings which most works of art in Italy have, till lately, undergone.

The Assyrian sculptures brought by Mr. Layard from Nineveh are documents for the history of art, and, perhaps, for the history of the world, which have no equivalents in any of the Continental museums, the Louvre only excepted. They throw a new and unlooked-for light on the question which has occupied archæology for more than a century—the origin of Greek art; and, when so arranged as to exhibit clearly to the eye the peculiarities of their style and treatment, they will form the base of a new comparison and more scientific arrangement of the archaic monuments of Greece, Asia Minor, and Etruria.

The mention of these recent acquisitions leads to the next point in this inquiry,—to what extent do the museums here compared severally contribute to our knowledge of the most ancient Greek art?

It is probable that the earliest productions of this period which we possess are either works in hammered metal, (*σφυρήλατα*), or pottery. Of the former class, more objects have been found in the Etruscan tombs than in any other part of the ancient world, and it is in the Museo Gregoriano, the collection of Signor Campana at Rome, and in the bronzes from Polledrara, recently acquired by the British Museum,* that we may best study the metallurgy of the Homeric ages.

These collections not only show us the first rude attempts to represent the human form, but acquaint us with the shapes of the weapons and implements of the period, and thus enable us to compare the relative progress of art and mechanical skill. It is probable that no more ancient specimens of Greek pottery have been discovered than the earliest Athenian vases on the one hand, painted with simple ornaments, and the earliest Etrurian on the other, rudely decorated with parallel rows of animals, and presenting strong affinities with Oriental art. The comparison of the earliest Etruscan remains with the monuments recently brought from Assyria by Mr. Layard may, it is conceived, lead to some very curious deductions.†

As we advance from this Homeric period of Greek history to a more civilized age, the examples of archaic art multiply—the classes under which they may be arranged become more complicated. The art of casting in bronze is gradually substituted for the hammered work, and we may judge of its perfection by the magnificent specimen in the museum at Florence—the Chimæra;‡ the Wolf of the Capitol at Rome,§ a

* MICALI, *Mon. Ined. Firenze*, 1844. Tav. 6, fig. 2, and Tav. 8.

† Compare the curious vases found with the bronzes already noticed at Polledrara, MICALI, *Mon. Ined. Fir.* 1844. Tavv. 4, 5, 7.

‡ MÜLLER, *Denkmäler d. a. Kunst.* i. Taf. 58, No. 287. § *Ibid.* No. 288.

work inferior both in art and preservation; and the Falterona Mars in the British Museum.*

The progress of vase-painting, from the representation of figures and animals to the more difficult task of delineating the human figure, may be very clearly traced out in the Museo Gregoriano, the Florentine, and our own collection. No specimen of *Italian* fictile art of this period can be compared with the Clitias vase at Florence,† while the Panathenaic vase discovered by Mr. Burgon at Athens, and now in the British Museum,‡ is an unrivalled example of the archaic style of *Greece*.

Though rich in pottery and works of metal, Italy is poor in marble sculpture of an early period. The statues and bas-reliefs in the museums of Rome and Naples, alleged to be archaic, will be found, with a very few exceptions, to be imitations executed in a later age. Among the most instructive examples of *true* archaic sculpture are the Harpy Tomb from Xanthus, and the small marble statue from Polledrara,§ both of which are in the British Museum; the bas-relief in the Villa Albani;|| the head of Juno in the villa Ludovisi;¶ and, for the later or transition period, the Æginetan marbles in the British Museum.**

These isolated specimens of archaic sculpture may be best combined and studied as parts of one great development, if we view them in connexion with the archaic coins of Magna Græcia and Sicily in the British Museum. This series, unrivalled for rarity and preservation, presents to us more synoptically and

* MICALI, *Mon. Ined.* 1844. Tav. 12.

† *Mon. dell' Inst. Arch. di Roma*, iv. Tav. 55-7.

‡ MILLINGEN, *Ancient Ined. Mon.* i. pl. 1-3.

§ MICALI, *Mon. Ined. Fir.* 1844. Tav. 6, fig. 1.

|| MÜLLER, *Denkm.* i. Taf. 11, No. 40; ZOEGA, *Basreliefen di Roma*, Tav. 41. A cast of this may be seen in the British Museum.

¶ Not the head commonly known as the Ludovisi Juno, but a more archaic one, described, PLATNER u. BUNSEN, *Roms Beschreibung*, iii. 2, p. 578, No. 4; but which, I believe, has never been engraved.

** The statue of Apollo in the British Museum, CLARAC, pl. 482 b, fig. 931 a, if not a copy executed in Roman times, would be another example of the transition period to which the Æginetan marbles belong.

continuously than any other class of monuments the history of Greek sculpture, from the year 700 B.C. to the time of the Persian war, the probable date of the Æginetan marbles, and demonstrates to the eye the progressive steps of that transition, by which the Æginetan style was developed into that of Phidias.

That which ancient authors affirm generally of the art of this period is proved by these coins in a number of particular instances: that which we conceive imperfectly from the brief and allusive expressions of Cicero (*Orat.* 18) and Quintilian, (*Inst.* xii.) is here made manifest even to the unpractised eye.

We may now regard the several museums under consideration in reference to that more perfect age of art, which may be conceived to range from the time of Pericles to that of Alexander the Great, and which, beginning with the school of Phidias, terminates with that of Praxiteles.

It is hardly necessary to repeat here the fact, that the Elgin marbles are the great examples of the art of this period.

They are the productions, not only of the best age, but of that school of art which the ancients themselves most esteemed; they are works neither executed to gratify individual caprice, nor on so small a scale as to be inadequate representations of a style, nor are they of uncertain date and locality, as vases, coins, or gems,—they are pre-eminently national monuments and historical documents, and are therefore of inestimable value in fixing the standard, by which all specimens of ancient art which have been preserved to us may be measured and classified.

These sculptures, when compared with the Phygalian frieze, show the difference between the art of Phidias, adequately carried out by the resources of a great people, and the same art checked and stunted from want of means,—the craftsman left to finish what the sculptor began. In the friezes from the Ionic Monument at Xanthus, again, we recognise the same style, transplanted at a subsequent period into a barbarous and ungenial climate, and, as it were, translated into a provincial dialect.

The new standard of criticism furnished by the Elgin

marbles has shown that, among the countless statues and bas-reliefs in the museums of Europe, very few can be pointed out worthy to take their place by the side of the undoubted works of Phidias. The works in the Vatican and other collections of Italy, which the antiquaries of that country still continue to assign to the school of the great artist, are, in the majority of instances, evidently copies, recollections, and translations of earlier designs.

The statue at Rome, known by the name of the Pasquino, which formed part of the group of Menelaus carrying off the body of Patroclus,* is believed by the best judges to have been executed in the time of Phidias, and, notwithstanding its mutilated and disfigured condition, enough of the original surface remains to show that this was a work of surpassing merit, and to justify the opinion of Bernini, who pronounced it the finest statue in Rome.

The two colossal figures on the Monte Cavallo have been connected by a very remote tradition with the names of Phidias and Praxiteles. In these two groups, the grandeur of the conception far transcends the execution, the proportions of the breast and shoulders of at least one of the figures seem planned on the same gigantic scale, and by the same master mind, as the torso of Neptune in the Elgin Room. The most probable conjecture about these statues is, that they were copied in the Augustan age from some colossal works of the great period of Greek art—perhaps of the masters whose names they bear.

The figures of wounded Amazons in the Capitol† and the Vatican,‡ two bas-reliefs, with a Gigantomachia, in the Vatican,§ several Minervas in the sculpture galleries of Rome and Naples, and the bust of Pericles in the Vatican,|| are all works

* *Mus. Pio Clem.* vi. Tav. 19.

† *Mus. Capitol.* iii. Tav. 46. MÜLLER, *Denkm.* i. pl. 31, No. 137.

‡ MÜLLER, *Denkm.* i. pl. 30, No. 138 a.

§ *Mus. Chiaram.* i. Tav. 17. PLATNER u. BUNSEN, *Roms Beschreibung*, ii. 2, p. 139.

|| *Mus. Pio Clem.* vi. Tav. 29. Compare another copy of this head in the British Museum—*Mus. Marbles*, ii. pl. 32.

which we may connect more or less with the age of Phidias, and which present traces of his manner.

How much, however, that manner was lost in the process of copying, we have an opportunity of judging, when we compare the beautiful bas-relief of the Victories dragging along a bull, found near the Temple of Victory at Athens,* with the feeble repetitions of this group in the Vatican† and at Florence,‡ or the Canephora of the Nuovo Braccio§ in the Vatican with the Canephora of the Elgin Room,|| or the bas-relief of a horseman, in the Museo Chiaramonti,¶ with the group on the frieze of the Parthenon, from which it was copied.

The large bas-relief in the Villa Albani,** one in the court of the Ancient French academy at Rome,†† and a statue of Minerva‡‡ in the Villa Ludovisi, are executed with far greater freedom; and we may perhaps venture to consider these original works of the school of Phidias.

If, however, the Roman museums are thus wanting in examples of sculpture in the great style of the Parthenon, they possess in the Vulci vases of the Museo Gregoriano, and of the Campana Collection, evidence of the most precious kind for the history of art during this period.

These masterly sketches on clay must be regarded as relics of that great school of painting of which Polygnotus was the founder; they cannot be studied too much in connexion with the Elgin Marbles, and, like those sculptures, though in a less degree, they supply the standard by which we may judge of subsequent productions and other schools.

* Ross, *Die Akropolis von Athen*. pl. xiii. A.

† *Mus. Pio Clem.* v. Tav. 9. PLATNER u. BUNSEN, ii. 2, p. 159.

‡ MONGEZ, *Galerie de Florence*, tom. iv.

§ No. 132. PLATNER u. BUNSEN, ii. 2, p. 105. No. 132.

|| *Mus. Marbles*, ix. pl. 6.

¶ *Mus. Chiaram.* ii. Tav. 45.

** ZOEGA, *Basreliefen von Rom*. Tav. 51. WINCKELMANN, *Opere*, 1834. Tav.

98. (240).

†† BÖTTIGER, *Amalthea*, i. p. 161. PLATNER u. BUNSEN, iii. 3, p. 184.

‡‡ *Monum. dell' Inst. Arch. di Roma*, iii. Tav. 27.

No period in the history of Greek art is so obscure as the age of Praxiteles and Scopas. We have, from Pliny and other authors, names and incidental notices of some of the works of these artists and their contemporaries. We have, again, in different museums, works which correspond in subject with these names and notices; but we have no great historical monument like the Parthenon, declaring, once for all, those main features of style which we seek in vain to gather from mere verbal descriptions, or to discern in works from which, in the process of copying, the spirit of the original art has passed away.

With the exception of a few coins, the only remains that can be assigned on historical evidence to the period of Praxiteles, are the Budrum Marbles, and the frieze of the choragic monument of Lysicrates.

But these works are so ill preserved, that it is difficult, without a larger range of comparison, to seize the general characteristics of a style from such imperfect evidence. If we turn from these dated and historical monuments to works attributed to the same period on less sufficient grounds, we are liable to the kind of error which, before the discovery of the Elgin Marbles, led to such false views in regard to the art of Phidias; which caused copies to be mistaken for originals, and strained and perverted the brief allusions of ancient writers.

It would occupy too much space here to attempt an examination of the evidence on which the case of each particular attribution to the school of Scopas or Praxiteles has been supported, but thus much we may venture to state generally:—

1. That the family of Niobe, at Florence, admitting these sculptures to be later copies, are our best authority for the characteristics of the school of Scopas.
2. That the draped female torso, called a Niobid, in the Museo Chiaramonti,* is an original Greek work of the same school.
3. That the statues from the Ionic monument at Xanthus

* CLARAC, *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 578, No. 1245. *Mus. Chiaram.* ii. Tav. 17.

present some resemblances to the style of this torso in the treatment of the drapery, and are, perhaps, contemporary works, executed by inferior artists.

4. That the peculiar grace and tenderness which the ancients describe as the characteristics of the school of Praxiteles may be recognised in the general composition of those bas-reliefs with bacchanalian subjects, of which the Museo Borbonico, and the sculpture galleries at Rome and Munich, present so many examples;—in androgynous types, such as those of Apollo and Bacchus, and in other statues, which appear to be copies of works distinctly named by the ancient critics, such as the Satyr Anapauomenos,* the Apollo Sauroctonos,† and the Cupid bending his bow:‡ subjects of which several repetitions will be found in the museums of Europe.

The execution of these works is generally very inferior to the design, but in the torso called the Ilioneus, at Munich,§ the exquisite skill with which the idea of the artist is carried out seems to justify the opinion, that this work may be from the hand of Praxiteles, or some great artist in the same school.

The bronzes of Siris,|| and the medallions of Syracuse, which may be severally assigned to the Praxitelian age on probable grounds, show us with what wonderful skill the details of execution were given in this period. The engraved *Cista* of the Jesuits' College at Rome,¶ and many of the beautiful gold ornaments of the Campana collection and the Museo Gregoriano may likewise, perhaps, belong to this epoch.**

More ample materials exist for the history of Greek art during the interval between the reign of Alexander the Great

* MÜLLER, *Denkm.* i. Taf. 35, No. 143. † *Ibid.* Taf. 36, No. 147 a.

‡ CLARAC, pl. 646 and 650. § MÜLLER, *Denkm.* i. Taf. 34 e.

|| In the British Museum, engraved, Brøndsted, *Bronzes of Siris*.

¶ MÜLLER, *Denkm.* i. Taf. 61, No. 309 a-b. See the beautiful work recently published on this *Cista* by Dr. Braun, and the work of Brøndsted, *Den Ficoniske Cista*.

** See the magnificent specimen, GERHARD, *Ant. Bildw.* Taf. 60.

and that of Augustus, which may be conveniently called the Macedonian period. We have, in the first place, a series of regal coins of the Syrian, Egyptian, Macedonian, and other dynasties, extending through this whole space of time.

Where a number of the finest specimens are arranged in chronological order,* this series, in reference to the history of art, forms a continuous chain of evidence; each regal coin may be regarded as a bas-relief in miniature, which tells us by its inscription when and where it was executed.

But this kind of evidence alone is not sufficient to develop the whole history of the art of a period.

We cannot, by a comparison of works so minute as coins, discern with readiness or certainty the great features of a style, and even if, after long and painful analysis, we succeed in discovering certain peculiarities of treatment which distinguish the coins of a particular era, we cannot, without collateral evidence, prove that such peculiarities characterised not only the numismatic art, but the contemporary sculpture generally of the period. This collateral proof we obtain, in the case of the Macedonian period, by a comparison of a series of regal coins, such as may be seen at the British Museum, with certain sculptures in the Italian galleries. These sculptures are of two classes—statues and busts of distinguished persons whom we know to have lived in the Macedonian period, and works like the Farnese Bull,† the Dying Gladiator, and the Laocoon, which may be assigned on special grounds, and with more or less of certainty, to the same era. Rome is particularly rich in portrait statues; we have the Demosthenes‡ of the Vatican, the Aristotle of the Palazzo Spada, the Posidippus and Menander of the Vatican.§ At Munich is a statue of Alexander the Great, and three busts of him are preserved to us, one

* As in MÜLLER's *Denkmäler*, i. Taff. 52-4.

† MÜLLER, *Denkm.* i. Taf. 47, No. 215 a. ‡ *Mus. Chiaram.* ii. pl. 24.

§ *Mus. Pio Clem.* iii. pl. 15, 16.

in the Louvre, one in the museum of the Capitol, and one at Florence.* The Museo Borbonico possesses bronze busts of two of the Ptolemies from Herculaneum,† and portraits of Epicurus, Diogenes, and other celebrated characters of the age, are to be found in the large collections of busts at Naples‡ and at Rome. How many of these are later Roman copies from the original portraits cannot be always ascertained; but when compared with the regal coins of the Macedonian period, they present many interesting coincidences in the treatment of details, and the whole idea of the art of the age, gathered by this process of comparison, illustrates and corroborates Pliny's brief hints as to the changes of style introduced by Lysippus and his successors.

Of the works which do not, like original portraits, bear their own date, but which external evidence justifies us in assigning to the Macedonian period, the Farnese Bull seems to be the one of which the school and date are most satisfactorily established.

There seems no reason for doubting that this is the very group which Pliny mentions as having been executed by two artists of Tralles, and transported from Rhodes to Rome; and we may regard it as the best, if not the only example of that colossal style of sculpture, which had its origin in the south of Asia Minor, and was perfected by Chares of Lindus.

The Dying Gladiator, and the Ludovisi Arria and Pætus,§ are very probably copies of the bronze statues of Gauls, executed by Pyromachos about B.C. 240, to celebrate the triumphs of Attalus and Eumenes over the Gauls. Regarding such dates as these, not as fixed points, but as probable approximations, we may remark, that the Ariadne|| of the Vatican is a work of

* MÜLLER, *Denkm.* i. Taf. 39, 40.

† BARRÉ, *Herculaneum et Pompéi*, vii. pl. 18, 19, 20. ‡ *Ibid.* vii. pl. 7, 8.

§ MÜLLER, *Denkm.* i. Taf. 48, No. 218. See his remarks, *Archäologie, d. a. Kunst.* Breslau, 1848. p. 162, s. 157*.

|| *Mus. Pio Clem.* ii. Tav. 44. CLARAC, pl. 704, No. 1669.

the same free, sketchy school as the Gladiator and Ludovisi group, while, again, the Towneley Homer seems an example of that picturesque style, of which we may trace the commencement on the coins of Pyrrhus and Agathocles, B.C. 280, which is more distinctly apparent in the head of Mithridates on his coins, B.C. 90, and which seems to have reached its climax in that last effort of ideal Greek sculpture, the Laocoon.*

We cannot with as much show of probability classify other works which have been assigned to the Macedonian epoch.

We may remark the striking resemblance in general treatment between the head of Alexander the Great on busts and coins,† the Barberini Faun,‡ and the torso of a Triton§ in the Vatican; we may recognise in all these works the same largeness of manner which in the Gladiator and the Ariadne becomes more careless and hurried in execution; we cannot decide positively whether the Belvedere Torso is an original work of the school of Lysippus, presenting some of those characteristics of his style which are briefly indicated by Pliny, or whether, as is perhaps more probable, it is rather a careful and laborious copy, made at a later period; we cannot prove the truth of what the most experienced living archaeologists believe, that the Medicean Venus is a work of the Naturalisti school of the Macedonian period, which, degenerating from its great founder, Lysippus, gradually lost sight of the nobler ideal types of the earlier sculptors in a new and less intellectual seeking after Nature; we look earnestly in the museums of Europe for some example of the bronze art of Lysippus, and select with distrust and hesitation a few figures like the bronzes of Paramythia,|| which may be reduced copies of his great types of divinities, or

* Upon the whole, it seems more probable that the Laocoon is a work of the Augustan age. Pliny certainly seems to speak of it as of a work recently executed.

† MÜLLER, *Denkm.* i. Taf. 39.

‡ *Ibid.* ii. Taf. 40, No. 470.

§ *Mus. Pio Clem.* i. Tav. 35. CLARAC, pl. 745, No. 1806.

|| *Specimens of Sculpture*, published by Dilettanti Soc. i. pl. 32, 52, 53.

some clumsy Roman reproduction on a large scale, as the colossal bronze Hercules of the Museo Capitolino.*

Much light would probably be thrown on the Macedonian period by the study of gems and vitreous pastes. In the magnificent Florentine collection of gems, and the collection of pastes in the British Museum, are doubtless many accurate copies of celebrated statues, some by contemporary artists.

It is probable that much remains to be done for the classification of gems and pastes, by a comparison of those which can be assigned with certainty to the Macedonian period with coins and other monuments of the time. The great Farnese tazza† of the Museo Borbonico presents one of the grandest examples of the ancient cameo, and by a comparison of this work, which has been attributed by the best authorities to the period of the Ptolemies, with the portraits of Ptolemies on the St. Petersburg‡ and Vienna§ cameos, and with the coins of this and other contemporary dynasties, a more accurate analysis of the style of gem-engraving of the Macedonian period might be obtained.

The history of Greek painting has not, like that of sculpture, been revealed to us with momentary distinctness in one great historic monument like the Parthenon, nor has it been handed down to us step by step in a compendious series of documents, such as Greek coins. We must be content with such feeble reflections from the higher art as we can discern in the vase-pictures, and the engraved figures on *Cistas* and mirrors.

They are to us, for the paintings of the ancients what engravings of Marc Antonio, or the ware of Della Robbia, are to those who have not had the advantage of seeing the frescoes of Raffaello—the original sources of these designs.

Thus, as we recognise the severe and sculpturesque drawing

* TOFANELLI, &c. *Mus. Capitol. Rom.* 1846, p. 81, No. 24.

† MILLINGEN, *Anc. Ined. Mon.* ii. pl. 17.

‡ MÜLLER, *Denkmäler*, i. Taf. 51, No. 226 a. § *Ibid.* Taf. 51, No. 227 a.

of Polygnotus on the Vulci vases, so we may trace in the later Fictile Art and metallic engravings of the Basilicata, and of Southern Italy generally, the influence of those great masters, under whose teaching chiaroscuro and aerial perspective were slowly developed and perfected. These technical improvements, which may be partially traced by examining the series of engraved mirrors in the British Museum and in the Museo Gregoriano, are still more distinctly manifested in the magnificent collection of Campanian and Basilicata vases of the Museo Borbonico. It is in this museum that we may best study the causes which led to the decline and final extinction of Greek vase-painting. Just as, at the close of the 15th century, an ignorance of the true limits of art caused the attempt to produce, in painted glass, in the illuminations of MSS. and in the Raffaele ware, those marvels of chiaroscuro and colour which depend on the peculiar conditions of their own art, and cannot be transferred without detriment to a new vehicle and a new material, so did the Greek vase-painter feebly endeavour to reproduce, by his imperfect means and in his limited space, the refined and elaborate compositions of Apollodorus and the other great painters who were the admiration of his age. He abandoned the simple monograph, best suited to the severe architectonic forms of the vases he had to decorate; he made his work a gaud, by the introduction of motley colouring; and, conscious that he had overstepped the prescribed boundaries of his art, he called in plastic art to his aid, and thus the pure original proportions of Greek fictile art are disfigured and distorted by terra cotta figures and bas-reliefs introduced among the paintings, as we see in the later specimens of the Ruvo style.

Thus, as in the Laocoon, sculpture in its decline becomes picturesque, so in the vases of Ruvo we see a branch of painting gradually becoming the mere accessory to sculpture. As the later period of fictile art may be best appreciated in the Museo Borbonico in connexion with the terra cottas and other

remains found in the sepulchres of Southern Italy, so, in the British Museum and the Glyptothek at Munich, we may find a most instructive parallel in the contemporary polychrome style of the later Athenian vases.*

The Athenian like the Italian artist departed from the original simplicity and necessary conditions of his art, and called in the meretricious aid of colour, but the composition still retained much of that Phidias grace which distinguishes even the latest productions of the Athenian school. The beautiful monochrome sketch of the *Astragalizusæ* in the Museo Borbonico,† which bears the name of an Athenian artist, much resembles in style of drawing the later polychrome vases, and is probably of the Macedonian period.

Of the last period of ancient art, from Augustus to Constantine, but a meagre and inadequate idea can be formed without studying the collections of Rome and Naples. For the purposes of the present comparison, it will be sufficient to consider the works of the Imperial period under a few general heads.

First, the Ideal sculpture of what may be called the Augustan age of art, this term being here applied somewhat more comprehensively than its literal acceptance would warrant, so as to include the period of Trajan and Hadrian.

The Ideal statues, which may be regarded as pre-eminently the types of the Augustan age, such for instance as the *Apollo Belvedere*, the *Meleager*‡ and *Mercury*§ of the Vatican, the *Venus*|| of Capua, the *Ludovisi Mars*,¶ must be regarded generally as the productions of Greek art subjected to Roman influence, the Greek design being so modified as to please a Roman taste.

* See examples of these vases, STACKELBERG, *Gräber d. Hell.* Taf. 44-S.; and in the collection of the British Museum, No. 2835, and 2847.

† *Antich. d'Ercol.* i. Tav. 1, p. 4.

‡ *Mus. Pio Clem.* ii. Tav. 34.

§ *Ibid.* i. Tav. 7.

|| MILLINGEN, *Inedited Mon.* ii. pl. 4, 5.

¶ R. ROCHETTE, *Mon. Ined.* pl. xi. CLARAC, pl. 635, No. 1432.

Augustan art was formed from Greek models, about the same time and in much the same manner as Augustan literature. The parallel is, indeed, not quite complete. For while the Romans ingrafted their new literature on an original stock of native oratory and native ballad-poetry, the process of adaptation being their own work, Greek art was rather transplanted than ingrafted, the cultivation of the exotic was entrusted to strangers and hirelings. Augustan literature, in a word, was formed by the Romans themselves—Augustan art by Greek artists working under Roman dictation.

Admitting these essential differences in the mode in which these two foreign influences were brought to bear on the Roman mind, we may trace in their results severally very curious and suggestive analogies.

When we say of Augustan literature that it was borrowed from the Greek, we include under this general term every kind of derivative process, from the most servile translation to the most poetical adaptation. We know that Lucretius, Catullus, Horace, Virgil, Cicero, were all indebted to Greek models, as well as Terence, or Ovid, or Seneca, but severally in a different sense, and in a different degree. Each borrowed according to his wants, each adapted and transformed with more or less originality, according to the powers of his mind.

Thus it is with Augustan art. Some of it is mere translation, more or less faithful; the Venus of the Chigi Palace,* which we know from an inscription on its base to be the repetition of a statue in Asia Minor, is evidently copied in a very accurate and intelligent manner.

The bas-relief with the group of a horseman, resembling those of the frieze of the Parthenon in the Vatican, or that of two Victories dragging a bull, are all executed after designs in the school of Phidias, and are examples of tame and spiritless reproduction.

* *Mus. Capitol. Rom.* 1782, iv. p. 392.

Again, the Apollo Belvedere, the Meleager, the Mercury of the Vatican, or the Venus of Capua in the Museo Borbonico, are, perhaps, rather studies from earlier types than direct copies: the simplicity of motive and purity of line of the original design seem modified and impaired under the influence of ideas alien to the genius of Greek art, and destined gradually to enfeeble and paralyze its vital energy and degrade its form.

How, by a long course of copying and adaptation, such a change in the character of art was wrought, we see very clearly exemplified in such works as the colossal Nile* and Tiber† of the Vatican and the Louvre. It is obvious that these representations of river-gods are based on that original Greek type which we see so nobly embodied in the statue called the Ilissus of the Parthenon; the general reclining attitude is the same, but the whole motive of the art is changed; new symbols and accessories are added—an inferior idea is expressed in more copious but less eloquent language. The same remarks would apply to other examples of what may be called the Roman Ideal in sculpture, and which may be best studied in the numerous allegorical figures in the galleries of Italy, with the collateral illustration of Roman coins.

These shades and gradations of Augustan art can only be recognised after frequent and toilsome traversing of that great field of observation which the museums of Italy open to the archæologist.

The process of tracing out these distinctions in art discloses, as has been already remarked, certain singular analogies with the acknowledged phenomena of Roman literature. Thus, it might be shown that the heroes of the *Æneid* differ from the heroes of the *Iliad*, as the type of the Apollo or the Meleager differs from the type of the Elgin Theseus. Phidias and Homer

* *Mus. Pio Clem.* i. pl. 38. MILLIN. pl. 74, No. 305.

† *Mus. Pio Clem.* i. pl. 39. MILLIN. pl. 74, No. 308.

studied from the nature around them: the characters and forms of the heroic age stand before us with the distinctness of portraits drawn from the life—the details are so given as to combine the reality of individual truth with a sublime ideal conception.

In the Augustan age, the poet or the artist who sought to represent heroic characters found no inspiration in the luxurious and corrupt civilization of which he breathed the atmosphere; in such a society, he found no heroes of Marathon, no Greek athletes—nothing wherewith to construct his types, no models to work from.

He did not attempt to compose from nature; he borrowed his characters ready made from those "*Exemplaria Græca*" which were the admiration of his age. Thus it is that the heroes of the great epic of the Greeks re-appear in the Augustan *Æneid* like mere sketches, very graceful and pleasing, but somewhat indistinct and shadowy, while in Ovid the want of true heroic dignity in his characters is concealed by the meretricious ornaments in which his poetry is arrayed; and so, again, the Augustan statues, beautiful as they seem at first sight, disappoint and elude closer inspection by the meagreness and indecision of their anatomy; and some of the most celebrated, such as the Apollo Belvedere and the Payne Knight Mercury, have a theatrical air irreconcilable with the great conception they are intended to embody.

The ideal art of the Augustan age must be studied not only in the statues of the museums of Rome, Naples, and Florence, but also in the frescoes, the bronzes, and the larger bas-reliefs.

The discoveries of Pompeii and Herculaneum are of peculiar value for the history of art. The frescoes and mosaics show us the character of Greek painting at its close, as the Vulci vases show us its earlier stages; and we learn from these remains of the Augustan age what Pliny briefly hints, that in the decline of the art, mere mechanical dexterity and quickness of execution

came to be more prized than higher and more legitimate excellence. We see at Pompeii the very style of landscape painting which Vitruvius* condemns as untrue to nature and unsuited to the dignity of architecture; we learn thence what was the class of subject and composition preferred by the Roman of the Augustan age as the decoration of his dwelling, and, as it were, the familiar inmate of his home,—we see art, not grave and earnest as in the great public buildings of the capital, but in its more lyric and sportive moments,—we are reminded in these frescoes of the careless gaiety and voluptuous ease of the life of Horace,—they form the natural illustrations and companions to his Odes, as in the early Greek vases we find our best commentary on the poetry of Pindar.

Though Pompeii and Herculaneum have not contributed sculptures in marble equal to the statues of the Augustan age found at Rome, this deficiency is atoned for by the number and variety of the works in metal which they have produced; in its collection of ancient bronzes the Museo Borbonico surpasses all other museums. The same remarks which have been already made on the Augustan sculptures may be applied to almost all the bronzes representing ideal subjects found at Pompeii and Herculaneum; there is the same borrowing or copying from Greek models, and the same short-coming in reference to the original.

The larger bas-reliefs, of which so many interesting specimens exist at Rome, such as the series in the Palazzo Spada† and those of Endymion‡ and of Perseus§ in the Museo Capitolino, are most of them rather picturesque in composition, and when we compare them with the frescoes of Pompeii, we recognise in both the same class of subjects and general characteristics of style. These bas-reliefs probably belong to the Augustan age.

* vii. c. 5. § 36.
3, pp.441-5.

† BRAUN, *Zwölf Basreliefen*. PLATNER u. BUNSEN, iii.

‡ *Mus. Capitol.* iv. pl. 53.

§ *Ibid.* pl. 52. MILLIN. pl. 96, No. 388.

Next in importance to the class of art which has been here considered, is what may be termed the historical art of the Imperial period, which seems to have attained its fullest development in the great public works of Trajan, and which we can still study in the spiral frieze of his column and the bas-reliefs from his triumphal arches.

This great monumental style is peculiarly Roman; it narrates in simple and majestic language the chronicle of imperial greatness—and as the Roman writers are never so original as when inspired by the theme of their country and its glory, so sculpture, when thus devoted to the purposes of historical record, assumed a new and independent form; it no longer attempted to revive or to rival the beautiful ideal creations of the Greeks; it was deficient in the charm of poetry, but it had an eloquence of its own,—the eloquence of perspicuous and dignified prose.

The monuments of Rome afford almost the only examples on a great scale of this historic style of sculpture; it cannot be studied to advantage except in reference to the portrait art of the Romans, which is its collateral illustration, as biography is that of general history.

The series of busts and statues in the Vatican, the Capitol, the Museo Borbonico, and at Florence, show how successfully this class of art was cultivated by the Romans, and maintained at a high standard of excellence down to a very late period of the empire.

The busts of Brutus in the collection of the Capitol,* of Augustus in the Vatican,† of Scipio Africanus in the Palazzo Rospigliosi,‡ the statues of the Balbus family, and many of the larger Herculaneum bronzes in the Museo Borbonico, may be mentioned as instructive examples of the skill of the Roman artist in Ethography, or the delineation of character.

* In the Palazzo dei Conservatori. VISCONTI, *Iconographie Romaine*, pl. 2.

† *Mus. Pio Clem.* vi. Tav. 40.

‡ FABRI, *Imagines Illustrum*, No. 49, as cited by Visconti, *Iconogr. Rom.* i. p. 50.

In the library of the Vatican are a number of very curious miniatures painted on glass, which were executed about the time of Gordian; these, with the figures of Gladiators on the mosaic of the baths of Caracalla, now in the Lateran, are almost the only remains by which we may form an idea of Roman portrait-painting. The three principal schools to which the productions of the Roman period may be referred, the *Ideal* of the Augustan age, the *Historical* and the *Portrait*, school have been thus briefly indicated.

But it would be impossible, without a much more elaborate classification, to do justice to the treasures of Roman art stored up in the museums of Italy.

The sarcophagi, which recur so frequently at Rome, and which are generally of a late period, form a distinct and very interesting class of monuments. The bas-reliefs with which they are decorated generally represent well-known Greek myths, such as the story of Niobe; and it is curious to trace out how, in the treatment of these subjects, the great principles of Greek art were gradually set aside and forgotten.

In these compositions, the beautiful types of the earlier Greek sculpture once more re-appear, but so strained and distorted that we can hardly recognise their original character; and the heroic myths are treated with that frigid pathos, which has its parallel in Roman literature in the tragedies of Seneca.

But these bas-reliefs, though possessing but little attraction from the beauty of the art, are yet very well worthy of attention as examples of mythography, and are our only authorities for many compositions, of which we have elsewhere only single figures or fragments.

As the great monumental art of the Romans can be best studied in the public works and remains of their metropolis, so, for all that relates to their private life and household affairs, our surest and fullest authority is the Museo Borbonico.

The various vessels and implements in bronze and pottery

found at Pompeii and Herculaneum impart to us most ample and detailed information respecting the useful arts, as well as the luxuries of the Augustan age, and it is instructive to turn from this image of a highly-wrought civilization to the rude primeval specimens of metallurgy and fictile art in the Museo Gregoriano of the Vatican.

The great classes of Roman art thus slightly alluded to are to be recognised in the British Museum only partially, and by a few isolated specimens. Yet these specimens are well chosen, and must not be hastily passed by. In the museums of Italy there are few finer examples of ideal art than the Towneley Venus, no Roman portrait grander in conception than the head of Nero,* none perhaps so masterly in execution as the bust called Clytie;† the abundant discoveries of Pompeii and Herculaneum have produced no bronze more delicately finished than the Payne Knight Mercury,‡ no work in glass which can be compared, either for the interest of the subject or the beauty of the composition, with that almost unique specimen, the Portland Vase.

Thus, each museum contributes its share to the general history of ancient art. If we could embrace in one synoptical and simultaneous view all that they contain, this general history would reveal itself with far more distinctness of outline and fulness of detail than as we see it at present.

The great task of Archæology—comparison—though much promoted by the facilities of modern travelling, is still greatly hindered by the inability of the memory to transport from place to place, and to recall at intervals of time, those finer distinctions and resemblances on which classification mainly depends, and which no drawing or engraving of the copyist can adequately convey.

* *Mus. Marbles*, x. pl. 6.

† In classing this bust among Roman portraits, I must, at the same time, observe that it most probably represents some Imperial personage in the character of Isis.

‡ Publications of Dilett. Soc. i. pl. 33, 34.

Nothing would so much supply this deficiency in the natural powers of the mind as a well-selected *Museum of casts of sculpture, not disposed, as is too often the case, merely to please the eye, but so as to develop, by a series of transition specimens, the chief features of successive styles.*

A museum of this kind is the more needed because so little has as yet been done to carry out in collections of sculpture the great principle of chronological arrangement.

In the museums of Italy there is hardly any attempt at classification beyond the separation of Roman and other portraits from the general mass, or an occasional selection made on some partial unessential principle, such as that of *Coloured marbles* in the Museo Borbonico, or *Animals* in the Vatican.

And even where the true method of arrangement—that according to periods of art—is employed with the utmost judgment, as in the Glyptothek at Munich, a compromise is found necessary in the case of those numerous works which, being evidently Roman copies of great Greek originals, cannot be assigned with certainty to any particular date or school, but must be grouped round some one central object of kindred subject and of more decided style. This kind of compromise of the general principle of arrangement is very judiciously and happily introduced in the four rooms which intervene between the Æginetan and Roman sculptures of the Glyptothek.

CHARLES T. NEWTON.

XX.

ON THE STUDY OF POLYCHROMY, AND ITS
REVIVAL.*

SINCE the publication of the celebrated work by Quatremère de Quincy—*Le Jupiter Olympien*—that is to say, scarce forty years ago, the question of the polychromy of ancient monuments has not ceased to occupy the antiquarian and artistic world; without having, as yet, been determined in a satisfactory manner.

That celebrated *savant* gave us, so to say, the abstract theory of polychromy, in founding his argument on the genius and general character of ancient art. For in his time scarcely anything was known or discovered of the existence of those traces of colour in the architecture and sculpture of antiquity with which we are now acquainted. This circumstance, while

* Dr. Kugler, in his work, *Ueber die Polychromie der Griechischen Architektur und Sculptur, und ihre Grenzen*, 4to. Berlin 1835, translated by W. R. Hamilton, Esq., and published in the *Trans. Inst. B. Archts.* vol. i. part 1, 1835—6, is of opinion that the general flat surfaces of Grecian monuments retained the natural colour of the marble, and that the ornaments and details were the only portions decorated with colour.

M. Hittorff, in the paper which we published in the first number of this periodical, considers that the whole surface of these buildings was painted, and believes the more prominent flat surfaces to have been of a bright cream colour.

In the present essay, M. Semper endeavours to show that this tint was of a darker colour, more approaching to red; that, in fact, it exactly resembled the rosy hue of the glowing sunset of an eastern sky. This opinion he supports by an ingenious reasoning, but the reader must judge for himself as to the probability of such a system.

Independent of this assumption, M. Semper maintains that the whole surface was covered over with a transparent varnish, a circumstance which, if established, would in some measure tend to reconcile these several theories, in so far as the general effect of polychromized structures is concerned.—ED.

it redounds to the greater merit of the artist, detracts greatly from the value of his work, which contains but mere general ideas upon the subject in question.

The effect produced by this work was, therefore, unconvincing; for, independent of the author's having no certain points whereon to ground his theory, the influence of long-continued custom, and of modern masterpieces of art executed in conformity to it, were too deeply enrooted in the public mind to permit ideas to be received which were at once so novel, and so contrary to the tastes of the times. They were disposed to concede but very little, and that under great restrictions. It was therefore only among the younger students of art and antiquity that the revelations which it contained—opening as they did such a wide field for imagination and discovery—found some enthusiastic followers. This controversy commenced at the period of the breaking out of the Greek insurrection from the Turkish yoke—an event which excited such temporary fanaticism in favour of the descendants of ancient Greece. This feeling developed itself in an especial manner in Germany, and particularly among such persons of distinction as patronized the arts; and it was also very generally felt in France and England.

It was under the influence of these impressions that many young artists proceeded to Sicily and Greece, in order to study those celebrated monuments which had been neglected for so long a period. They published the result of their researches in works which have since been duly appreciated; and the excavations which they effected have furnished the principal museums of Europe with masterpieces of Greek sculpture. They were subsequently enabled to put in practice the result of their studies in many important edifices, executed in the Hellenic style.

Among these travellers, there were several who devoted a particular attention to the subject under consideration. A splendid work appeared by Baron Stackelberg, containing

much important material. M. Bröndsted, in his *Voyages et Recherches en Grèce*, unfolded a complete system of polychromy, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Le Duc de Luynes published his discoveries at Metapontum, and Il Duca di Serradifalco his researches in Sicily. But it was the restoration of a small temple at Selinuntum, published by M. Hittorff, which set in dispute the whole archæological world; and a controversy ensued upon all points of the question—without result, it is true, but which served to render us acquainted with all the passages from ancient authors which in any way bear upon the subject, and which interpreted them in all the various manners in which they were capable of being explained.*

This controversy was at its height when I returned from my travels in Italy, Sicily, and Greece. I had brought with me a portfolio of coloured drawings and restorations of Greek and Etruscan polychromy.† Encouraged by the reception which these experienced, and by the interest which the question

* Most of the passages in ancient authors which refer to works of art are so indeterminate and equivocal, that it would sometimes be impossible even for the learning of a Herman to ascertain whether they referred to works of painting, of sculpture, or even of embroidery, or works in which all the arts were equally employed. Such passages were placed in the index as of equivocal or doubtful interpretation, but the precision and clearness of the Greek idiom would not have failed to give a distinct meaning to the different varieties of expression, had they not been considered collectively by the Greeks. It is by the assistance of these passages that we are enabled to form an idea of the general effect of a Greek monument, in which all the branches of art are collectively employed.

† These drawings were in part the result of researches made in company with the late Jules Goury, a young French architect of great distinction, whose premature death will ever be lamented by the friends of art. After investigating the monuments of Athens, he passed into Egypt, his studies in which country were esteemed by the Egyptian savant, M. Prisse, to be superior to any hitherto executed. From Egypt he repaired to Spain, and had just completed the drawings of his magnificent work on the Alhambra,—since published by his coadjutor, Mr. Owen Jones,—when he was carried off by cholera. His portfolio of Grecian drawings contained a most complete collection of the evidences of polychromy in Attica. What has become of this collection?

excited, I published a short pamphlet,* which was intended to serve as introduction to a larger work, on Greek Polychromy, divided into three parts, treating separately of Greek, Etruscan and Roman, and Mediæval.

The first essays on this subject in Germany were not very promising. The different opinions of antiquaries and artists found their zealous followers among the public. Here, one saw a pale and timid style, with *seladon* (Chinese green) and rose-colour, assuming to be the true Greek style; there, appeared a blood-red building, equally arrogating to itself to be *the* style.

As the Philhellenic enthusiasm changed to Mediæval, Greek polychromy gave way to the coloured decoration of the Byzantine and the Gothic styles. This new direction was, I believe, first produced in Germany by the restoration of the Cathedral of Bamberg by Gärtner. On the occasion of the repairs, ancient mural paintings were discovered, which due care was taken to repair and to restore. Examples and models for imitation in mediæval polychromy were not wanting, especially in Italy; and the attempts to restore this style of decoration were therefore more successful than those in Greek architecture, although they rather sought to imitate the peculiarities and barbarism of the style, than to determine and follow out the great principles which they contained. The study of Greek polychromy was therefore set aside for the introduction of Gothic, which now began to be the mode. The Gothic system of colouring made especial progress in France, owing to the exertions which had been made in that country, for some ten years previously, to re-establish the architecture of the middle ages.

Several Romanesque and Gothic churches have been restored with the care and research which distinguish French artists; among others, the *Sainte Chapelle*, by M. Duban,

* *Bemerkungen über die vielfarbige Architectur und Sculptur bei den Alten.* Altona 1834.

deserves especial notice, as the most finished and perfect example of the polychromatic architecture of the early ogieval style of France. All these restorations are much more satisfactory than the attempts at Greek polychromy which had been made at various places on the Continent, the inferiority of which is to be attributed partly to the inexperience of the artists, and partly to the circumstance that, in barbaric monuments—and the works of the middle ages are so to a certain extent—we observe a grandeur of effect, and a collective harmony, obtained by a sacrifice of parts to the greater importance of the whole. But this grandeur and harmony could only be obtained, among the Greeks, by a free admixture of the elements of which the aggregate was composed, which allowed them a perfect and independent development, within such limits as they could not pass without disturbing the mutual correspondence of the whole. If we could form to ourselves an exact idea of this union of the free and circumscribed relation of the arts which co-operate together to the formation of a Greek monument, we should be better able to distinguish ancient art, which we are now too often in the habit of qualifying as being purely *plastic*.

It is plain that the restoration of edifices of a barbarous style is easy and satisfactory, while Greek art can only be understood in an age and nation, the character of which is distinguished by equally artistic, harmonious, and free perceptions. While on the Continent this question was discussed and agitated in the literary world, and put in practice with more or less success in various buildings, it scarcely excited attention or remark in this country—a circumstance which is the more inexplicable, that the first discoveries relative to the existence of traces of painting were made by Englishmen.* Among the

* Among the earliest discoverers was Professor Donaldson; who, in the year 1830, fully proved that the whole surface of the marble temples of Athens was originally coloured.—*Trans. R. Inst. B. Archts.* i. 85, 86.

causes which checked the development of Gothic polychromy in England, was the unsuitableness of the usual subjects of church paintings to Protestant places of worship. It was not till after the publication of Gowry and Jones's work on the Alhambra that the people of this country began to direct their attention to the subject, which has excited more and more interest to the present time; and it is now probable that the nation may, with its usual enterprise and determination, pursue the system to its greatest extension, and apply the principle to every new and important edifice.

Much light may doubtless be thrown upon the subject of Greek polychromy by the investigations of the monuments, the paintings, and the miniatures of the first ages of the Christian era, especially in those countries which were at one time the seats of ancient civilization; and it is with great interest that we look forward to the publication of the Mosque of Santa Sophia, and other edifices of like antiquity, which have been promised to us. But what have most assisted in the investigation of ancient polychromy are the discoveries in Assyria, and the better acquaintance with the monuments of Persepolis and of Egypt; which latter now appear more closely connected with the works of other nations, instead of seeming, as formerly, to be but isolated phenomena. The monuments of Athens have also been the object of new and scrupulous research, which has led to the discovery of important principles both in form and colour, the result of which will form another valuable addition to the works of the Dilettanti Society. But the most important publication in reference to this subject will be the work by M. Hittorff, the plates of which were obligingly shown to me by that author.

Monumental polychromy must now, therefore, be considered in a new light. It is no longer the enthusiastic speculation of a few artists or antiquaries, but the historian, the scholar, the antiquary, and the artist, all unite to support its evidence with their authority; and at length it commences to be appreciated

by the public, who are becoming weary of the monotony of naked architecture.

The different opinions upon the spirit and extent of Greek polychromy may be comprehended in two general divisions, which may be subdivided in various others. In the first class may be comprehended those who regard polychromy as a means of art whereby to assist and increase the effect of sculpture and architecture, and to conceal the inferiority of materials, otherwise unsuitable to the character and dignity of the work to which they are applied. Those of the second class acknowledge no priority of importance in sculpture or architecture over painting; they deny the existence of limits between the different manifestations of Greek art, which, in their collectiveness, form but one indissoluble whole. They believe that sculpture was as much employed to increase the effect of painting, as painting was made use of to heighten the effect of sculpture or architecture; and, finally, they show that Greek polychromy is based upon ancient traditions, or rather upon the first elements of architecture, and that it was diligently cultivated by the Greeks, as favourable to the harmonious and free development of Hellenic art.

The first class may be divided into two distinct parties. The first is represented by the learned Dane, M. Brøndsted, who applies polychromy to three different purposes—the concealing or preserving the original material; the heightening the architectural and sculptural effect; and the substitution for sculpture of a cheaper process. The following is the result of his deductions, as published in his *Voyages et Recherches en Grèce* :—

“ L’application des couleurs était de trois espèces—

“ 1. La couleur y était comme couche, et sans aucun effet d’illusion pour soutenir l’architecture proprement dite, c’est-à-dire, pour relever la teinte insignifiante et monotone de la pierre, pour réunir et rapprocher de l’œil ce qui dans l’idée de l’artiste devait se présenter ensemble, mais ce que dans l’exé-

cution la distance séparerait; pour faire ressortir toutes les parties correspondantes, et les mettre plus à la portée de l'œil et de l'esprit de l'observateur; en général, pour ajouter à l'effet de l'ensemble par l'aspect clair et agréable de ses parties: il ne faut pas oublier non plus l'avantage matériel que l'enduit procurait pour préserver de la décomposition des matériaux souvent poreux et veineux.

" 2. La couleur servait pour produire de l'illusion dans certaines parties de la construction, c'est-à-dire pour l'effet des ombres et des jours, du relief et des enfoncements sur un plan uni; en un mot, pour faire des véritables tableaux, et par conséquent pour *remplacer la sculpture* dans les ouvrages architectoniques.

" 3. L'application s'annonce comme *achèvement des parties proprement plastiques*,"* &c.

He afterwards adds, "Toutefois ce même ornement en couleur, pratiqué dans l'intention de faire illusion, n'était jamais qu'une *substitution*."†

The second division of the first class is composed of learned professors, and of the directors of the various museums of antiquity in Germany; and is represented by M. Kugler.

They maintain that the Greeks were induced to adopt the use of colour in their buildings solely from æsthetic principles; and they believe that the application of polychromy to sculpture consisted in little more than the occasional coloured border given to the Grecian tunic.

M. Kugler, in his work on the polychromy of Greek architecture, already cited, concludes that—"if no others, yet certainly the white marble buildings erected in the flourishing time of Greece,—that is, the greater proportion of those of Attica,—exhibited in their principal parts the material of which they were built, in its own proper colour; that painting,

* BRÖNDSTED, P. O. *Voyages dans la Grèce*, fol. Paris 1830. ii. 146.

† *Id.* ii. 153.

therefore, is only to be referred to the subordinate details.”* And again: “If we wish to present to ourselves the impression of the most remarkable buildings in the flourishing period of Greece Proper, we must conceive their effect to have been produced by a rich white marble in its own natural brilliancy; and, when the materials employed were of a baser description, by a coating of stucco, which in its outward appearance did not much differ from that of marble; these were then combined with appropriate ornaments, and made resplendent with gold.”†

This opinion M. Kugler grounds chiefly upon a passage of Herodotus:—

When the Prytaneia in Siphnos shall be white,
When the Agora shall be white, &c.

“But the Agora and the Prytaneion of the Siphnians (Herodotus continues) were at this time (that is, at the fulfilment of the oracle) built (or cased) with *Parian stone*.”‡ Dr. Kugler then goes on to state: “What makes this passage so important for our purpose, is not the insulated information we get from it respecting the white edifices of the Siphnians, but the reason for which they were white.”§

It is surprising, however, that M. Kugler, who appreciates justly the importance of the passage in Herodotus, and who is jealous that its authenticity be not questioned, has cited only a portion of the passage, in lieu of giving it in all its integrity, by which alone we shall be enabled to judge of its real meaning. Herodotus tells us:—“Those of the Samians who had fomented the war against Polycrates, when the Lacedæmonians were about to abandon them, set sail for Siphnus, for they were in want of money. The affairs of the Siphnians were at that time in a flourishing condition, and they were the richest of all the islanders, having in the island gold and silver mines, so that

* HAMILTON’S *Kugler*, p. 93.

† HEROD. iii. 57.

‡ *Id.* p. 84.

§ HAMILTON’S *Kugler*, p. 82.

from the tenth of the money accruing from thence, a treasure is laid up at Delphi equal to the richest; and they used every year to divide the riches that accrued (from the mines). When, therefore, they established this treasure, they consulted the Oracle whether their present prosperity should continue with them for a long time, but the Pythian answered as follows:—

’Αλλ’ ὅταν ἐν Σίφνῳ πρυτανήϊα λευκά γένηται
 λεύκοφρὺς τ’ ἀγορῇ, τότε δὴ δέῃ φράδμονος ἀνδρὸς
 φράσσασθαι ξύλινόν τε λόχον κήρυκά τ’ ἐρυξρόν.

“ When the Prytaneia in Siphnos shall be white,
 And the Agora white-fronted, then there is need of a prudent man
 To guard against a *wooden troop* and a *crimson herald*.”

The Agora and Prytaneum of the Siphnians were then adorned (ἡσκημένα) with Parian marble. This response they were unable to comprehend, either then at the moment, or when the Samians arrived. For as soon as the Samians reached Siphnus, they sent one of their ships conveying ambassadors to the city. Formerly all ships were painted red. And this it was of which the Pythian forewarned the Siphnians, bidding them beware of a wooden *troop** and a crimson herald. These ambassadors, then, having arrived, requested the Siphnians to lend them ten talents; but when the Siphnians refused the loan, the Samians ravaged their territory. But the Siphnians having heard of it, came out to protect their property, and, having engaged, were beaten, and many of them were cut off from the city by the Samians, and they afterwards exacted from them a hundred talents.”—CARY’S *Herod.* iii. 57.

Here we have reference to an oracle, the consequences of which might entail disaster, and which it was therefore their interest to provide against as much as possible.

The oracle, as usual, is involved in obscure antithesis, the coincidence of which appeared impossible. A red herald was

* The word is translated *ambush*: but the original seems to compare the oars of a galley to the naked feet of a compact body of infantry.

a thing unknown among the Greeks, for white, from its purity, was always selected as the official colour for heralds. A red herald was therefore as absurd a thing as a troop of wooden soldiers. The poetical equilibrium of ancient verse requires that the antithesis of the red herald,—namely, the Agora and the Prytaneum, of a white colour, should be equally absurd in the opinion of the Greeks.

Could the oracle attach the accomplishment of its prediction to circumstances which were common and ordinary? Impossible! No doubt, therefore, that a white Agora or a white Prytaneum was in opposition to the customs of the people at the time of the utterance of the oracle. But the symmetry of oracular verse permits a yet bolder construction:—

Since red is applied to the herald, who, according to custom, should be clothed in white, is it not probable that the white colour, here so mysteriously applied to the Agora and Prytaneum, was opposed to the general custom of painting them red?

Are we to believe that, with the introduction of white marble for the construction of their buildings, such a revolution took place in the feelings of the people that they ceased altogether to paint their edifices in their former colours? or shall we not rather suppose that it was by accident that the Agora and Prytaneum of the Siphnians were of a white colour when the Samian vessels arrived off their coasts? Could the Siphnians have altogether forgotten the ancient oracle, and become perfectly indifferent and incredulous as to what they foretold, when they deliberately resolved to adorn their edifices with Parian marble? This must have been the case, if they really had the intention to let them remain of the natural colour of the stone. But this want of reverence towards ancient traditions is incompatible with the character of the Greeks; and it is probable that the two facts recorded of the history of the Siphnians were not very far apart.

It will be observed that the historian is speaking of a past time. He relates that the Agora was *then* adorned with white

marble (τοιῷσι δὲ Σιφνίοσι ἦν τότε ἡ ἀγορὴ καὶ τὸ πρυτανήϊον Παρίῳ λιθῷ ἡσκημένα). Now Herodotus lived two generations after the event recorded in this history; and as the city of the Siphnians was not destroyed, but simply placed under a forced contribution, it is probable that the edifices were still standing when Herodotus read his history at Olympia; but that they were no longer in the same state, as regards colour, as when the Samians landed.

Moreover, if so radical a change had taken place in the manner of decorating buildings and in the habits of the people, is it not wonderful that no record should appear of it in history?

We are, therefore, obliged to confess that the Siphnians were surprised by fate when they had just completed their edifices in Parian marble, but before they had had time to colour them; and that in this interim, when the buildings were purely white, the oracle was fulfilled.

This explanation of the legend appears founded on a certain dramatic consequence, other than which is unworthy of the Greek historian. M. Kugler, like the Siphnians, has been deceived by the Pythia, for, not having comprehended her, he deduces a wrong conclusion: "we may thence," says he, "draw a positive inference—that what was constructed in the brilliant period of Greek art, of Parian marble, and, as a necessary consequence also, of any and every white marble, particularly, as at Athens, of Pentelic marble, was allowed to preserve essentially its external white appearance."*

* KUGLER, p. 82. In Professor Faraday's *Report on the Analysis of the Colours found on the Monuments of Athens*, he states: "'Portion of coating taken from the columns of the Theseum'—I am doubtful about this surface. I do not find wax or a mineral colour, unless it be one due to a small portion of iron. *A fragrant gum appears to be present in some pieces, and a combustible substance in all.* Perhaps some vegetable substance has been used." And in answer to the question, whether the ochreous tint and glossy surface visible on the statues of the Fates in the eastern pediment were due to some foreign matter artificially applied to the surface,

The second class of writers and controversialists may be styled the historical party, because they refuse to consider Greek polychromy in Attica as an insulated phenomenon, and explorable by the simple laws of utility and taste. They endeavour to discover the origin of the custom in its various ramifications, not only investigating what the Greeks practised and invented, but endeavouring to ascertain what the Greeks borrowed from Barbarians, receiving their customs in a more elevated sense, and refining and spiritualizing their ideas.

he replies :—"The particles you sent me seem to come from a prepared surface. Being put into a dilute acid, a portion of adhering matter is dissolved, and the principal portion is left in an untouched and cleaner state. Being then washed and dried, it is found that this consists of carbonate of lime, and a combustible substance which protects the carbonate from the acid."—*Trans. R. Inst. B. Archts.* vol. i. part 2.

Dr. Kugler maintains also that temples and other edifices represented on Greek vases of the best period are always of a white ground, and that the only ornaments introduced are capitals of a yellow colour; but on examining the vases of the British Museum, it will be found that such only of the Basilicata, and those even of a less ancient date, are so painted; and it is questionable whether the white ground was not once covered with a coloured varnish. But in all the more ancient Attic and Etruscan vases the edifices are not white, but either coloured or black, like the figures. In case xxxv. of the "Bronze Room" of the British Museum are several Attic *Lekythi* of the best period, which have the neck and base black, and the body of the vase white, with red outlines very delicately drawn. Among these there is one which shows the remains of a thick coat of enamel; but in those parts where the colour has fallen off, we perceive the original white ground, with the same delicate outlines. It is evident, therefore, that under those parts where the enamel is still perfect there exist the original lines of the drawing, which served to guide the artist who afterwards applied the enamel. And we may consequently suppose that, in all those vases which present a rude white ground, the lines of the drawing and the subsequent enamel have fallen off.

On the coloured *Lekythos* referred to, the tomb of Agamemnon is represented, ornamented with white eggs, and with green leaves above the cornice. The yellow ground is destroyed, but we can perceive traces of its having once existed. It is very remarkable that the use of white grounds in Attic vases coincides with that of the white marble of the same country, and that traces of colour different in its material character from what one observes elsewhere, but greatly resembling each other, are found on each. I believe that encaustic painting required a white chalk ground, as a representation of the marble or ivory for which this species of painting was invented. In the "Etruscan Room" there are two remarkable vases, No. 280 of case xii. and an adjoining one. They represent porticoes of fountains, composed of black Doric columns; the metopes and the tympana alone are white.

M. Hittorff may be considered as the exponent of this party, and by his restoration of the Temple of Empedocles, and by the works which he has executed at Paris, he has contributed more than any other to render the science of polychromy more generally understood. His system is based principally upon a small temple in Sicily, constructed of ordinary stone, and covered with stucco; but he also refers to the white marble temples of Greece itself. His work, which we are now led to expect, will doubtless contain important documents for the history and theory of polychromy, and will furnish convincing proofs of the truthfulness of his theory.

M. Hittorff admits the greatest extension to polychromy, but he gives to the constructive portions of his buildings, as the columns, architrave, and cornices, a light cream tint, relieved by a dark but richly-decorated ground on the wall behind. Except in this particular, his system is nearly identical with that of Kugler, who supposes that the only plain surfaces of marble temples which received a general tint of colour were the two extremities of the cella.

From a careful examination of ancient monuments, and from a diligent study of ancient authors, I am led to conclude—

1. The custom of painting edifices was general among ancient nations; and it was intimately united, and almost identical, with the use of stucco.

2. The use of stucco, decorated with painting or other ornaments, was but a substitution of a still earlier *motif*, more ancient than the wall itself—tapestry.

3. Every portion of ancient edifices, from the earliest period to the time of the Romans, was covered with stucco or some other material, decorated and coloured, with the exception of the plinth or stylobate, which in the more ancient structures displayed its natural construction.*

* The influence of these ancient motives on the external character and appearance of their structures must have continued for a long period; and this character

4. The Romans were the first to introduce a visible mural construction in their architecture, both in the exterior and interior of their buildings. This principle was confirmed at the commencement of our æra, and became constant on the substitution of the arch for the wooden ceiling.

5. The employment of marble and other hard stones is more recent than that of sun-dried or burnt bricks, or of common stone.

6. White marble was employed principally because it answered most perfectly all the requirements of a fine stucco—because it was, so to say, a natural stucco; although, without doubt, it must also have been employed from the excellence of its other qualities, as its hardness, its closeness of grain, its smoothness,—but, above all, its transparency and its whiteness, both of which latter qualities were necessary, even when it was intended to receive a complete covering of polychromy.

7. The more general employment of marble coincides with the introduction of a new application of colouring, which greatly affected the development of painting among the Greeks.* The ancient encaustic method which Pliny describes to us† was only

was that of variously-coloured tapestry, of tabulation, or lining with slabs, and of incrustation. It continued to exert its influence, even when decoration in sculpture and painting had reached their last stage of development. The sixth book of Vitruvius is very important, as demonstrating the system of ancient mural decoration as resulting from a particular process in the execution of stucco, which, in like manner, was founded on the traditional system of mural incrustation and of constructive necessity. Compare WIEGMANN, *Die Malerei der Alten*.

* “Ceris pingere, ac picturam inuere quis excogitaverit, non constat. Quidam Aristidis inventum putant, postea consummatum a Praxitele. Sed aliquanto vetustiores encausticæ picturæ exstiterē, ut Polygnoti, et Nicanoris, et Arcesilai Pariorum,” &c. —PLIN. *H. Nat.* xxxv. 39.

† “Encausto pingendi duo fuisse antiquitus genera constat, cera, et in ebore, cestro, id est, viriculo, donec classes pingi cœpere. Hoc tertium accessit, resolutis igni ceris penicillo utendi, quæ pictura in navibus nec sole, nec sale, ventisque corrumpitur.” —PLIN. *H. Nat.* xxxv. 41.

The word cestro is supposed to be the instrument, and is considered to signify an iron *stylus*. But *cestrum* is also the name of a botanical plant. The word viriculum does not occur in other Latin authors; and it is therefore uncertain

capable of being applied with wax on marble, or with a transparent gum on ivory. After this ancient method, opposed to the employment of melted wax, they applied coloured wax in the form of a paste, which they laid on in various colours, in the manner of a mosaic, or enamel work. This they melted afterwards with hot irons, covering the edges with a fillet of a different colour to the parts in contact.

The white marble never remained naked, not even in the parts intended to appear white; but the layer of colour by which they were covered was rendered more or less transparent, to enable the white colour of the marble to appear through it. In the same manner, coloured and polished marbles, granite, ivory, gold, and other metallic portions of the edifice, were all protected by a coating of transparent colour.* Further proof is afforded by Egyptian monuments in granite,† and by many passages in ancient authors referring to this practice.

8. It is difficult to advance any general system of Greek polychromy, on account of the variations being probably

whether Pliny here speaks of an iron instrument for applying the wax, or of some resinous matter therein employed. See FARADAY'S Analysis, in the *Transactions of the Institute of British Architects*.

* "Durat et Cyzici delubrum, in quo filum aureum commissuris omnibus politis lapidis subiecit artifex, eboreum Jovem dicaturus intus, coronante eum marmoreo Apolline. *Translucet* ergo pictura tenuissimis capillamentis, lenique afflatu simulacra refovente, præter ingenium artificis, *ipsa materia, quamvis occulta*, in pretio operis intelligitur."—PLIN. *II. Nat.* xxxvi. 22. The word *translucet* and the expression *ipsa materia, quamvis occulta*, prove that the gold, equally with the stone, was covered with a varnish. *Lapis politus* does not necessarily signify, as we might at first suppose, the polish given to a hard stone, but that the stone was covered with a coating, whether of stucco or colour, and then polished. Compare the following passages in Vitruvius, among many others:—"Item Halicarnassi potentissimi regis Mausoli domus, cum Proconnesio marmore omnia haberet ornata, parietes habet latere structos, qui ad hoc tempus egregiam præstant firmitatem, ita tectoriis operibus *expoliti*, ut vitri perluciditatem videantur habere."—VITR. ii. 8. "In his vero supra podia abaci ex atramento sunt subigendi, et poliendi, cuneis silaceis seu miniacis interpositis. . . . Ipsi autem politionibus corum ornatus proprias debent habere decoris rationes," &c.—*Id.* vii. 5.

† See ante, p. 99.

greater in this flexible and changing element, than in the more fixed proportions and forms of either architecture or sculpture, even in which materials we find it very difficult to determine the normal proportions, so various do they appear. This becomes apparent, by consideration of the various dispositions of colour which have been observed in different monuments of Greek civilization. But the opposing principles of Dorism and Ionism which exist in all the institutions of Greece, in its politics, in its customs, in its poetry, and in its arts, are strikingly exhibited in the forms of architecture and sculpture. This same difference is observable with respect to ancient music, which in like manner consisted of Doric and the Ionic. Now, we know that the Doric legislators sought to found their civil institutions on the Egyptian system; while those of the Ionians based theirs on the traditions of Asia. Recent researches on the monuments of Assyria and Egypt have shown that the forms of Doric architecture were derived from Egypt,* while those of Ionia came from Assyria, or at least from some Asiatic country of common origin.

It may, therefore, be presumed that the different modes of music and of Greek polychromy were derived from the same sources.

The Doric style in music and in polychromy was Egyptian, as the Ionic was Asiatic. There is more in this than the mere name, for we are fully acquainted with the Egyptian style, and we know also the harmonious music of Asiatic colouring; for Byzantine, Arab, and Gothic painting, as indeed all modern painting, are derived from it. We may observe the two different styles contrasted together on the walls of Pompeii and Herculaneum.

It would perhaps be more easy to arrive at some definite conclusion on the different characteristics of Greek polychromy by help of this hypothesis, than by the feeble traces of colour

* See ante, p. 87.

which we observe with difficulty, and which give rise to such opposing theories. We find the same difference between the Egyptian and Hellenic polychromy,* as between hieroglyphics and illustrative ornament and sculpture.

9. Greek art did not reach the zenith of its perfection till the Doric influence was penetrated by the Ionic—the material by the spiritual. Those arts which are least dependent on the material, would be the first to emancipate themselves. The Ionic feeling might exert its influence on the Doric style of painting, even though the architectural forms preserved the stamp of their original extraction; and this change would most readily take place in Attica. It is, therefore, to be inferred that Attic polychromy was richer and more Asiatic than that of Sicily, or of those countries where pure Doric influence existed.

10. The following is the result of my researches and observations on polychromy, as applied to architecture:—

Colour of the Architectural Masses.—The prevailing colour of the temple burned with all the glowing beauty of the setting sun. The colour may be defined as of a yellow red, very vapoury, resembling that of the finest terra cottas. In fact, the general appearance of the temple would precisely resemble the appearance of a fine day in an eastern climate.

This yellow tint covered all portions of the order—the columns, the architrave, the cornices, and probably the triglyphs† and the beams. But all the flat ground members, as the walls—often decorated with paintings and ornaments—the tympana, the lacunaria, and perhaps the metopes, were of a

* “*Pietura quoque non alium exitum fecit, postquam Ægyptiorum audacia tam magnæ artis compendium invenit.*”—PETRONIUS, *Init.*

† I have not been able to determine definitely what were the colours of the triglyphs or the metopes. In my restoration of the Parthenon I have followed Vitruvius, and the Doric and Etruscan examples of Sicily and Italy, in colouring the triglyphs blue, and the metopes red; but I have reason to believe that the contrary was the fact.

blue-black.* These colours would be laid on pretty thick, so as to obtain a sufficient body: the red would be transparent, but not the blue.

Colours of the Mouldings and Ornaments.—The prevailing colours of the mouldings and ornaments were red, blue, and green; the two former colours being more perfect, more brilliant, and deeper, than in those parts which served as grounds. The green is very delicate, of a bright moss colour. The details of the ornaments alternate regularly, and are united together by very delicate and projecting fillets of white, black, or gold. In the temples of Athens, I believe them to have been of gold.† Above the tolerably thick ground tint, may be observed thinner and transparent tints, completing the forms and subdivisions. It is difficult to tell the colour of the second tints, but they were probably of the same colour as the first. The enamels of Egypt, surrounded by golden fillets, give an idea of the appearance of the Athenian ornaments when executed in ancient encaustic. The gold with which the whole was lined, as in a spider's web, is concentrated in parts with greater effect and intenseness.

Sculpture partook of the same system of polychromy: the figures of females were almost white; those of men were of a darker tint. The use of gold was also very prevalent in sculpture.

11. Painting was not the mere filling up of the mouldings, or imitation of sculpture; but more probably the sculpture was rendered accessory to the painting.

GOTTFRIED SEMPER.

* This was of a middle tint, rather lighter than the colour of the ornaments. It was composed of black, blue, white, and a slight touch of green.

† This bordering we find in Assyrian, Egyptian, and Etruscan paintings, and is either red or black.

XXI.

ON THE POLYCHROMY OF SCULPTURE:

BEING RECOLLECTIONS OF REMARKS ON THIS SUBJECT, BY C. O. MÜLLER,
AT ATHENS, IN 1840.

IN a former article upon "the Polychromy of Greek Architecture," the valuable remarks of M. Hittorff extend to the painting of sculpture generally, but in his reference to authorities, no allusion appears to the name of the celebrated C. Otfried Müller.

That distinguished archæologist, by his well-exercised judgment and deep learning, merits the utmost regard from all classical students, and his untimely death is the more to be regretted, as he was on the eve of publishing the results of his inquiries prosecuted among the actual ruins of Greece, after a long course of reading and study in the principal collections of Europe. Many of the MS. notes in his journal have since been published by his companion, A. Schöll, 1843, who has incorporated them with his own observations, made during their travels together in Greece. C. O. Müller had, of late, turned his attention particularly to the subject of polychromy.

When at Athens, in June, 1840, with Mr. (now Sir Charles) Fellows, my good fortune placed me much in Professor Müller's society; and as few of his observations on colour have been made known,* it may be deemed advisable to communicate some of his opinions expressed in conversation, which tend more immediately to the present object of inquiry. The advantages I had so recently enjoyed of examining the antiquities of a large portion of Asia Minor led me to put a few

* Except those allusions scattered through the *Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst*.

distinct queries to him, and his replies I immediately noted upon the margin of one of my sketches nearest at hand. These I now transcribe, and a glance will soon satisfy any one of the importance of this little *code* of opinion:—

“The ancients painted their bas-reliefs.

“They only tinged their statues *on the drapery*, leaving the flesh uncoloured; the wounds and blood were stained, and the earrings and ornaments gilt.

“Their marble temples were left white; parts of the frieze and architectural ornaments were coloured, but very sparingly.

“Those of coarser material were plastered, and entirely coloured.

“The Parthenon frieze was coloured. The background of all their bas-reliefs was painted.

“The statue of Minerva on the Acropolis, lately discovered, was probably a copy of the old Minerva Polias, which was said to have fallen from heaven.”

I do not present these as entirely new to the antiquarian world; they have been printed in the *Lycia* of Sir C. Fellows, (page 199) to whom I made the communication when he was preparing his publication, but they were not printed exactly as my notes stood. In the course of our conversation, Professor Müller quoted the *Ægina Marbles* to illustrate the limitation named in the second clause. In those sculptures, the paint was confined to the eye-balls, lips, draperies and armour. The same appears to have been the case with the metopes, discovered at Selinus.

He did not, however, object to the idea I suggested to him, of the most finished statues having been stained by a delicate tinted varnish, which might have given the effect of very pale flesh; and being, at the same time, perfectly transparent, would clearly display every crystallized particle on the surface of the beautifully wrought marble.

The hair of the Venus de' Medici was dead gold;* her ears were bored to receive rings, and the mark of a bracelet still remains upon one of the arms.

In the eyes of their statues especially, the ancients seem to have concentrated their effects of colour. It was not unusual

* The gold on the hair of the beautiful Minerva found at Herculaneum was so thick, that it could be removed in flakes when first discovered.

with them to insert real gems or coloured glass—an application of the toreutic art that no modern attempt has succeeded in making tolerable—but what sculpture alone can express in the eye may best be seen in a mask of Venus preserved in the Glyptothek at Munich. The number of instances remaining to us in antiquity prove the application of various materials to have been very prevalent, if not without exception, in the richest works of art. Indeed, without this aid, many expressions that we read of could not have been produced.*

These opinions must be understood as referring to the richest and most luxurious period of art—a range including the works of Praxiteles and Scopas.

Since my conversation with Professor Müller, it has often occurred to me that we are neglecting to enlist a very powerful agent in DECORATIVE sculpture. I use the term decorative here, because sculpture with full colour must refer to place. The moment the coloured surface of a figure is deprived of some points in common with the objects surrounding it—(and this feeling constitutes a part of the principle of *tone* in a picture)—the work becomes crude and vulgar. Little moveable statues do not admit of full colour. Monumental draped figures in large buildings might with advantage receive a variety of hue, without at all reminding us unpleasantly of a too direct imitation of nature, any more than the degree in which form in sculpture approaches reality.

A great artist, a few years ago, attempted colour on a magnificent statue that was publicly exhibited. It failed,—and why? Because, when he employed it, he confined it to the border of a robe—a mere pattern, and neglected to apply it to the *most important* parts, namely, the eyes, hair, cheeks, and lips, which should have been decorated in preference to any other part.

* Lucian, in his *Dialogues*, alludes to the eyes of the Venus by Praxiteles; they are described as swimming, bright, and delightful.

Και των οφθαλμων δε το υγρον αμα τω φαιδρω.

Και κεχαρισμενη.

LUCIAN: *Imagines*.

The same neglect would be instantly objected to in colouring a highly-finished pencil-drawing upon white paper. A great artist who knows his material can do wonders; and fine examples of the application of red, blue, and brown colour upon a pure white surface are to be seen in the beautiful sketches of heads by Lawrence, and yet the same attempt in the hands of his imitators becomes artificial and displeasing. At the bare mention of colour applied to statuary our thoughts rush to the figure-head of a ship, or, in a milder form, to Gog and Magog of Guildhall; but Madame Tussaud is superior to these, and, as a comparison can be instituted so far, we may be assured a more favourable one in a better direction remains to be established.

Hitherto no distinction has been drawn between the *real* and *ideal* in this branch: a shiny painted figure, and a great wax doll with real silk or velvet, real lace, and real glittering trinkets, are equally objectionable; but a sober, harmonious, well-balanced application of colour and metal to sculpture is likely to meet with a very different result.

The colossal enshrined figure of Athene in the Parthenon, whose eyes were inlaid gems,* must have possessed additional grandeur in its sober variegation, and the Zeus at Elis, and the Hera wrought by Polycleitos, were doubtlessly indebted both to the brush and gilder, as well as to the chisel.

Strength of colour would be mainly regulated by the amount of light upon it; where the forms are sharply defined, and the shadows are strong, a greater force of colour becomes admissible, but nowhere so as actually to deceive; and the fact of a dull gold surface representing hair, appears a very good example of the extent to which the ancients employed that kind of variety.

Sir Charles Eastlake, in his *Essay on Sculpture*,† has published

* See the fragment of the face of the external figure, with the hollowed sockets, in the British Museum.

† *Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts*, p. 61.

some excellent views respecting the treatment of statuary by the ancients; and one sentence is of such importance and extensive application, that I at once transcribe it:

“The perfection of style requires that the imitation, however really imperfect with reference to nature, or even with reference to other modes of representation, should suggest no want.”

He calls attention to the curious fact, that three classes of decorators finished the statue—the varnisher, the gilder, and the tinter.*

Many instances of various colours and materials are to be found in the descriptions of Pausanias, and the *Dialogues* of Lucian.

Praxiteles was assisted in perfecting his statues by the painter Nicias; he is said to have been best pleased with those of his productions in which Nicias had a hand. (PLINY, *H. N.* xxxv. 11, 133): Hic est Nicias, de quo dicebat Praxiteles interrogatus, quæ maximè opera sua probaret in marmoribus; quibus Nicias manum admovisset: tantum circumlitioni ejus tribuebat. p. 633.

Sir Charles Eastlake (p. 63) refers to an epigram of Virgil, which alludes to a statue of Amor with parti-coloured wings and painted quiver; and a very complete example of the application of parti-colour to a flat surface is to be seen on the wing of a sphinx brought from Xanthus in Lycia, and now in the British Museum. In the same collection, a cast from the rock-



* *Αγαλμάτων, ἔγκανσταί, χρυσοῦται καὶ βαφεῖς.*—PLUTARCH, *de Glor. Athen.*

sculpture at Tlos, representing Bellerophon mounted on Pegasus, shows how colour was employed to *complete* the work of the sculptor. The body of the horse is quite smooth to the touch, but a bright red saddle-cloth, with strong black outline, is clearly visible, and has been accurately copied on the cast in the Museum.



The couch draperies of the sculptures from a rock-tomb at Myra display patterns and figures of animals in colour only, without the slightest indication on the part of the sculptor: copies of these are also to be seen in the Lycian room of the British Museum.

Professor Müller expressed the greatest interest in the discoveries then recently made by Mr. Fellows in Lycia, and more particularly upon seeing the copies of the painted sculptures at Myra. Very curious observations have since been elicited regarding other sculptures from Lycia; such as traces of bordering upon the garments of some of the most ancient statues; the remains of a bright blue background to the reliefs on the Harpy Tomb—traces of red in the hollow of the shields and



ARCHAIC BAS RELIEF FOUND NEAR MARATHON, AND NOW
PRESERVED IN THE TEMPLE OF THESEUS AT ATHENS.

upon sandals, and patterns upon the chair of a sitting female. These latter are clearly visible from the non-corrosion of surface wherever they extended, although all appearance of actual



colour or gilding has vanished. The Lycian fondness for colour was evident also in their inscriptions, where the engraved letters were sometimes painted red and blue alternately (see FELLOWS' *Lycia*, p. 146.) Two miles from Limyra I copied a curious bilingual inscription, Greek and Phœnician—the Greek letters were painted red, and the others blue.*

ΑΤΕΣΣΥΤΑΣΑ·ΤΟΤΟΝΤΙ//ΚΩ//ΑΥΤΩΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΒΗΡΟΙΟΙΣ

Within one of the galleries attached to the ancient theatre at Myra I found two Greek inscriptions, the letters of which had been filled in with red.

ΓΕΛΔC10VKΔ11ΗΑΟΝΟΤΟ
ΤΟΙΕΝ911ΔΡΦ
Β9ΤΟΙΕ

* Published in the *Lycia*, plate xxxvi. No. 1.

In 1844, during the government expedition to Lycia, I copied some rock sculptures at Antiphellus, on which the blue, vermillion-red, and bright crimson colours were visible.*

The accompanying Plate represents a stele monument at Athens, found in a tumulus at Velanidisa, near Marathon. It has been published by M. Le Bas, in an article of the *Revue Archéologique*, and also by Schöll in the *Hinterlassenen Papieren von C. O. Müller*; but the drawing of the latter wants accuracy in the muscular markings, and in the character of the features. The upper part, however, has been very carefully and most successfully given by M. le Comte Léon de Laborde, in his splendid work upon the Parthenon.

It represents a tall figure, life size, in low relief, and of a very early period; but the chief interest lies in the excellence of its preservation, and the vividness of the colours still remaining on the surface. The upper inscription, ΕΡΓΟΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΣ, signifying "The work of Aristokles," is engraved in the peculiar letters of an early time, and inlaid with red. The lower gives the name of the person represented—"Aristion." The style of art approaches that of the sculptures of the Temple of Zeus Panhellenius at Ægina. The shoulder-strap and corslet are quite smooth in surface, but enriched by the decorator with a star and various patterns. The drapery of the under garment is in very low relief, and plaited into numerous small folds, in the archaic manner. There appears no indication of colour upon the flesh, but a very faint trace may be perceived of the painted eyeball. The eye is round and very peculiar in form; there is no attempt at foreshortening—a peculiarity observable in all early bas-reliefs. The mouth

* A good example of the application of various colours to architectural ornament will be found in pl. 6 of STACKELBERG's *Gräber der Hellenen*. It represents a stele found at Athens; the fleuron at the top is painted blue and pale red, and is evidently of a very early style, for the name ΘΕΡΟΝΟΣ is written from right to left. In plates 44 and 46 of the same work are other illustrations of the manner in which the ancient Athenians painted their funereal monuments.

has a smiling expression, and the beard and hair are most elaborately worked. On the whole, there is a remarkable care in the modelling of the forms; and, where the proportions fail, we cannot help observing the accurate markings of the bones and careful detail of the extremities. This precious relic is now preserved in the Temple of Theseus, the present depository to which all newly-discovered monuments of the ancient city are removed. A valuable collection has been already formed; and it is to be hoped that, at no distant period, they may be so accurately drawn and published, as to afford better transcripts than the sketches of casual visitors or hurried travellers.

GEORGE SCHARF, Jun.

March 22nd, 1851.

[In the *Kunstblatt* for 1837, No. 15, is an account of an immense number of sepulchral stelæ found between the Piræus and the Gulf of Salamis, several of which, and some from Delos and Rheneia, evince traces of coloured decoration in lieu of the ordinary sculpture. Professor Ross, to whom we are indebted for this discovery, brings forward the inscription of a monumental stela found in Acarnania, referring to the image or likeness of the deceased person, Proclidas, to whom it was erected, and another to the memory of Lycea; and as the marbles have no indication of any sculptured effigy, he supposes, with reason, that the portraits must have been painted, and that many stelæ which now exhibit an inscription only, were once decorated with colour. See also *Bull. dell' Inst. di Corr. Archeol.* ix. 45, xii. 29.—ED.]

XXII.

ON THE IONIC HEROUM AT XANTHUS:

NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

“On attache volontiers quelque prix à ce genre de travail, précisément parcequ’il y entre un peu de divination ; et on peut s’y plaire, en raison même de ce qu’il offre de conjectural. Mais une condition de ce plaisir, quelqu’il soit, est la perte du monument, ou de l’ensemble qu’on fait revivre.”—QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY.

THIS interesting monument, for the possession of which we are indebted to the enterprising exertions of a single individual, has been described by its discoverer in a pamphlet, bearing the title of *An account of the Ionic Trophy Monument excavated at Xanthus*, 8vo. London, 1848: and it is still better known to the public by the model in the British Museum, executed under his directions and superintendence. The first discovery of this monument was made in 1838. The lower part of the basement, constructed of the natural stone of the country, remained entire, but not a portion of the superstructure of white marble was to be seen. On groping among the underwood, Sir Charles Fellows perceived a fragment of a sculptured frieze, which immediately raised doubts in his mind whether others might not be buried beneath the soil. Having obtained the assistance of government, he returned to Xanthus in 1842-43, and among other works in which he was engaged, he prosecuted researches around the pedestal of this monument. His labours were crowned with unlooked-for success; upwards of forty blocks of sculptured frieze, and several finely executed statues, repaid his exertions. So numerous were they, and of such different dimensions, that he, in common with others, considered that they might have formed portions of two or more distinct structures. His first impression was, that the monument was pseudo-peripteral; but this idea he abandoned



E. T. 601

Ford & George, Lithographers, 54 Nassau Street, New York

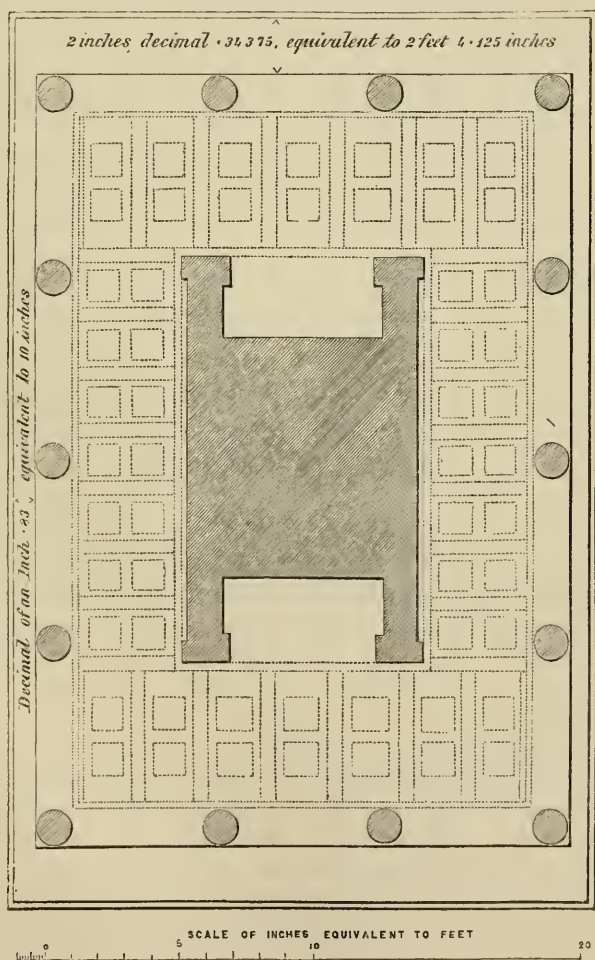
THE IONIC HEROUN AT KANIHUS

AS RESTORED BY E. FALKNER

on finding a fragment of the angular volute of an Ionic capital.

On his return to England, he occupied himself with the restoration of the monument, as did, simultaneously with him, Mr. Rohde Hawkins, who had accompanied the expedition as architect. After several projects, Sir Charles Fellows, having had the advice and assistance of several professional friends, published his restoration, as exhibited in the model in the British Museum, consisting of a lofty stylobate ornamented

PLAN OF MODEL IN BRITISH MUSEUM



with two rows of bas-relief, and crowned with a peripteral monument of four by five columns. Between the columns are floating or flying figures, occupying the three intercolumniations of each end, and the three central intercolumniations of each side. In the extreme intercolumniations of each side he placed the four lions, of which he found fragments in the course of excavation. Independent of these female figures, which stand on emblems, he discovered four other smaller figures, but without emblems, which he assigned as angle acroteria of the pediments. A group of two male figures and one female, of still smaller size, form the central acroterium of the north-west pediment. While Sir Charles Fellows was at work on this design, Mr. Hawkins prepared another, which was published in the *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*, April 1845, after having been exhibited at a meeting of the Royal Institute of British Architects. This plan, like the accompanying, consisted of four by six columns. Sir Charles Fellows subsequently published his pamphlet, reverting again to his original idea, and since that period no further objections have been made to his theory.

Several circumstances induced me to take up the investigation of this monument; among which were the beauty and singularity of the structure, my having visited the country in which it was erected, its analogy with the mausoleum at Halicarnassus, and the unsatisfactory manner in which certain of its parts were represented in the model prepared by Sir Charles Fellows. I now propose to myself to detail* the various

* The author of a paper like the following labours under great disadvantages. The theory which he proposes may be as good as any other, but the ground is already occupied. However excellent his own idea may be, it is not sufficient that he show its probability; he must first prove the fallaciousness of all pre-existing theories. I have therefore to ask the indulgence, not only of my readers, but of the author of the previous restoration, if I should appear unnecessarily studious to point out the discrepancies of that design, rather than to confine myself to the explanation of my own. I am satisfied, however, that Sir Charles Fellows is as desirous as any one

objections to his design which have suggested themselves to my mind, and the general process by which the present restoration sprung up. In doing so, it would both be ungenerous and unjust did I not bear testimony to the able and skilful manner in which he, as an amateur, assisted though he were by several professional men, succeeded in framing together a design consisting of so many complex parts.

The analogy of this monument with the mausoleum was the principal cause which led me to investigate it. I had already made use of its double tier of bas-reliefs in the stylobate, as an authority for the decoration of the lower portion of that structure, and I was anxious, in like manner, to adduce it as an authority for the employment of an odd number of columns in the edifices of antiquity: but, however desirous I was of believing in the correctness of Sir Charles Fellows' restoration in this particular, I was fearful of adducing as an example a building, the restoration of which might at some future time be found fallacious.

On a careful examination of the model, therefore, I at once perceived a glaring want of connexion between the plinth of the monument and the superstructure. The former is equal to 22ft. by 33ft.* on the lower course, and 21ft. 9in. by 31ft. 9in. on

of arriving at the truth; and though I cannot pretend to say that he is ready to give up his own theory, I feel sure he would do so if he found another which he considered preferable: and I take this opportunity of acknowledging the kind assistance that has at all times been afforded me in the course of my investigation, both by that gentleman and by Mr. Rohde Hawkins.

* Sir Charles Fellows gives the dimensions 33 feet by 22 feet to the lower course; Mr. Hawkins to the upper. Sir Charles Fellows does not speak confidently to the amount of set-off, but believes it to be 6 inches. Mr. Hawkins, however, has a sketch taken on the spot, in which it is indicated as $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. It is manifest that Mr. Hawkins' measurement would best allow of the addition of another intercolumniation; but I have preferred adhering to the dimensions given by Sir Charles Fellows, in order to prevent my not doing so being alleged as an objection. In the absence of more authentic particulars, we may conclude that, as one side only of the upper course is remaining, (see a "View of the Base," in p. 17 of Sir C. FELLOWS' *Account*, &c.,) the lower course would naturally be that measured.

the upper or top course. The former was found sufficiently entire to leave no doubt of the precise dimensions of this part of the structure. Upon this plinth is placed the pedestal or stylobate, rising abruptly, as represented in the model, at a set-off of 2ft. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.* at the ends, and 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. at each side. Independent of the awkwardness of having so great a difference in amount between the set-off at the ends and sides, and of the bas-reliefs resting on so large a plinth, we must consider that the monument stood on the brow of a cliff, and, therefore, as seen from below, a great portion of the bas-relief would be intercepted by the projection of the base. On asking Sir Charles Fellows whether he had not discovered, any fragment of a base-moulding, which would have served to elevate the sculpture, and connect it more harmoniously with the plinth, he assured me that he had very diligently searched for such a member, but had not found the slightest vestige that would warrant its introduction.

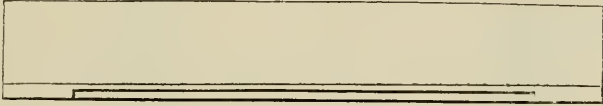
My next hope was, that on measuring the stones I might find that the length was insufficiently given in the model. Here, again, I was disappointed: after measuring most carefully all the bas-reliefs, I could find no authority for increasing the length of the building, supposing it to have had but five columns at the flanks. Notwithstanding my desire, therefore, of establishing an uneven number of columns for the sides of the monument, the irregularity and incongruity of the base prevented my considering that disposition as satisfactory.

Another objection to the model was the disposition of the lacunaria. These were represented as seven in front, and seven on each side, instead of nine, as shown in my plan. They were two in depth, both in the fronts and sides. Not only had they no connexion with the columns, but they presented blank margins, of irregular and greatly disproportioned widths.

* In the lithograph accompanying the *Account of the Ionic Trophy Monument*, the plinth has been originally drawn with a considerable, though not sufficient projection; but the chalk lines have been afterwards scratched out, as may be detected on a careful examination, in order to render the outline more pleasing.

They looked, indeed, as though they had belonged to some earlier building, and been subsequently appropriated to their present situation. On measuring the lacunaria, several of which exist in the Museum, I found that the width from centre to centre was 1ft. 11·7ins., which, multiplied by three, gave 5ft. 11·1ins., a dimension which approached so nearly to the width of the intercolumniation, that I took it for granted that each intercolumniation had three lacunaria.

On examining the sculptured friezes, I found three which gave indication of the width of the intercolumniation. The architrave of the entablature is omitted, and its place supplied by a fillet, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, under which is a sinking of 1in.



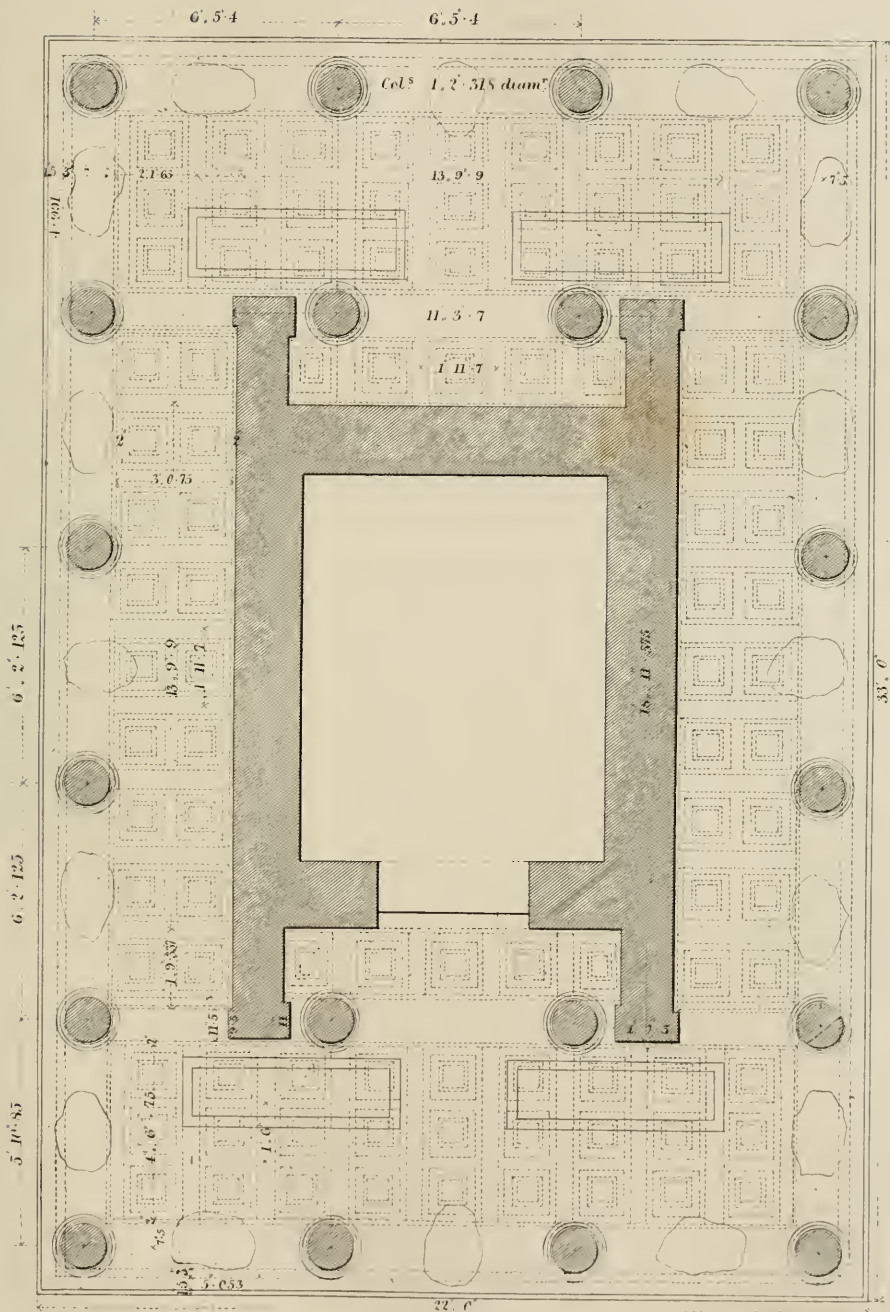
This sinking corresponds with the width of the intercolumniation, the ends of the stones being worked solid, in order to rest on the relieving die over the capitals; the width of each I presume to have corresponded for that purpose. The intermediate width, or length of sinking, was, in stone 111, 4ft. 11in.; in 120 it was 4ft. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.; and in 117 it was 5ft. 2·4in. while the relieving die of capital measures 1ft. 3in. We thus obtain two intercolumniations, from centre to centre—6ft. 2·125in., and 6ft. 5·4in. Sir Charles Fellows has made use of two intercolumniations in his design, though rather different from these, his calculations being based on the *total* length of the stones; and he has applied the wider intercolumniation at the flanks, in order to assist in lengthening out the sides of his composition. This I conceive to be quite contrary to the practice of the Greeks, who, whenever they allowed any difference, always made the front intercolumniations wider than the sides.*

* Although I shall attempt to show that this was the case in the monument before us by other proofs, I cannot do so by reference to the only three blocks whose

The accompanying plan exhibits the proportions, obtained by a careful admeasurement of every individual stone of this monument in the British Museum, and by subsequent reflections and calculations. I commenced my investigations at the ends, from having more data at these portions of the building than at the sides. The intercolumniation, as we have seen, was 6' 5·4", which, multiplied by 3, gives 19' 4·2" as the front of the monument, from centre to centre. The lacunaria being 1' 11·7" from centre to centre, and being nine in number, gave a total of 17' 9·3" from centre to centre; to which, on adding the two half-architraves (1' 3"), we obtain 19' 0·3"; to which may be added the remaining 3·9" for the two half-beams, thus agreeing precisely, as will be seen on examination of the plan, with the dimension as determined by the lengths of the architrave. Another means of ascertaining the width of the fronts is afforded us by the tympanum of the pediments. It so happens that a considerable portion of the tympanum of one pediment, and the greater part of that of the other, are still remaining; and from these it evidently appears that the building must have been considerably wider than the dimension represented in the model, which is only 18' 6". The half-base of one

length we can accurately determine: for notwithstanding stone 120 does come in at the sides—as appears from the subject of its sculpture—and 117 at one end; stone 111, which is one of the shorter stones, appears from its subject to have occupied the central part of one end, a situation, of all others, which would require a wide intercolumniation. We must, therefore, either conclude that this stone did not occupy the place assumed, or that the length of the chase—the ends of which would be concealed by the projection of the abacus of the capital—did not accurately correspond with the width of the intercolumniation. The best proof of this supposition is afforded by the circumstance, that the relieving die of stones 117 and 118, which, from the continuous lines of the sculpture, are known to have been contiguous, is 2 inches wider than the dimension calculated; but if we were to suppose all the intercolumniations corresponded with this, we should not be able to work in the monument, either in width or length. Owing to these inaccuracies of construction, I cannot pretend to say that my design is precisely correct in all its dimensions: but I consider that the dimensions which I have selected are sufficiently true to enable us to form a correct idea of the form and structure of the monument.

PLAN OF THE IONIC MONUMENT AT XANTHUS.



E. F. rest.

tympanum measures 9' 8.74", and that of the other, 9' 11.5", giving 19' 5.48", and 19' 11", as the total lengths respectively.

The front being from centre to centre	19' 4.2"
And adding the two half-architraves	1' 3"
And projection of cornice	2' 3.95"
	22' 11.15"
And deducting the set-back of raking cornice . . .	3' 10"
We have the length of the tympanum, by calculation	19' 1.15"

From the difference existing between the two tympana, it is probable that, either at top or bottom, they were let into a sinking in the corona of cornice, the proportionate depth of which would readily equalize them.

We have thus seen that the dimensions determined by the lengths of the sculptured friezes, by the width of the lacunaria, and by the raking lines of the pediments, all coincide very accurately together; we now proceed to examine how these dimensions agree with the width of the existing base, which measures in its upper course 21' 9."

The front, from centre to centre, being	19' 4.2"
And adding the two half-diameters	1' 2.318"
The projection of base 6", and of cornice beyond base, 4" .	0' 10"
	21' 4.518"
Deducting the projection of cornice beyond face of pedestal .	0' 11.5"
	20' 5.018"
And adding for the battering of pedestal	0' 6"
We have a total width of stylobate of	20' 11.018"

which leaves 4.991" for set-off on upper plinth, or about one-half of that shown in model, while it agrees most perfectly with the measurements taken by Mr. Hawkins, at Xanthus.*

* "Upon the base which still exists there are the marks of the bed worked for the next course; this bed extends 1' 9" inwards from the face of the work: it is

The placing of the four statues on the angles of the pediment,* I consider to be quite at variance with the practice of the ancients. Looking at them from a diagonal point of view, they produce the effect of obelisks—crude perpendicular forms, having no harmony or connexion with the other lines of the pediment. I, therefore, propose to place them in the end intercolumniations of the sides. When we consider the unusual width of the intercolumniations of this monument, five such intercolumniations would, I imagine, appear too straggling; to remedy which I have supposed the end intercolumniations to be 5' 10·85", instead of 6' 2·125": or, so much less than the central intercolumniations of the sides, as these are less than the front; and that these end intercolumniations were decorated with the smaller statues, which would thus give a more compact character to the flanks, and offer a more pyramidal outline to the groups of sculpture. Several objections will be made to this position of the smaller statues, especially by those who maintain that the larger statues represent Nereids. It will be alleged that these statues are weather-worn equally all round, evincing that they occupied an exposed situation on the roof of the monument, while the larger statues are injured only in front; thereby showing that they were protected by their position in the intercolumniations. But, on examining these statues, it will be found that one of them (83) is weather-worn at the back as in front; and if it be said that this may be accounted for by supposing it to have occupied one of the angular intercolumniations, then this same supposition will account for the smaller statues being so weather-worn, inas-

therefore evident that the next course of stones must have extended to that size. Now, there is no evidence of any other stones being placed upon this, except those of the Parian marble: these stones are all 1' 4" thick, and, therefore, could only have been set-in 5 inches from the face of the base. This will apply both to the length and width."—Abridg. of a paper read at the R.I.B.A. by M. ROHDE HAWKINS, Esq., and published in the *Civil Eng. and Architect's Journal*, viii. 100.

* The griffins introduced in my restoration are purely conjectural, and are introduced only to show the form and character of acroterial ornaments.

much as they would occupy a similar position. As regards the question whether these statues represent Nereids or Cities, my province is not to reconcile the building with the theory, but to let the theory base itself on the building. Of whatever, therefore, the emblems attached to the larger statues be indicative, I consider that the places most appropriate for the smaller statues, without emblems, are the end intercolumniations, whether we consider the form, the size, or the character of these figures. Much stress has been laid upon the circumstance of some of the statues having emblems, and others not; but whatever may be the signification of this difference, there is too much identity of movement, of drapery, and of character, to be observed in these figures, in common with the larger statues, to allow of their being separated.

We have then, 3 intercolumniations of	6' 2.125"	=	18' 6.375"
„ 2 „	5' 10.85"	=	11' 9.7"
Making a total on flank, from centre to centre, of . .			30' 4.075"
Adding 1' 2.318", 6", and 4", as before			2' 0.318"
			32' 4.393"
Deducting the projection of cornice beyond stylobate .			0' 11.5"
			31' 4.893"
And adding 3" for battering			0' 6"
We obtain			31' 10.893"

which leaves us just 5.053" (instead of 2' 3.75", as by model), for the set-off at each end of plinth, or within the sixteenth of an inch of what we calculated for the sides.

The next points to determine are the disposition of the lacunaria and the size of the cella. On examining the model, it will be seen that the lacunaria are arranged in two rows all round, and that great irregularities are observable in the mode of working them. In constructing my plan, after having found the outer columns, I set off two lacunaria on the sides and three at each end; and on conferring with Sir Charles Fellows, I found that the men employed in excavating had found what

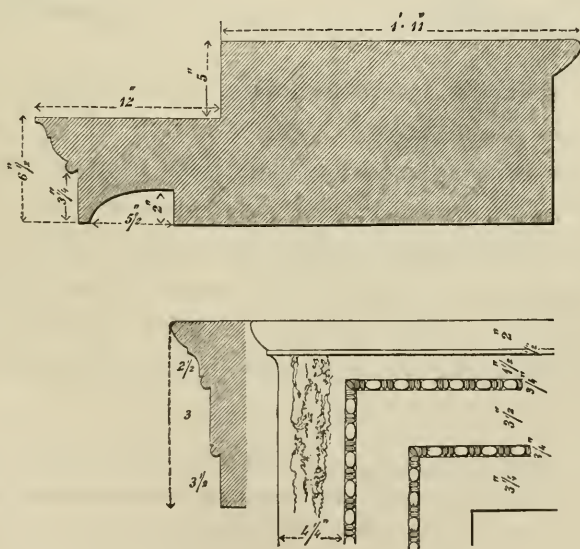
they called a triple "pig's-trough;" but, being broken, it had not been brought to England. The three panels measure 4' 6.75", each panel being 1' 6", and the margin at each end 5.375". The building, as determined by the preceding calculations, was 30' 4.075" by 19' 4.2"; and, on applying these dimensions of the lacunaria, we find that they work-in most accurately both in the breadth and length, three lacunaria appearing in each intercolumniation, from whatever point of view the building was regarded.

	On sides.	At ends.
Thus 2 half-architraves measure	1' 3"	1' 3"
3 panels at each end	9' 1.5"	—
2" mouldings	0' 8"	—
Architrave beams, ends of cella	1' 11"	—
7 lacunaria, centre to centre	13' 9.9"	13' 9.9"
2 end ditto, including end beams	3' 6.675"	4' 3.3"
From centre to centre	30' 4.075"	19' 4.2"

Taking it as a fixed principle that the lacunaria must have been designed with reference to the pteron, I laid them down according to the above calculation, without any regard to the form and dimensions that the cella would require. On completing the lacunaria, I perceived that the cella became considerably wider and longer than that represented in the model, which is 14' 10.5" by 9' 0", instead of 20' 8.393" by 11' 3.7", as in my restoration. This increased width of the cella involved two difficulties: that of supporting the blocks of sculptured frieze which ran round the cella, and the awkwardness and unsightliness of this extended width. In the contracted width of the cella in the model, the stones 101 and 102, which originally formed one block, could just reach from anta to anta, but by increasing the width this became impossible. In considering how I might remedy this objection, the idea occurred—whether there might not be room for the introduction of columns *in antis* at either end of the cella; and on examining the plan I perceived that there was precisely the space requisite

for this arrangement; and thus both objections were completely answered. The long stones, 101, 102, extended from one of the antæ to the further column; and the cella, which at first appeared ill-proportioned, now assumed a form of increased elegance and beauty: and it was satisfactory to find that this disposition of plan in my design was not an arbitrary one of fancy, but one that grew entirely from necessity and construction,—although the arrangement might have been surmised, from the circumstance of the antæ having their internal faces wider than the external, as in the generality of Greek temples; the former being 11 inches in width, the latter $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches only.

The doorway, as determined by the proportionate height of the columns, according to the rules of Vitruvius (iv. 6), should be four feet in width; and on looking over Mr. Hawkins' notebook, I find two fragments* of an architrave and cornice which correspond very well with this proportion.

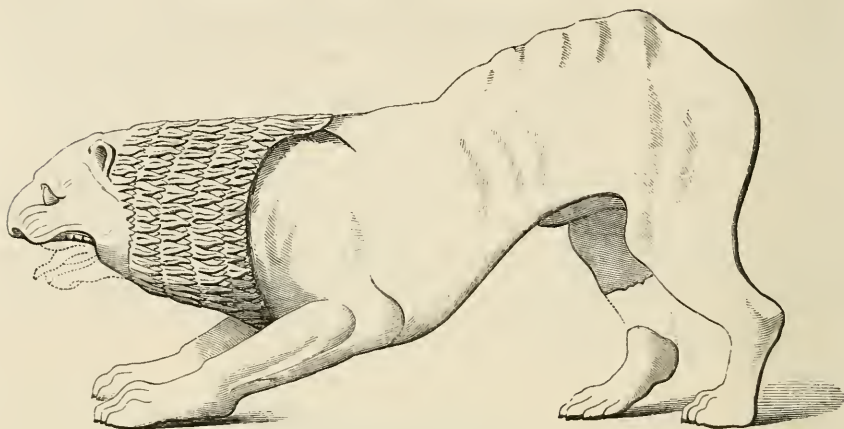


From one of these it appears that the walls of the cella were

* Left at Xanthus.

thicker than those of the projecting walls of the antæ; and they were probably made so, as space was of no consequence in the interior, and as extra thickness to these walls would give greater stability to the entire fabric.

Among the objects connected with this monument were found the fragments of four lions, which, in the model, are



placed in the end intercolumniations, as though projecting from so many port-holes.* The situation which I have considered to be best adapted for them is in front of the columns and antæ, looking towards and protecting the doorway, as in the Gate of the Lions at Mycenæ. They accord with the Egyptian practice of guarding the doors of their temples in a similar manner, a custom which, by various gradations, was so generally adopted by the Byzantines in their churches.†

* As Sir C. Fellows endeavours to fix the position of the smaller statues as the angle acroteria of the pediment by their being weather-worn equally all round, so he strives to fix the position of the lions in the end intercolumniations, by asserting that their noses are more weather-worn than the other parts of their bodies. But it so happens that the nose of one of the two lions in the British Museum (No. 139, a,) is better preserved than any other part; in fact, it is the only part which preserves a portion of its original polish.

† In another Lycian monument at Myra, we find a tetrastyle front, consisting of two columns on the outside, and two pilasters within, terminating with lions' heads,

I have now explained the various alterations proposed in my restoration, together with the proofs and reasons by which I endeavour to establish them: it remains to offer a few observations on the style of the edifice.

We remark, in the first place, that as a *heroum* it is furnished with two steps, to distinguish it from the temples, which had three. Upon this rises the stylobate, the sides of which batter 3 inches in their height. Another example of this practice is the Tomb of Theron at Agrigentum, but there the diminution is rapid and unpleasing, whereas, in the examples before us the inclination is so gentle, that, like the entasis of the Greek columns, we are charmed with its effect, without being sensible of its existence. A striking peculiarity is displayed in the double line of bas-reliefs, it being the only instance of the kind with which we were acquainted. From analogy with this monument, I endeavoured to show that the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus was so decorated; and in No. 1 of the MUSEUM OF CLASS. ANTIQ. we have had an account of a monument recently discovered by Professor Schoenborn, in which two rows of

(TEXIER, iii. pl. 225). The reader will not fail to call to mind the lions of Solomon's throne, and the dogs of the palace of Alcinous. They might have reference to the emblem of the Solymean people, or they might be introduced merely as emblems of power and dignity. In elucidation of this subject, I have been favoured with the following note by Professor Gerhard:—"With respect to the lions which, in your restoration of the Xanthian monument, are at the entrance of the cella, you will not fail to recollect the mother of the gods, accompanied so frequently with the same symbol, as also the identity of that great goddess with the Aphrodite of Mount Ida, and the worship offered to Aphrodite in Lycia, recorded to us by Proclus (Cf. LLOYD, *Xanthian Marbles*, p. 14). The identity of Aphrodite with the mother of the gods is especially remarkable in a bronze figure published by LECHEVALIER (*Voyage de la Troade*, pl. 23), and which I have republished and explained in my memoir on the Metroon and the mother of the gods (pl. ii. No. 3). It represents an Aphrodite, clearly recognisable as such by her costume, and surrounded by lions, even on her shoulders. I may also remind you of the funereal signification of Aphrodite *Epitimia* and *Libitina*, (Cf. my *Venere-Proserpina*, Fiesole, 1825; and LLOYD, l. c. p. 37). Thus the representation of the lions in front of the door of a monument probably sepulchral, and probably dedicated to Aphrodite as a Lycian goddess, will be without any serious difficulty."

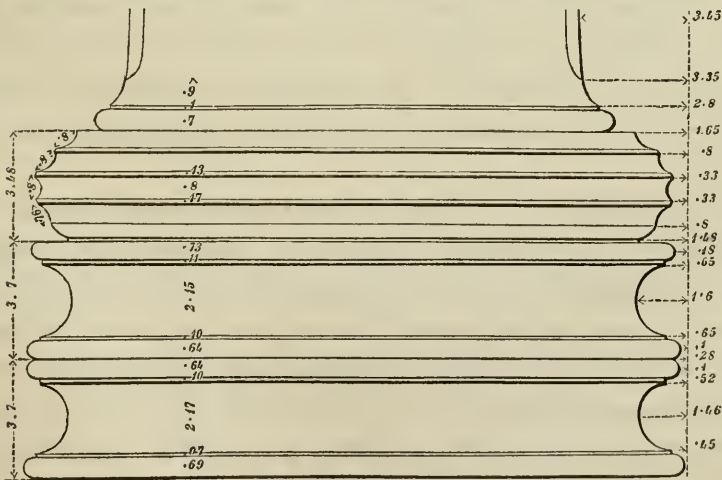
bas-reliefs run round the walls of the peribolus. The Gigantomachia, or battle of the gods and giants, on the south wall of the Acropolis at Athens, may perhaps be adduced as a further example. Considerable beauty is obtained by the great disparity of size in the two bas-reliefs, which is evidently an indication of a pure style of art. This effect is heightened by the variation in the treatment of the two bas-reliefs: the lower represents individual groups,—the upper, collective masses; the lower gives all the detail of the action,—the upper is confined to the general manœuvres; the lower is varied by every graceful movement of the human form, and by the balancing of individual parts, so as to exhibit those principles of composition which we find in all works of art of the best period,—the upper derives its effect from the continued and united movement of large masses. The lower is characterised by the graceful flowing lines of cavalry,—the upper, by the marshalling of compact bodies of foot; the lower is principally in *basso-relievo*, presenting the appearance of a solid slab,—the upper is almost entirely in *alto-relievo*, having the effect of a rich fret-work.

It is worthy of remark, that in the lower frieze of the stylobate the composition of the several figures is regulated by the joints of the masonry, but not so in the upper frieze. We cannot deduce any certain inference from this fact, for we find these two methods pursued in buildings nearly contemporary. The latter practice is followed in the Parthenon; the former, with very few exceptions, in the Theseion. Several circumstances may have led to the adoption of the former method. The sculptor might have desired to avoid the interference of perpendicular lines in his compositions; he might have been fearful of the parts in contiguity to the joints being liable to injury, or each composition might have been kept distinct, to enable the sculptor to finish it in his *atelier*, before the block was raised to its proper position in the temple. This we know to have been the practice in some of the Greek

temples, and there is an anecdote recorded to us of Phidias and Alcamenes particularly relating to this circumstance.*

Great skill is shown in the manner of ranging the sculpture with the face of the plain intermediate wall. Had the face of the sculpture been in the same line with that of the wall, the latter would have appeared bossed out, as in what we call rustics, and would have produced a heavy effect as seen from a diagonal point of view. On the other hand, if the ground or back of the sculptures had ranged with this line, the figures would then have appeared without support. To remedy this, a chase or sinking is introduced immediately beneath each course, which in the lower frieze measures 1·2", and in the upper '9". This at the same time affords a projecting ledge for the support of the figured reliefs, and it gives a clear sharp line of shadow, as in the chase similarly executed in the steps of Grecian temples.

The cornice of the stylobate is remarkable, in consisting of a double row of egg and tongue moulding,† which, though occasionally met with in antæ-capitals, is so unique in its present application as to afford presumptive proof of its early origin. The bases of the columns also are of peculiar profile, being con-



* TZETZES, *Chil.* viii. *Hist.* 193.

† An unappropriated fragment of the natural stone of the country exhibits a triple row of this ornament.

siderably higher than in any other known example. This was obviously intended to counteract the foreshortening caused by the obliquity of the visual rays. This evidence of study and design, this acquaintance with and attention to the principles of optical perspective, is another proof of remote antiquity; the practice of the Romans constantly being to equalize the forms. Again, the largeness of the capital shows no affinity to Roman models, which appear more and more reduced as they become more recent.

A peculiarity in the entablature consists in the frieze being increased so as to admit of sculpture, and the architrave being almost entirely suppressed. An inverse example of this practice occurs in the ancient temple at Assos, the sculptures of which are now in the Louvre. They occur on the architrave; the frieze, with the exception of the guttæ, being totally omitted.

Among the evidences of design and skill on the part of the Greek architect, the arrangement of the columns is particularly worthy of study. The statues do not merely stand in the intercolumniations, they are necessary to them: by their filling up the void spaces, they appear to give strength and compactness to the aræostyle arrangement: and the balance of parts is such, that it is difficult to say whether the statues were made for the intercolumniations, or the intercolumniations for the statues.

My professed object being to treat of the architectural construction of the monument, I might be excused from entering into any explanation of its sculpture, or from attempting to define the age or purpose of its erection: but, as Sir Charles Fellows' réstoration is mainly based upon his arrangement of the sculptured bas-reliefs, the upper frieze of which he maintains cannot be placed in any other manner,* it is necessary to

* Sir Charles Fellows founds this supposition in part upon the circumstance that he has made use of all the blocks of the city frieze; that if one were taken away he

examine whether any incongruities can be detected in such arrangement, and whether the blocks will at least as equally apply to the more extended proportions of the present design.

Beginning, according to Sir Charles Fellows' numeration, with his north-west end, stones 50—54, the only alteration I would propose is the substitution of stone 68 for that of 53, the reason for which I will presently explain. On the north-east side, stones 54—60, we see at one end an irascible chief, on stone 55, inveighing against the cowardice or treachery of three Ionian soldiers on stone 54; and at the other end we see, on stone 59, eight Ionians advancing boldly, in rank and file, against one poor soldier, a countryman carrying an umbrella and a stool, and another with a bag swung over his shoulders. With the south-east end, stones 60—64, I entirely agree; but on the remaining side, the south-west, stones 64—68, and 50, we have some inexplicable story represented, of armed forces advancing against the city on both sides, one part of whom appear to be Xanthians, though it is impossible to divine their object.

In lieu of this arrangement I propose,* in the first compartment, the north-east side, to represent the general battle in the plain. The two extreme blocks at either end exhibit armed troops advancing in close array. The end figure in stone 53 is calling on those behind him, and corresponds to the end figure

would not be able to complete his design, and that if one more were given him, he would not be able to make use of it. But if, in the restoration of the monument, we were allowed to make use only of those portions of it which have been discovered, we should have the bottom of the building smaller than the top, it would exhibit but one angle capital, no one complete statue, and many other absurdities.

* Much light might have been thrown upon this arrangement, had a careful register been kept of the situation of the several blocks at the period of excavation. Such register was commenced at the second expedition, and the lacunæ were supplied from recollection. The plan on the model in the British Museum, accompanying Sir Charles Fellows' design, is the only document on the subject which has come before the public; but, with every conscientious desire on the part of Sir Charles Fellows to render it perfect, it cannot be regarded as of any great authority.

on stone 55, who in like manner calls on those advancing in his rear. The three central blocks are occupied by engaging combatants. In the next scene, the south-west side, we have stone 60 on the right, the Lycians flocking in to the defence of the town; and from the stool, and booty, and what appears to be an umbrella, it would seem that they had had a shadow of success in the late engagement. In the middle of the picture the walls appear well manned; but, on the other side, the Ionians are advancing with great ardour, against whom the Xanthians attempt a sally. The next event represented is the escalade, which is well described by Sir Charles Fellows. The only alteration I have made is changing stone 53 for 68, on account of the latter being longer, and enabling me to make up the dimensions I require; while stone 53 better agrees with the battle scene. The story ends on the south-east side, where Harpagus is represented sitting in judgment on the defeated Xanthians.

By this disposition we have, according to Mr. Hawkins' dimensions, who measured every stone on the spot before the backs were sawn off, and consequently before many of the side joints were concealed*—

N.E. side.	S.W. side.	N.W. end.	S.E. end.
64 .. 4' 6.75"	54 .. 2' 3.5"	50 .. 2' 3.25"	60 .. 4' 5.5"
55 .. 4' 3"	59 .. 4' 8" +	51 .. 4' 2"	61 .. 4' 3.5"
57 .. 4' 8.5"	65 .. 4' 8"	52 .. 4' 5.5"	62 .. 4' 3.5"
56 .. 4' 3"	66 .. 4' 7.5"	68 .. 4' 8.5"	63 .. 4' 3.5"
58 .. 4' 9"	67 .. 4' 10"	54 .. 4' 6" +	64 .. 2' 2"
	Two stones wanting.		
53 .. 4' 3.5"	60 .. 2' 0" +		
50 .. 4' 6.25"		20' 1.25" +	19' 6"
31' 4"	23' 1" +		

* The dimensions required by calculation are 31' 5.018" by 20' 5.018". It cannot be expected that we should determine the order of these sculptures with any certainty. Had the two adjacent sides of block 54 been on separate stones, we should have confidently asserted that one side represented the body-guard of Harpagus; and the other, prisoners led away who had received their sentence: whereas, by being on one stone, we are now sure that neither subject can have belonged to the group of Harpagus on the south-east side.

Two theories have appeared relative to the age and destination of the structure. The one identifies the statues with the Nereids, and the structure itself as intended to commemorate the revival of population: the other assigns it as a tomb to Harpagus, and associates the statues with the various cities of Ionia that contributed to his victory. Among the objections which have been urged to the latter theory, is the circumstance that no coin is to be found in which the serpent is represented as the symbol of Miletus; and, indeed, it would appear to be much more attributable to Cos, which is provided, however, with another emblem, the crab. The dove of Cnidus appears more to resemble some water-fowl, so naturally is the body thrown on one side to give full action to the leg, which is bent, as in the act of swimming. One of the three children of the pediment is evidently a female, a fact at variance with the idea that these figures represented Lydus, Misus, and Cares.

On the other hand, the Nereid theory, although supported with great talent and research—although the appearance of the Nereids, the children on the acroteria, and the divinities in the pediment, are all accounted for—still remains unsatisfactory, so far as the structure itself is concerned; for while the difficult and doubtful mythological sculptures are attempted to be explained, the more evident and conclusive historical bas-reliefs are totally disregarded.

In the attribution of the principal figure in the north-western pediment to Hephæstus, some stress is laid on the supposed circumstance, that the block of marble of which this half of the pediment is composed, is the only specimen of fetid stone in the structure. It is true that this block is more strongly impregnated with carbonaceous properties than any of the others, but we find that several of the blocks, particularly 101, 102, 116, and 122, are of carbonaceous limestone, and no latent signification can therefore be attributed to the circumstance of its employment. This stone is, indeed, only applied to the upper portion of the monument, where it was considered

less important. Corroborated though such theory be by those passages which describe the Nereids as rushing in rapid motion—

“Winding in circles by the clear white beach, the fifty daughters of Nereus chorused her nuptials;”*

and as being carried by, or on, various animals—

“The Nereids also went, the rumour heard, borne on various (creatures), and vie in heaping new presents on the nuptials;”†

and though we know that a monument was raised at Xanthus to commemorate the revival of population—

“We hymn the Queen of the Lycians, Kour-Aphrodite
Whose ill-averting aid once enjoying,
The divinely-prompted leaders of our country
Founded in the city a sacred monument,
Having the symbols of mystic marriage, of the mystic spousals
Of Hephæstus fiery and Uranian Aphrodite,” &c.‡

yet these circumstances, viewed conjointly, do not, I think, sufficiently explain the character impressed upon the monument by its sculptured bas-reliefs.

No doubt has been or can be entertained on the subject represented on the upper frieze of the stylobate. It so evidently depicts the taking of the city by Harpagus, that it would be unreasonable to deny the fact: the only objection which can be raised to the presumption is the circumstance, that the conflagration of the city, recorded by Herodotus, is not here represented. The lower frieze is accessory to the same subject, and therefore the most important of the bas-reliefs are devoted solely to the commemoration of this event. But had the monument

* EURIP. *Iphig. in Aul.* v. 1054: quoted by LLOYD, *Xanthian Marbles*, 8vo. Pickering, 1845.

† CLAUDIAN, *de Nupt. II.* § M. 59: quoted by LLOYD; though in this passage they are represented as naked.

‡ PROCLUS, *Hym. Aphrod.* quoted by LLOYD, *ut supra*.

been erected, as has been supposed, in consequence of the battle of the Eurymedon, we might have expected to find some reference to that event exhibited in the bas-reliefs; had the monument been raised by the later Xanthians, in gratitude for the revival of their population, we might have expected to find their disaster but casually alluded to; to behold their warriors contending nobly, though vainly, against overwhelming odds; to have seen their inconsiderable numbers trodden down by countless hordes of Persians, assisted by their brother Greeks (instead of which, we find the numbers very equally disposed on either side); but, above all, we should have expected to behold the last and noblest act of their heroism—the destruction of themselves, their wives and children, in the conflagration of their city. While one of the friezes was devoted to this subject, we might have expected to see in the other a representation of those causes which had induced the return of prosperity and independence; but, however directly the mythical accessories may be supposed to refer to this event, it is a strong presumption against their interpretation in this light, that the event is in nowise indicated in any of the more intelligible historic sculptures: for in the other friezes we find on the cella a funeral procession, among the figures of which is the horse of a deceased warrior; a sacrifice to the gods, a sacrifice in honour of the deceased, and a festive banquet; and on the outer frieze we have a procession of Persians offering dresses, a procession of Greeks offering kids, fruit, &c. On one side of the monument, the Greeks are commemorating their victory with games;* and with the same object the Persians,† on the other side, are

* That the Greeks had games of this description, see ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ, von Dr. JOHANN HEINRICH KRAUSE, 8vo. Leip. 1841, pp. 612 and 861-863. The subject of this bas-relief has been hitherto interpreted as a battle of horse and foot.

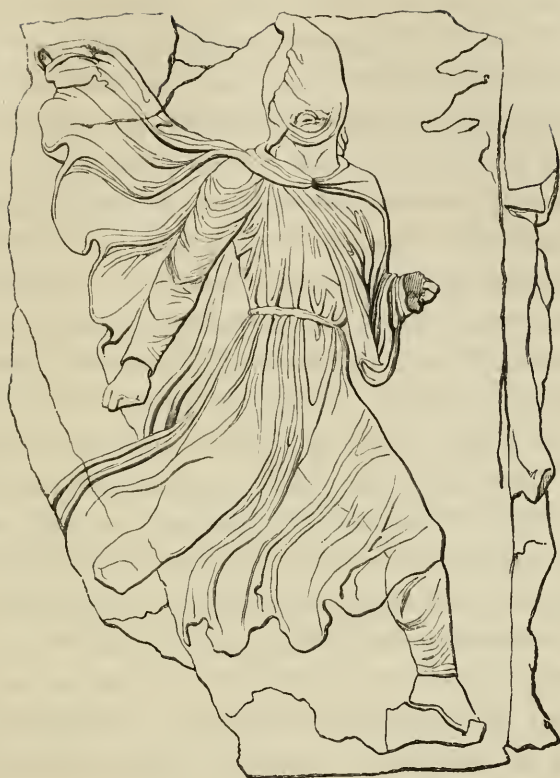
† Another argument in favour of the *Nereid Monument* has been adduced by the assertion, that—"the absence of Persian costume among the celebrators of the funeral feast is another point controverting the idea of the building as a Heroön of the Harpagi:" but the conspicuous figures of the Persians in the lower frieze, the principal position given to Harpagus in the upper or city frieze; and the two friezes here

amusing themselves in the chase. The subject even seems carried out in the pediments: for in the south-eastern, one half of which is preserved to us, we have a spirited charge of cavalry against infantry, and in the north-western there seem to be the supreme deities, to whose assistance they were indebted for the victory. The two male figures of the centre acroterial ornament are so identical in attitude, and so difficult to form into one group with the female figure, that I have supposed a similar group of one Ionian youth with a captive Lycian damsel to occupy a corresponding position on each pediment. Now all these actions are perfectly intelligible, if we suppose the monument to have been raised in honour of the victors; but they are utterly at variance with the consideration of its having been erected by the vanquished.

Judging, then, of the monument solely from its intrinsic evidence, I consider that it must have been erected during the period of Persian dominion; that it served as a tomb, or rather was raised over the tombs of those who fell in the siege; that it was designed and executed by the Ionians, who, with patriotic feeling, represented themselves as fighting equally against the Lycians—Greek against Greek—and studiously avoided the introduction of more Persians than they were obliged to admit by the will of their masters; and, with the cunning for which they were so noted, at the same time that they were compelled to represent them in the action of victory, (see stones Nos. 39 and 47 in the British Museum,) they have so cleverly managed one figure, that while they could persuade the Persians that their countryman was striding to victory, he was in reality flying ignobly before his foe.*

referred to, of the Persian sacrifice and the Persian hunting games, are a sufficient answer to such objection. Another proof of oriental influence on its architecture, were any wanting, is afforded by the Assyrian character of its city frieze.

* This figure is on an angle-stone, and consequently there could have been no figures in front of him. The same contempt appears to have been intended, by indicating manly vigour in all the Greeks, as a mark of distinction from the effeminate Persians. The application of bronze for this purpose in the acroterial figures is very remarkable.



In attributing the erection of the monument to the period of the Persian sway, from 541 to 333 B. c., we find that the Erechtheum occupies a position about midway, 409 B. c.,—a date which affords us some clue for the date of erection of the Xanthian monument. Herodotus recited his history at the Olympic games in 445 B. c., about a century after the conquest by the Persians, and he describes the inhabitants as calling themselves Xanthians, although but few of them were really descended from the ancient inhabitants:—a circumstance which clearly proves that a feeling had then sprung up in favour of the original inhabitants. We can hardly suppose that, with such a revolution of feeling, the people would be desirous of perpetuating the remembrance of an event, the glory of which would be attributable to the Persians, and

which, in their assumed name, would cast disgrace upon themselves. It is far more natural to suppose that the monument was erected shortly after the conquest, when the rivalry of races was yet strong, and when the Ionian settlers, to whom Harpagus had granted the territory, felt proud of their late conquest: for it is seldom that we find costly works undertaken, except under the immediate impulse of excitement, and even these are often incomplete, in consequence of political or other changes. In attributing the erection to a period approaching to 500 B. C., were the monument at Athens we might require a more archaic style of treatment, both in the architecture and sculpture; but there is every reason to believe that the arts in Asia were more early cultivated than in Greece; not that they ever reached so high a standard of excellence as they afterwards attained at Athens, but they more early shook off the trammels of the conventional primitive styles, and more rapidly advanced in invention and development of form.*

The chief cause of this priority of cultivation was the widely-spread commerce of the Asiatics. These people were well skilled in navigation, extending their traffic to distant nations, while the small craft of European Greece scarcely ventured beyond the sight of land. They were daily brought into communication with the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and the older inhabitants of Asia, and by the impulse thus given by commerce, the various arts and sciences rose, if not to perfection, at least to general cultivation. They had distinguished themselves in poetry, history, music, and the arts and sciences, long before the Athenians applied themselves to these studies. But, apart from other considerations, the very name of the style of architecture in which this building is constructed

* The distinction of race between the Dorians and the Ionians caused a similar difference in the cultivation of the arts in Greece, and it is well known that the Doric colony at Ægina retained its ancient conventionality in art long after the Ionians of the neighbouring city, Athens, had emancipated themselves from its fetters.—See MÜLLER'S *Dorians*.

would prove its Asiatic origin; and we may, therefore, readily believe that such a building as this, exhibiting all the character and details of the architecture of the Erechtheum, though inferior to it in the delicacy of its execution, may have preceded that temple in point of antiquity; and this reasoning has the greater confirmation, from the circumstance that all the peculiarities or points of departure from models of a more perfect character which are observable in this structure, are evidences of greater rather than of less antiquity.

Thus, the bases of the columns are of Asiatic style, a similar combination of mouldings being met with only in the temples of Samos, Branchidæ, and Priene, and in the baths at Cnidus. Now the Xanthian base is the highest in proportion to the diameter of the column of any known example, and we find this height continually decreasing as we approach a later period. The temple at Samos is known to be the most ancient of the Greek temples of Asia Minor, and the squareness of its base resembles the Xanthian example more closely than any of the others. The only approach to the Ionic base in Attica was the fluting of one or both of the torus-mouldings, as in the Erechtheum, the temple of Nike Apteros, and the Propylæa of Eleusis.

The largeness of the capitals is another proof of antiquity; and though the style of them is not equal to those of the Erechtheum, the design and character, and even the less perfect execution of them, will be found to partake of the archaic style of more early examples;* and in the same manner we find that the shafts of the columns, though executed without that extraordinary precision of later times, exhibit a perceptible entasis, amounting to one-sixth of an inch.†

The inferiority of execution might, notwithstanding what we have just said, be regarded as an indication of a decline in

* See Nos. 398 and 410 Brit. Mus. from the Temple of Artemis Euecia, and the Acropolis at Athens.

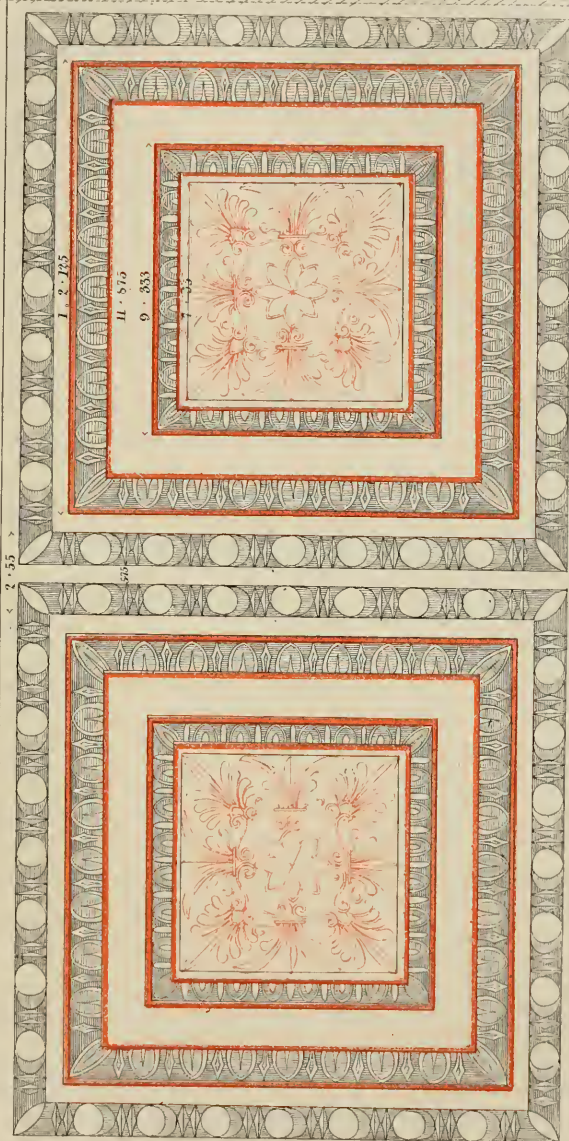
† As measured with the assistance of Mr. Penrose.

art; but we should consider that the structure, though designed by Greek artists, was raised in a distant country, and, possibly, under other disadvantageous circumstances.

We are not sufficiently acquainted with the history of polychromy to determine when the custom of decorating their buildings with colour was discontinued; but we know that the more early edifices were so ornamented. We find traces of this decoration on several parts of the structure; but red is the only colour so preserved. A circle of red is very evident round the rim of the shield borne by one of the warriors in the western pediment; a line of colour marks the deep spiral chase in one of the Ionic volutes; but one of the most perfect portions of the building in this respect is the coffered ceiling. Each square sinking of the lacunaria has a well-preserved red line immediately in the internal angle. Other ornaments, of other colours, are very discernible, but, though the forms are perfectly recognisable, the colours can no longer be determined, and I have accordingly represented them by etched lines in the accompanying plate. The central ornament, in red outline, was probably gilt, on a blue ground. The reel moulding is remarkable in representing the bead as shaded, so as to give it the effect of a *sculptured* ornament. I am not aware of any other instance of this practice. It should be stated that abundant authority exists for every portion of the ornament represented, though the colour is fast fading from the sight by the action of our atmosphere, and the baneful effect of the sponge of the amateur-antiquary.

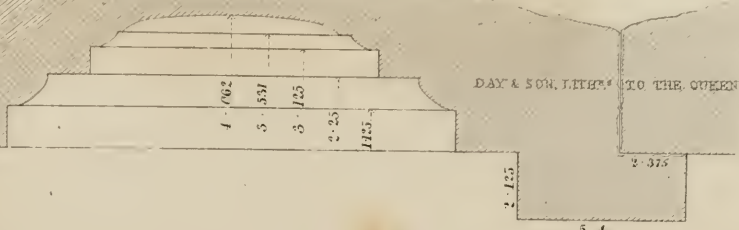
It is extremely desirable that, whenever marbles are known to exhibit traces of colour, such colour should be preserved in the most careful manner. It is very certain that colour may remain on the surface, but, owing to dust and rain, and accidental staining, such colours may become imperceptible even to the keenest eye, until brought out by some cleansing process. An instance to this effect is afforded in the Halicarnassian Marbles, which have now been exposed for some years in the British Museum, in a

THE IONIC MONUMENT AT XANTHUS.



COLOURED DECORATION OF LACUNARIA.
ONE SIXTH FULL SIZE.

N.F. The etched lines indicate ornament the colours of which are no longer discernible.



position which would enable any one to examine them with the greatest care and attention; but not the slightest trace of colour could be discerned. Recently, however, plaster casts have been made of some of these marbles; and, in the process of moulding them, colour was reported to have been distinctly traceable. The marble statues of Pompeii, whenever they show any indication of Greek influence, invariably exhibit colour on their first discovery; but after a few years' exposure to the air, all such colour invariably disappears. It is to be hoped that some able chemist will be able to discover the best mode of bringing out colour upon such marbles as are suspected to have been once so decorated, and of protecting it with some preparation, the chemical nature of which shall not affect the pigments, while it shall have the effect of rendering them constantly visible, without imparting a gloss, or false surface, to the marble.

Connected with this subject, the following extract of a letter from Sir Charles Fellows, dated 1st August, 1850, will be read with interest:—

“Upon all the soffits or panels of ceiling of the Ionic monument, beautiful Greek patterns were traced in red lines. You can still trace them, but you had better refer to the Lycian portfolio in the Museum, for which fac-similes were made when first found. Upon the sculpture, a line of red was traced around the border of each shield; also a kind of horse-hair tail was traced from the helmets, upon the unsculptured back-ground, in the figures of the tympanum. On these figures you also see that metal, or some material, has been used to ornament the breasts, &c., &c., of the figures. From these remains we may doubtless infer much more.”

This application of metal, as well as that referred to in p. 278, is remarkable, when we consider that those parts, as armour and the reins of horses, which were frequently executed in metal, were here indicated neither in the stone, nor in any other material.

If we admit this opinion of the period of architecture to be correct, the sculpture must necessarily partake of the same antiquity.* This opinion of their antiquity Mr. Gibson coincides in, from a comparison of these sculptures with the Hali-carnassian Marbles;† and an additional confirmation of it is afforded by a comparison of them with those of the Temple of Magnesia *ad Mæandrum*. The sculptures of this temple‡ are of a low style of art, while those of the Xanthian Monument, though inferior to the marbles of the Parthenon in execution and delicacy of design, are almost equal to them in power of invention. Now, as the Magnesian Temple is of about the same age as the other great temples of Asia Minor, this opinion of its relative antiquity will oblige us to assign a date to the Xanthian Monument approaching the period we have already named.

Whether we regard this monument as illustrative of the development of art, or as elucidating historical events, there is so much that is worthy of study and investigation, that it is to be hoped its discoverer will one day present us with such an account of its character and construction, and such accurate drawings of its sculpture and ornaments, as shall do credit at once to the monument and himself.

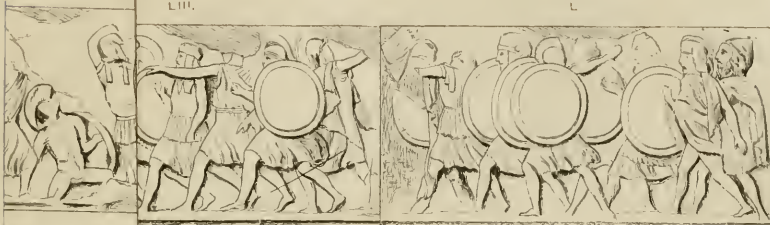
EDWARD FALKENER.

* Speaking of this monument, Professor Gerhard says—"These sculptures are the most valuable evidences of a style of art in Asia Minor of the Ionic race, which we can only attribute to the most perfect period of Greek sculpture (*Archæol. Zeitung*. i. 353); and Professor Welcker, in his additions to MÜLLER'S *Ancient Art and its Remains*, speaks of its "masterly friezes" as "belonging to the period of the Phygalian sculptures," and of its statues as "surpassing even the Mænads of Scopas in boldness and lightness of representation."

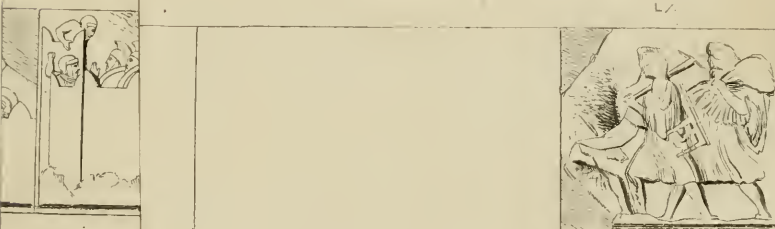
† See ante, p. 154.

‡ They were brought over to Paris by the French government at great expense, and have since been allowed to lie neglected in the court of the Louvre.

LIII.



LVI.



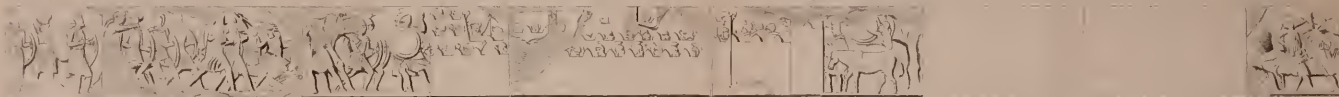
LXII.



LXIV.

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XXIII.

A GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE EXCAVATIONS
OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN THE
KINGDOM OF NAPLES,
FROM 1830 TO 1849:

DURING THE OFFICE OF CARLO BONUCCI, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF
THE EXCAVATIONS.

THE kingdom of Naples is crowded with monuments of all ages and of all schools. If their descriptions and details were published, they would afford many new pages to the history of the arts and sciences, no less than to that of nations.

Deriving its civilization from the Pelasgians and Magna Græcia,—our country, the glorious seat of the Lombards, the Normans, the Suabians, and the house of Anjou, has never seen its star of civilization, of knowledge and of art, entirely decline. We have no need, like other nations, to travel into distant countries to study monuments not yet explored, to seek there some new angle, some column, some stone, which should reveal to us the past: we have too many monuments in our own country yet unknown, which reveal to us at every step some glory of our ancestors, now forgotten, or some woe no longer lamented.

With these ample materials before us, it is our duty to record faithfully the excavations and discoveries that have taken place in different portions of the kingdom.

CUMA.

This is the most ancient city of Italy, and the centre of our earliest civilization; deriving from the Pelasgians, Tyrrhenians, and Phœnicians the religion, the arts, and the learning of the East.

Our excavations here have brought to light the ancient necropolis of the city. In it, we see revealed to us the arts, the faith, and the glory of this city during its various epochs.

The tombs are placed on various levels, and appear one above another. They embrace twenty-five centuries of civilization, of power, and misfortune. Among the objects found are vases of an oriental style, ornamented with figures and animals, resembling in some measure those recently discovered in Persia and Assyria, Egyptian scarabæi, painted vases, necklaces, and other ornaments of gold, all of the best style of art. We have identified the plan of the famous temple of Apollo, constructed, according to Virgil, by Dædalus; and we have excavated the celebrated gallery cut out of the bowels of the mountains, which led from Cuma to the Lake of Avernus, and which Strabo informs us was executed by the architect Cocceius, by order of M. Agrippa.

Near the amphitheatre of Cuma we have cleared away the earth and stones from about a temple, and found it to enclose several marble statues, among which there are two which are masterpieces of drapery, and which deserve a place beside the celebrated statue of Aristides from Herculaneum.

POZZUOLI.

This famous city, the principal of the empire after Rome and Capua, has preserved to us but few vestiges of its ancient greatness. One of the most important of these is the amphitheatre, a monument which excites universal wonder. Directions were given for its excavation, and we had the good fortune to restore it in great part to light, and to re-expose its substructions. These form, as it were, another and subterranean amphitheatre, in which they prepared and preserved everything that was necessary for the shows. There is no other example revealing to us this arrangement, excepting that of Capua, which is, however, inferior to it in many particulars.

A hundred Roman tombs have been discovered along the road leading from Pozzuoli to Capua. Among these were

found, besides many other objects, glass vessels of various colours, a circumstance before unknown. The tombs of the poorer classes have been discovered on the ancient road which led to Naples, near the Solfatara. A prodigious number of lamps, adorned with bas-reliefs copied from the most esteemed subjects of classic art, were found during this excavation.

CAPUA.

According to Mazzocchi, this city had a population of 300,000 souls, and it was the ancient metropolis of the Campania. Here have been brought to light some of its secret riches, which had escaped, as if by miracle, from the rapacious search of the Roman colonies under Caesar. Among the tombs near the present railway were collected a great many painted vases of different periods of art. Together with these was found a small bronze statue, representing a figure with a tiara on its head, the costume of which, and style of art, announced an Asiatic character. This mysterious idol appears as though it had waited so many centuries to reveal to the present inhabitants of this country their ancient origin, and their early community of religion, commerce, and customs with the people of the East. In one corner of the subterranean constructions of the Campanian amphitheatre were discovered forty valuable gold coins, among which were some of Pertinax, Didia Clara, and various members of the family of Septimius Severus, but the greater number belong to Hadrian and the Antonines. Among the rarest were some of Marciana, Matidia, and Didius Julianus. Near these were found four other imperial coins, in the finest preservation.

ALIFEA.

In this city has been discovered a marble theatre, and two silver coins have lately been found, representing Pallas, and a bull with a man's head, with the legend *Alifea*, offering fresh materials for the imperfect history of this remote epoch. Other silver coins of Capua, with the legend *Sedicini*, and of Naples, with the effigy of a half-bull with a human head, and

the archaic epigraph, *Neepolis*, were also brought to light, being either perfectly unique, or known only in the magnificent collection of the Museo Santangelo. Some bronze coins were also found of Telesia, Pandosia, and Medma, all unedited; and Judge Riccio has added to our science by the discovery and publication of a Plautia in gold, restored by Trajan.

NAPLES.

On the decline of Cuma, Naples succeeded it as the seat of pleasure, of elegance, and art, being equally adapted to it by its climate, its Greek customs, its fertility and riches. The Romans flocked to it as to an Italian Athens. Lucullus chose his abode on the coast of Pausylipo, and lavished all the riches of Asia in executing those stupendous works which entitled him to the appellation of the Roman Xerxes. Here he collected together the masterpieces of genius and of art. A great portion of his villa has of late been discovered, equalling a city in its vast extent. A tragic theatre and an odeon have here been excavated and exposed to light; and a subterranean viaduct or grotto has been re-opened by command of his Majesty, which is higher and longer than that leading from Naples to Pozzuoli. Among the vestiges of the same villa was accidentally discovered an exquisite group of a Nereid, perhaps Leucothea, who, seated on a marine monster, hastens to offer arms to Achilles, or the girdle to the shipwrecked Ulysses. It combines the grace of ineffable delicacy and the boldness of genius, with the imposing character of sublimity; and it rivals the statues of Venus of Melos, the Venus of the Medicean gallery, or that of Syracuse.

HERCULANEUM.

It is singular that a city, whose name is scarcely revealed to us by ancient historians, should now be associated with our highest notions of ancient art. The masterpieces revealed to us from this sepult city have afforded us a new appreciation of the treasures of antiquity, and revealed to the present generation the state of science and civilization before the downfall of the Roman empire. By his Majesty's orders we have caused

a portion of the city to be excavated, consisting of habitations of no inconsiderable grandeur, though yielding in sumptuousness to the vast mansions of the ancient capital. An examination of the strata discloses to us in the most satisfactory manner, the history of the phenomena which buried this interesting city, and shows us with the clearest evidence, the alternations of lava, scoria, and ashes which overwhelmed the mansions of its miserable inhabitants.

POMPEII.

In the excavation of the Street of Tombs, in 1814, one single tomb and an adjoining villa escaped the notice of the workmen; these have since been exposed, and the excavation has revealed to us four columns of an unique character, being encased with a continued mosaic work of figures, friezes and arabesques. In the tomb was discovered a most beautiful glass vessel, of a blue colour, adorned with a white bas-relief, and only equalled by the celebrated Portland Vase of the British Museum.

The street which leads from the Temple of Fortune to the Gate of Isis, passing in a direct line from one extremity of the city to the other, has been re-opened within the last few years. The House of Cupid and Psyche, or, as better known, the House of the *Camera Nera*, the House of the Figured Capitals, the House of Ariadne, the House of the Chase, and the House of Danae and Perseus, enrich the arts and sciences, and adorn our museum with their frescoes, bronzes, and other works of art.

But the house which surpasses all others yet discovered, and which will, probably, be uneclipsed by any other, is that of the Faun, so called from a small bronze statue of a dancing faun, intoxicated with mirth and jollity, which occupied the centre of the Impluvium. This house also contained a wonderful effort of Greek genius, as skilfully copied by Roman art, a work which ought to decide the question, whether the ancients were as superior in painting as they were incomparable in the sister arts. The mosaic painting of the *Æcus* represents that immortal battle between the Greeks and the Persians, which

decided for ever the supremacy of Europe over Asia—of civilization over barbarism. In this grand mosaic we behold, for the first time, those Persians whose names and history occupy so prominent a part in ancient history. We look at them, astonished and enraptured at the gorgeous pomp, at the splendour of attire, and at the richness and luxury of which the East has ever been so proud. May this superb monument, which we have snatched from the ruined city, open to our country a new school of study and of glory; and may the remains of the awakened Pompeii recal incessantly to our contemporaries, and encircle with the same glory, the names of Pericles and Augustus, of Greece and Italy.

From March to June, 1847, the works were directed to the graceful and elegant little house, excavated under the direction of Mr. Falkener. Since that period to the present time, owing to the absorbing nature of political events, no further excavations have taken place, either in Pompeii or in any other portion of the kingdom.

NOCERA.

At this place we have discovered several small bronze statues, among which is one of Venus issuing from the bath. They were concealed and embedded in masonry, under the pavement of a house. They appear to have been placed there from a veneration of art and the *beau-ideal* which had inspired them, at a time when the worship of the divinities whom they represented had sunk together with the brilliant fictions of paganism.

PÆSTUM, FORMERLY POSIDONIA.

Posidonia, the descendant and ally of Sybaris, seems to have survived to our day in order that we might imagine to ourselves what were once the several cities of Magna Græcia. Repairing there in 1831, I perceived a fourth temple under the weeds and ruins, the capitals of which exhibited the perfection of the primitive Doric. The bas-reliefs of its frieze represented Jason and the Argonauts. In one part might be seen Jason killing the serpent, guardian of the golden fleece; in

another, Phryxus and Helle; then Hypsipyle, abandoned near the sea-shore. Castor, Hercules, Orpheus, and some marine deity, protector of the expedition, were also represented. I identified the porticoes of the ancient Agora in the centre of the city, and I found near the river Salso many tombs and several painted vases of great beauty; on the plaster of one of the tombs were painted some figures in a chariot, and a wounded warrior borne from the battle-field on a horse's back by a companion, or, more probably, from the public games.

MAGNA GRÆCIA.

There have been discovered in Magna Græcia, at different intervals, several treasures of ancient medals, each of which would have been considered an important acquisition, and which seem to have been struck in great quantities on some occasion of emergency. Many rare gold coins of Locris and of Syracuse have been found in terra cotta vases near the ancient *Medma*, now Rosarno. A year or two previously, there was discovered a similar depository at *Gerace* of most valuable silver tetradrachms of Pyrrhus, near the spot where there had formerly been dug up many thousand gold coins of Philip and of Alexander, pertaining, perhaps, to the money-chest of Alexander Molossus—uncle to Alexander the Great—who was defeated near Pandosia. These coins were cast instead of being struck—perhaps on account of the hurry occasioned by these times of turbulence and war, or, possibly, from want of an artist.

At *Cotrone* was found a vase containing many medals belonging to the finest epoch of art, among which were several that represented the head of Juno Lucina.

At the ancient *Siris*, now *Policore*, were found in a large bronze vessel two or three thousand silver medals of archaic type, of the value of from two to four drachmi each; the greater part from *Metapontum*, others from *Cotrone*, *Caulonia*, *Sibaris*, and a few from *Tarentum*, bearing the type of the hero on a dolphin. Two others have figures which are believed by

some to represent Apollo playing on the lyre and dancing at the festival of Zacynthus; others were of Laos, among which was the rare medal of a bull with a woman's head, protected by a helmet—others of the confederation between Pyxus and Siris; and, lastly, some from Pandosia. But more remarkable discoveries were effected at Messapia and Peucetia, and their vicinity,—now the territories of Lecce and Bari.

Montescaglioso, Pomarico, Pisticci, Ginosa, La Terza, Ostuni, Ceglie, Oria, Rizza, Motta, and Altramura have furnished us with innumerable tombs and fine painted vases of Puglia, with idols, arms and furniture of bronze, and ornaments of gold, silver, and other metals. At Castellaneta, whose territory is covered with the remains of upwards of thirty ancient Greek towns, have been found an extraordinary number of tombs, with vases and rhytons of the most beautiful forms and workmanship. At Putignano and at Ceglie, near Bari, were discovered some most exquisite vases, resembling those of Ruvo, and with a varnish similar to those of Nola.

RUVO.

Ruvo has afforded us an archaic tomb, decorated with paintings, and containing many vases with black figures, the most admirable necklace yet discovered, fibulæ and pomegranates, besides some gold vases, or supports for glass vessels, of an azure blue colour. Above this was another tomb, which contained bronze horse-trappings, ornaments with the head of Medusa, small bronze vases, and utensils of every description. On the outside of some of these tombs were disposed along the front a row of elegant rhytons. Enormous vases, on which are represented the death of Archemorus and the battle of the Amazons; another with the Judgment of Paris, an immense quantity of gold objects, and, lastly, a vase and several square bas-reliefs, were found in a tomb excavated by private individuals, nearly the whole of which were purchased for the Museo Borbonico.

Subsequently, from 1836 to 1838, the government have con-

tinued these researches, and opened two hundred other tombs, all equally rich in objects of art, embracing about three hundred painted vases. The tombs were of good Greek epoch, and chambers arched. The body of the deceased was placed in the middle, the larger vases arranged around, and the smaller vases and other objects hung up on the walls in one or two rows. One of the largest vases is usually found in a corner of the chamber, or at the head or feet of the body; the others, of various forms and qualities, disposed along the sides. Terra cotta figures are rarely found except in the tombs of children, being those which had served them in their infantile amusements. The tombs of noble individuals usually contain about forty to fifty vases and rhytons, and objects of furniture in great number and variety.

CANUSIUM.

The necropolis of Canusium, now Canosa, had one of its entrances decorated with Doric columns of robust proportions, with niches for statues, and with a second order of columns of the Ionic style. The streets of this city of the dead are flanked by the funereal mansions, composed each of several chambers, adorned with columns and frescoes, and containing objects of the highest interest. Among the most remarkable are terra cotta statues, and large heads with small figures grouped above,—which last are peculiar to this place,—alabaster vases, and some utensils adorned with ivory bas-reliefs, of wonderful style and execution. The skeletons are frequently found covered with garments embroidered with gold, the walls are decorated with rich hangings, interwoven in some parts with gold wire. Among the furniture of the tomb are plates, vases, lamps, and basins, all of glass, which, from their size and beauty of form, seem to dispute with the magnificent terra cotta vases and pateræ found also in the same city. These glass vessels are of so extraordinary a workmanship that we can scarcely imagine how they were executed. To form an idea of them, we should picture to ourselves the celebrated glass-ware of Murano, endued

with finer and more varied colours, with the decorations penetrating the entire thickness of the glass, and enclosing pieces of gold placed in it by an art now unknown, in the manner of a mosaic work of a new description.

EGNATIA.

Egnatia has furnished us abundantly with painted vases, especially with those delicate, elegant, and varied vases of small size. During the last year, we have had the fortune to obtain here various objects of ornament and furniture in gold, among which was a superb necklace adorned with hyacinths, two bracelets, a crown of laurel, and a garland of flowers, on which reposed insects and butterflies of a delicate and exquisite execution. In the deeper tombs of Egnatia, we find some of those vases called Egyptian, or Tyrrheno-Phœnician, which are coëval with the earliest colonization of Italy, which, commencing with this city and Cuma, formed as it were two points from which it spread over the rest of Italy, dispersing ignorance and barbarism.

Near the river Irno we discovered a marble statue of Bacchus; a Greek tomb at Sorrento; and a bas-relief at Capri, representing Tiberius Cæsar with a Nymph on horseback, curious from its historical interest, and from the novelty of the subject.

Future researches must now be directed to the investigation of the ancient Greek cities in the neighbourhood of Naples, and to those of Puglia. On these will be placed the hopes and the future prospects of science. The question whether Italy received its civilization from foreign lands, or whether, on the contrary, it was the means of imparting it to those nations, must be decided in these sites, where the Pelasgians arrived on the one side from Asia, and on the other from Epirus. A few palms of land cover their tombs and those of the earliest inhabitants of Italy. These oracles of the dead would be found more true than those of Tiresias evoked by Ulysses. We have only to raise these few inches of dust and ask them. They will answer us.

CARLO BONUCCI.

XXIV.

ARCHÆOGRAPHIA LITTERARIA.

III.

ISTITUTO DI CORRESPONDENZA ARCHEOLOGICA DI ROMA.*

Annali (A), and *Bullettino* (B), 8vo. Rome, 1829-1850, vols. i.-xxi.

Monumenti Inediti (M), fol. Rome, 1829-1850, vols. i.-v.

A Catalogue of the Library in the year 1832 occurs in A. iv. p. x.-xxii.

And an Index to vols. i.-v. A. v. 369.

Acquatraversa (near Rome). Scavi. L. C. B. vi. 106

Acqueducts. Intorno varj Monumenti di Romani Acquēdotti. AVV. CARLO FEA,
B. ii. 137

———— Sull' editto acquario venafrano. . . . TH. MOMMSEN, B. xxii. 44

Adeloon (ant. Ornithopolis). Monumento di Sesostris a—, tra Tiro e Sidon.
Conte GIULIO DE BERTOU, B. x. 157. R. LEPSIUS, xii. 6. WIL.
ABEKEN, xii. 109.

Agina. Notizie Topografiche sull' isola d'— SCHARNHORST, A. i. 201. Pianta
dell' isola, A. i. *tav. a*.

———— Sopra il Tempio di— Barone di STACKELBERG, A. ii. 314

———— Inscription (portant le nom) du Temple de Jupiter Panhellénien á—, A. i. 342

———— Vases trouvées dans le Temple de Jupiter. Prince de CANINO, B. i. 113
Prof. GERHARD, 116. EMIL WOLFF, 122.

Azani. Description d'— CH. TEXIER, B. vi. 238

Agrigentum. See *Maggiore*.

———— Scavi nell' inverno del 1835-36 . . . WIL. KRAMER, B. viii. 97

———— Nuovi Tempj, ed altre antichità di—. . . Duca di SERRADIFALCO,
B. viii. 129

———— Temple de Castor et Pollux	B. viii. 50	} V. BALTARD
———— Concorde	52	
———— d'Hercule	51	
———— Prétendue Chapelle de Phalaris.	51	

Alba Fucense. See *Promis*.

Albano. Carta del Territorio di—. M. ii. 39

———— Monumento degli Orazj e Curiazj. LUIGI CANINA, A. ix. 50. M. ii. 39

———— Musaico del Ninfeo di—. W. ABEKEN, B. xiii. 47, 58

———— Scavo d'un Teatro Dr. EMIL BRAUN, B. xxii. 74

* In giving a portion of the index of this important work, we feel called upon to qualify in some measure what we said of it in our preface. But though it contains much matter relating to the arts in general, the great object of the Society appears to be, the exploration of the tombs of Etruria and Magna Græcia; and, in accordance with this principle, we find one of its secretaries exclaiming—"L'archeologia potrebbe chiamarsi la scienza de' sepolcri."—*Bullettino*, xiii. 35.

- Amelia* (in Umbria). Scavi del Foro (?) . . . MELCHIADE FOSSATI, B. xii. 81
- Ammon*. Ruines de— Comte I. DE BERTOU, B. ix. 166
- Amphitheatre*. See *Capua*, *Pozzuoli*, *Sutri*, *Syracuse*, and *Venosa*.
- Explicatio Musivi in Villa Burghesiana asservati, quo certamina Amphitheatri representata extant. Gulielmo Henzenio. 4to. Rom. 1845.
- Notice of—By C. Cavedoni, B. xviii. 189.
- Apulëia*. Scavi Apuli. . . ONOFRIO BONGHI, B. vi. 36. G. B. DE TOMASI, 53
- Arch*. Antiquity of—. See *Sparta*.
- Triumphal Arches. See *Fano*, *Rimini*, *Rome*, *Rossini*.
- Archäologische Zeitung*. Von E. Gerhard. Notice of—By H. Brunn, B. xvii. 199
- Arezzo*. Sopra alcuni ruderi di Mura ed Archi d'antica fattura a Castel Secco, o Monte S. Cornelio, presso— FRANCESCO INGHIRAMI, B. ix. 96.
- Argos*. Sulla scoperta dell' Hereum di— Col. WIL. MURE, A. x. 308. Pianta dell' Hereum, *tav. h*.
- Aricia*. Antichi Tempj di—. WILHELM ABEKEN, A. xii. 23, *tav. d*.
- Sostruzione della Via Appia. L. CANINA, A. ix. 50; M. ii. 39
- Arles*. Etudes archéologiques, historiques et statistiques sur— Jean Julien Estrangin. 8vo. Aix, 1838. . . Notice of—By W. Abeken, B. xi. 140
- Scavi del Teatro di— . Barone LANGIER DE CHARTROUSE, B. vii. 134
- Scavi di— AVV. J. J. ESTRANGIN, B. viii. 12
- Artists*. Greek—See *Raoul-Rochette*. Kritias, Nesiotes, Kresilas, et autres Artistes Grecs. Prof. L. Ross. Athens, 1839. Notice of—By W. Abeken, B. xi. 136.
- Asia Minor*. See *Æzani*, *Aspendus*, *Assos*, *Halicarnassus*, *Lycia*, *Lydia*, *Miletus*, *Niobe*, *Pessinuntum*, *Synnada*, *Tavium*, *Texier*, *Thyatira*, *Troy*, *Xanthus*.
- Arrena. Statua in un torrione nel Golfo di— nella Carramania. A. G. GIULIANICH, B. xiii. 127
- Aspendus*. Teatro di— CHARLES TEXIER, B. vii. 64
- Assisi*. Scavi del Tempio di Minerva. Conte SEVERINO SERVANZI-COLLIO, B. xi. 145; xiv. 5.
- Assos*. Bas-reliefs d'— I. DE WITTE, A. xiii. 317
- Athens*. See *Curtius*; *Sepulchral*.
- Fouilles d'— . . K. S. PITTAKYS, B. v. 89. ALFRED REUMONT, 137
- Attiques. A. RIZO-RANGABÉ, A. xxi. 161
- Scavi. Cav. PROKESCH, B. x. 75. E. CURTIUS, xi. 75
- Parthenon. See *Bröndsted*.
- Scavi. E. CURTIUS, B. xii. 65
- Rapport sur ce que reste encore du—. P. G. FORCHHAMMER, B. v. 139
- Description of the Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum. . . . Notice of—By Jas. Millingen, A. iv. 197
- On the Statue of Minerva. *Corrections on Plin. II. N. xxxv. 4.* THEODORE PANOFKA, A. ii. 108
- De Zophoro Parthenonis . . C. O. MÜLLER, A. i. 221, ii. 326
- Su' clipei dell' Architrave della Facciata principale del—. Prof. PAPPADAPPOULOS, B. xxi. 146

- Athens. Parthenon.* Frammenti di Maschera della Testa di Minerva creduta appartenere al Frontone Occidentale del— DR. EMIL BRAUN, B. xxi. 170
 ——— Inscrizione continente un Catalogo de' Tesori del— B. vii. 61
 ——— *Propylæa.* See *Polychromy.*
 ——— Scavi E. CURTIUS, B. xii. 68
 ——— Scoperta del Ingresso ai Propilei . . E. CURTIUS, B. xii. 135
 ——— *Tempio di Nike-Apteros.* Scavi WIL. KRAMER, B. vii. 113
 ——— L'addunanza de' Numi che accolgono Pallade. E. GERHARD, A. xiii. 61
 ——— Bassirilievi *tab. e.*
 ——— Le Temple de—, restauré par R. Kousmin, et décrit par Vincent Ballanti, fol. Rom. 1837. *Notice of—* By L. Canina, B. ix. 218
 ——— *Erechtheum.* Scala del— Dr. L. USSING, B. xviii. 178
 ——— Titulus ad ædem Minervæ Poliadis pertinens. LUDOLPHUS STEPHANI, A. xv. 286
 ——— Polychromia del— B. xiii. 171
 ——— *Theseum.* Spiegazione de' Monumenti sul Pronaos del—. H. N. ULRICH, A. xiii. 74
 ——— *Walls of.* Inscrizione riguardando il rinnovamento delle Mure di Atene, del Pirèo, e delle Mure Lunghe . . J. FRANZ, B. vii. 49
 ——— *and Port.* οἱ λιμένες καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὸ ENP. ΟΥΔΕΡΙΧΟΝ, Δ. Φ. 8vo. Athens, 1843.
Notice of— By Dr. W. Henzen, B. xvi. 76.
 ——— *Theatre of Herodes Atticus.* Fouilles dans le —. A. RIZO-RANGABÉ, A. xxi. 161
 Plans du Théâtre. *tab. f. g.*
 ——— *Thermæ.* Scavi dietro il Palazzo. Terme pubbliche con musaici. Dr. L. USSING, B. xviii. 178
 ——— *Lycée (?)*. Fouilles du— A. RIZO-RANGABÉ, xxii. 116, 131
 ——— Fouilles d'une ancienne Eglise sur l'Ilissus. A. RIZO-RANGABÉ, B. xxii. 164
 ——— Sur quelques Colonnes Votives . . THEODORE PANOFKA, B. xviii. 109
 ——— Rendiconto de' Tessorieri di Atene B. vii. 60
Aurunca. Avanzi del antico— WIL. ABEKEN, A. xi. 199
Austria. Alterthümer in der Oesterreichischen Monarchie . . *Notice of,* B. v. 36
Autun. Mosaïque d'— M. T. P. B. vi. 171
Avellino (F. M.). Opuscoli diversi di—. 8vo. Nap. 1833 . *Notice of,* B. vi. 58
Baalbec. Notizie intorno il Tempio del Sole in—. GIUSEPPE RUSSEGGER, B. ix. 94
Balearic Islands. See *Majorca.*
Basilicata. Saggio sugli antichi avanzi della—. ANDREA LOMBARDI, B. ii. 17
Bassæ. See *Stackelberg.*
Belgium. See *Ettelbreck, Tongres.*
Bologna. Capitello quadrato d'un Tempio presso—GIROLAMO BIANCONI, B. iv. 108
Bolsenna. Scoperta d'una antica Camera dipinta . . STEFANO CAMILLI, B. x. 6
Bomazzo. Sepolcri E. G. B. iii. 85; S. CAMILLI, A. iv. 284, M. i. 42
Bonucci (Carlo). Grande Mosaïque de Pompei, 8vo. Nap. 1833. *Notice of,* B. vi. 59
Bosco-tre-cose (near Pompeii). Scavi. Conte di LEBZELTERN, B. iv. 12

- Boville* (near Rome). Avanzi di vasto Edificio, (Basilica?) VINCENZO COLONNA, B. x. 112
- Bründsted.* Voyages et Recherches dans la Grèce *Notice of—*By *Ch. Lenormant*, A. ii. 285, 363
- Brescia.* Vestigie Romane . . LISANDRO KAFTANGIOGLU, A. xi. 181, *tav. c.*
- Cere.* Osservazioni intorno alle *Tombe* Etrusche di— . . . A. vii. 177
- Carta topografica M. ii. 19 } L. POLETTI
- Piante e spaccati di diverse Tombe . . . M. vi. 19 }
- Scavi. L. ULRICH, B. xi. 65. W. KRAMER, 97. OTTO JAHN, xi. 17. GEO. DENNIS, xix. 54. L. CANINA xix. 97
- Descrizione di— antica, ed in particolare del Sepolcro scoperto nel 1836. L. Canina. 4to. Rom. 1838 . *Notice of—*By *E. Braun*, B. x. 169
- Sepolcro d'un stilo egizio M. T. P. B. vii. 125
- Scoperta d'un ricco Sepolcro Etrusco . . . Dr. E. BRAUN, B. viii. 56
- Breve notizie sui Sepolcri recentemente scoperti L. CANINA, B. xvii. 224
- *Musaico* B. xv. 74
- Vestigie di un *Teatro* L. CANINA, B. xviii. 129
- Canino.* Scavi EDWARD GERHARD, B. i. 49
- Canosa.* Scavi CARLO BONUCCI, B. vi. 165
- Sepolcro a— LOMBARDI, A. iv. 285. M. i. 43
- Capua.* Anfiteatro Campana Principe di SANGIORGIO, B. ii. 182
- Carminello* (ant. Teglano?). Near Pompeii— Antiche Abitazioni e dipinture. W. ZAHN, B. ix. 46
- Carthage.* Scoperte presso— Sir THOMAS REID, B. ix. 47
- Scavi d'una bella *casa* sul gusto di Pompei B. x. 76
- *Musaico* della Maschera colossale d'un Tritone B. xxi. 153
- Caryatides.* De caussa nominis Caryatidum . . Prof. L. PRELLER, A. xv. 396
- Carystos*, a monte Ocha. See *Ocha*. Antico Santuario, F. WELCKER, B. xiv. 169
- Castel d'Asso.* Sepolcri. F. ORIOLI, A. v. 18. M. i. 60
- Vallée de— M. i. 60; Détails Architectoniques, M. i. 43.
- Catania.* Scavi G. CAN. ALESSI, B. v. 1
- Pitture antiche di una Camera in— MALER, A. ix. 60
- Cefalú.* Avanzi di— Rev. Dr. G. F. NOTT, A. iii. 270. M. i. 28, 29
- Cetona.* Scavo d'una grandissima Fabbrica F. SOZZI, B. xv. 153
- Chiusi.* *Scavi.* B. i. 70. Cav. ANTONIO MAZZETTI, ii. 62; vi. 230. ED. GERHARD, iv. 195. Capt. FEDERICO SOZZI, iii. 99; iv. 52; ix. 197. P. G. FORCHHAMMER, iv. 37. BUNSEN, viii. 29.
- Sur les Fouilles de— BUNSEN, viii. 33
- *Sepolcro* della Mensa Vescovile Capt. F. SOZZI, B. xii. 2
- Ipogeo di Poggio Gajella WIL. ABEKEN, A. xiii. 30
- Prof. ANSELM FEURBACH, B. xiii. 6; xiv. 102
- Le *Pitture* antiche di— (See *Fresco*). Rapporto del Consigliere KESTNER intorno le Pitture scoperte nel 1827 A. i. 116
- Antiche Pitture nei Sepolcri di— . . FRANCESCO INGHIRAMI, A. vii. 19
- Tomba dipinta scoperta da A. François nel 1846. E. BRAUN, A. xxii. 251
- Avanzi di Pitture in una tomba all' ouest di— . E. BRAUN, A. xxii. 280
- Rapporto su' Monumenti Chiusini E. BRAUN, B. xii. 145
- Circus.* (See *Gymnastic*). Intorno alla tensa de' Ludi Circensi. C. CAVEDONI, B. xi. 12; E. BRAUN, A. xi. 238, *tav. n. o.*

- Cividale*, nel Friule. (Foro Giulio). Scavi. Canonico Conte MICHELE DELLA.
TORRE VALSAPINA, A. vii. 213.
- Civita Vecchia*. Scavi di Terme a S. Marinelli, 7m. da— Duchessa di SERMONELLA,
B. x. i.; xii. 113; W. ABEKEN, xi. 85; GEO. DENNIS, xix. 52
——— Tombe a Monteroni, presso—. . . WIL. ABEKEN, B. xi. 81.
- Colonnes Votives*, surmontées d'animaux Votifs. Prof. LUDWIG ROSS, A. xiii. 25;
TH. PANOFKA, B. xix. 109
- Corfu*. Musaico di Corcira W. HENZEN, B. xxi. 87
- Corneto*. See *Tarquini*.
- Coron*. Della città messenica di Corone, e di Scultura ivi trovate. E. CURTIUS,
B. xiii. 43
- Cortona*. Grotta di Pittagora. W. ABEKEN, A. xiii. 30; Can. PASQUINI, B. vi. 197
——— Scavi del Sig. François B. xv. 49
- Crimea*. See *Kertsch*.
- Cross*. De la Croix ansée Egyptienne, imitée par les Chrétiens. LETRONNE, A.
xv. 115
——— L'origine et la signification de la Croix ansée. FELIX LAJARD, A. xvii. 13
- Cuma*. Scoperta di tre Statue in un antico Tempio a— CARLO BONUCCI, B. xi. 17
——— Scavo d'un Tempio e d'un bel Sepolcro Romani. H. W. SCHULZ, B. xiv. 6
- Curtius*. Die Akropolis von Athen. 8vo. Berlin, 1844. Notice of, B. xvii. 5
- Cyclopean Remains* Lettres de M. PETIT RADEL, A. i. 345; vi. 350
——— Walls GERHARD, GELL, DODWELL, A. iii. 408
——— Atina, Bovianum, Luco, Via Salaria, Saturnia, and Norba, A. iii. tav. e.
——— Rusellæ, Cora, Isernia, Via Valeria A. iii. tav. f.
——— Terracina A. iii. tav. g. h.
- Cypress*. Du Cypres pyramidale, considérée comme symbole ou attribut des Dieux
en Orient et en Occident. FELIX LAJARD, A. xix. 36, tav. b. c. d. e. M. iv. 38
——— Culto del Cipresso C. CAVEDONI, B. xx. 169
- Delos*. Fouilles de l'Isle de— B. ii. 9
——— Reliquie dell' Altare corneo di Apolline in— . . Prof. OSANN, B. ix. 44
- Delphi*. Tombeaux de— T. L. DONALDSON, A. vii. 186, tav. f.
——— Monumens de— I. DE WITTE, A. xiii. 5
——— Plan de l'Isle ULRICH, A. xiii. tav. a.
- Dilettanti Soc.* Les Antiquités Inédits de l'Attique, traduit par M. Hittorff.
Notice of—By Ch. Lenormant, A. iv. 245
- Doorways*. Recherche sugli architettonici ritagli della porta del Tempio d'Iside a
Pompei. F. M. AVELLINO, B. x. 59
- Eboli* (ant. Eburni, Mag. Græc.) Scavi. GIROLAMO MATTA, ed A. ROMANO,
A. iv. 295
——— Antico Castello e Mura Ciclopee . . MATTA e ROMANO, B. viii. 102, 166
——— Ponte antico. MATTA e ROMANO, B. vi. 166
- Egypt*. See *Luxor*, *Rossellini*, *Thebes*.
——— Researches. BUNSEN, B. i. 97. Sir WILLIAM GELL, i. 100
——— Sur l'état actuel de nos Connaissances d'— A. vi. 87
——— Sopra i popoli stranieri introdotti nelle rappresentazioni storiche dei monu-
menti egiziana Col. WIL. MURE, A. viii. 333
——— Sur l'Ordre des Colonnes Piliers en Egypte. R. LEPSIUS A. ix. 65, tav. f.
M. ii. 45

- Egypt.* Brevi cenni sull' Archit. Egiziana, ed in particolare sui varj generi delle colonne. D. JEFIMOFF, fol. Rom. 1838. *Notice of—* By L. C. B. x. 95
- *Pyramids.* Recherche sull' epoca, e sugli Autori delle Piramidi di Djizèh. BUNSEN, B. xi. 34
- Découverte de trois nouvelles chambres dans la grande Pyramide Capt. HOWARD VYSE, B. ix. 121
- *Obelisks.* Interpretatio Obeliscorum Urbis (Romæ), per Aloysium M. Ungarellium, fol. R. 1842 . . . *Notice of—* By A. M. Migliarini, A. xiv. 161
- Elæus* (Ville de l'Argolide). Topographie d' — . . . Prof. L. ROSS, A. viii. 5
- Equicoli.* Ultime scoperte del Sig. Dodwell. . . . Sir W. GELL, B. iii. 43
- Etruria, &c.* See *Alba, Basilicata, Bolsenna, Bomarzo, Cære, Canino, Castel d'Asso, Cetona, Chiusi, Cividale, Corneto, Cortona, Fiesole, Luni, Equicoli, (Lydia,) Nola, Norba, Norchia, Orvieto, Perugia, Ponte della Badia, Populonia, Ruvo, Sabina, Sentino, Signia, Socana, Tarquinii, Toscanella, Vespasia, Vetulonia, Volterra, Vulcia.*
- Restes des plus anciennes Villes de l'Italie Centrale. BUNSEN, A. vi. 35
- Scavi. E. GERHARD, B. i. 1
- Scoperte. GEORGE DENNIS, B. xvi. 91; xviii. 51, 92, 99
- Ettelbruck* (Belgium). Edificio antico. M. T. P., B. vi. 17
- Falerone* (Falerii). B. i. 57, 71
- *Theatre.* Notizie sullo scoprimento di un bel teatro in— AVV. DE MINICIS, B. viii. 131; A. xi. 5; Pianta e spaccato del Teatro, M. iii. 1; Scultura del Teatro, M. iii. 2.
- Fano.* Recherche ed Osservazioni sulla Porta di— . W. B. CLARKE, A. xiii. 116
- Fascinus.* See *Mal'occhio* B. xiii. 125
- Ferento.* Sull' antica Città di— L. CANINA, A. ix. 62
- Teatro di— Pianta del— . . LISANDRO KAFTANGIOGLU, A. xi. *tav. f.*
- Fermo.* (See *Falerone*). *Piscina Epuratoria* in— ACHILLE GENNARELLI, B. xi. 86; AVV. GAETANO DE MINICIS, A. xviii. 46; C. CAVEDONI, B. xix. 75; *Pianta*, M. iv. 25; *Spaccato*, M. iv. 26
- Fiesole.* Sul Fonte Etrusca nuovamente scoperta in— FRANCESCO INGHIRAMI, A. vii. 8; LEOPOLDO PASQUI, x. *tav. b.*
- Florence.* Catalogo di una parte dei Disegni Architectonici che si trovano inediti nella Galleria degli Uffizi a Firenze. . LISANDRO KAFTANGIOGLU, A. xi. 192
- France.* See *Arles, Autun, Lillebonne, Lisles, Margeaux, Morveau, Nerac, Nismes, Orbe, Orleans, Soissons, Toulouse.*
- Fresco.* See *Bolsema, Catania, Etruria, Pompeii.*
- *Painting.* Cenni sull' affinità e la differenza tra la Pittura parietaria e la Ceramografia E. BRAUN, B. xviii. 179
- Pitture parietarie de Clusium E. BRAUN, B. xiii. 1
- Fucinus, Lacus.* Claudian Emissary. Le Lac Fucine et l'Emissaire de Claude. BUNSEN, A. vi. 24, *tav. a. b.*
- Scoperte. MASSARI, B. ii. 87; AVV. CARLO FEA, 86, 113
- Progetto della restaurazione dell' Emissario di Claudio del Commend. Carlo Alfón. de Rivera. 8vo. Nap. 1836 . . *Notice of—* By L. C. B. x. 94
- Gabii.* Antichi tempj di— WILLHELM ABEKEN, A. xii. 23, *tav. d.*
- Gerasa.* Ruines de— Comte J. DE BERTOU, B. ix. 164.
- Germany.* See *Gundershoffen and Heidenberg, Salzburg, Snabia, Trieste.*
- Giannuttre, Isle* (ant. Dianium). Avanzi d'un Palazzo B. vi. 192
- Giugliano.* Scavi B. i. 86

- Glass.* Ueber die anfertigung und die Matzanwendung der farbigen Gläser bei den Alten, von E. C. di Minutoli, fol. Berlin, 1836. *Notice of*—By E. B. B. x. 29
- Gortyna.* (Crete.) Bas-relief de— . . PH. LE BAS, A. xvii. 234; M. iv. 22
- Gozzo.* See *Malta*.
- Greece.* See *Ægina, Argos, Athens, Bassæ, Bröndsted, Coron, Delphi, Dilettanti, Elæus, Locri, Morea, Olympia, Pallantion, Peanie, Phigalia, Sellacia, Sieyon, Sparta, Stackelberg, Sunium, Xerocampo*.
- Viaggio nella Grecia . . . Lettera del WILLIAM MURE, A. x. 127
- Remarks on the Topography of Oropia and Diacria, with a Map. G. Finlay, Svo. Ath. 1838 . . . *Notice of*, B. xi. 93
- Viaggio da Tebe a Chalkis ed Antheodon . H. N. ULRICHS, A. xviii. 5
- Greek Architecture.* Construction. Wooden dowels.—See *Sunium*.
- Brevi cenni sulla dissertazione esegetica degli Accademici Ercolanensi sull' origine e sistema della Sacra Architectura presso i Greci. fol. Nap. 1831. . . *Notice of*—By L. Canina, B. iv. 118
- Sur les Monumens figurés existant actuellement en Grèce. EDWARD GERHARD, A. ix. 103; Statues, 106; Bas-reliefs, 112; Terres-cuites, 132; Vases peints, 134; Bronzes et Scarabées, 141
- Gundershoffer.* Fouilles de— . . L. SCHNOERINGER, B. vi. 40.
- Gymnastic Games.* Osservazioni intorno ai Giuochi Ginnici rappresentati sue Amfore Panatenaiche. W. AMBROSCH, A. v. 64; Corsa a piede, 66; Corsa de' cocchi, 71; Corsa a cavallo, 75; Della lotta, 76; Del Pancrazio, 83; Del Pentatlo, 84.
- Halicarnassus Mausoleum.* Bassirilievi nel Palazzo del Marchese di Negro di Genova . . Dr. EMIL BRAUN, A. xxi. 74; xxii. 285; M. v. 1, 2, 3
- Bassirilievi in Londra. Dr. EMIL BRAUN, B. xxi. 142; A. xxii. 285; M. v. 18, 21
- Torso di Donna proveniente da— . . B. xxi. 150
- Sur le Jupiter Pluteus d'— . THEODORE PANOFKA, B. iv. 171
- Harbours.* See *Pyrgi, Terracina*.
- Intorno al miglior sistema di Costruzione de' Porti: Giuliano de Fazio, 4to. Nap. 1828. . . *Notice of*—By L. Canina. B. v. 28
- Heidenberg* (near Wiesbaden). Scavo d'un Castello Romano . . B. xii. 165
- Herculaneum.* Scavi . CARLO BONUCCI, B. i. 65. 96; iii. 22, 27, 42; vi. 148
- Albergo pubblico . . . B. vii. 129
- Papiri Ercolanensi . . . B. ii. 111
- Hungary.* Antichità Romane— . . ZIPSER DI NEUSOHL, B. vii. 136
- Hypæthros.* See *Temple* . . . B. xiii. 169
- Irpini.* Sulla Topografia degli— . . TH. MOMMSEN, B. xix. 161; xx. 4
- Inviolatella*, (6 m. della Porta Flaminia a Roma). Scavi. . . L. C. B. vi. 104
- Ipsambul.* Inscrizione d'— . . Sir WILLIAM GELL, B. v. 131
- Italica* (Spain). Scavi . . . LUIS DE USOZ Y RIO, B. xi. 4
- Italy.* See *Amelia, Apuleia, Arezzo, Assisi, Aurunca, Bologna, Brescia, Capua, Civita Vecchia, Cuma, Etruria, Fano, Ferento, Fermo, Florence, Fucinus, Metapontum, Milan, Modena, Naples, Ostia, Pæstum, Parma, Piacenza, Pisa, Pyrgi, Rome, Terracina, Todi, Velleia, Venosa, Verona, Vicenza, Viterbo, Volaterrana*.

- Morea.* Expédition Scientifique de—. Architecture. *Notice of*—By Ch. Lenormant, A. iv. 178
- Morvau* (Départ. de la Nièvre). Fouilles d'une ancienne Villa. J. DE WITTE, B. xiv. 113
- Mosaic.* See *Albano, Autun, Bonucci, Carthage, Care, Corfu, Marino, Orbe, Piacenza, Pontenure, Populonia, Rome, Salzburg, Sentino, Terracina, Tivoli, Toulouse.*
- Musaico.* Marefaschi. Dr. EMIL BRAUN, A. xx. 198
 ——— Con ritratti di cettè sapienti della Grecia, trovato in Prussia. LERSCH, B. xix. 89
- Nahr-el-Kelb.* Monumento di Sesostris, presso Beirout. BUNSEN, B. vi. 30, vii. 20; F. LAYARD, vi. 151, vii. 23, ix. 135; Sir WIL. GELL, vi. 155; Capt. COLLIER, vii. 25; R. LEPSIUS, ix. 134, A. x. 12, M. ii. 51; HENRI GUYS, B. ix. 138: Rev. Padre M. RYLLO, ix. 145, x. 154; Comte J. DE BERTOU, ix. 147.
- Naples.* See *Canosa, Eboli, Pausilypo, Pompeii.*
 ——— Casa antica di due Piane disotterata. C. BONUCCI, B. i. 69; F. M. AVELLINO, B. ii. 161
 ——— Museum. Guide pour la Gallerie des Peintures Anciennes, par le Chanoine De Jorio. 8vo. Nap. 1830 . *Notice of*—By E. G. B. iii. 203
- Nerac* (France). Fouilles de— L. VITET, A. v. 327
- Nettuno* (near Rome). Antichi Ruderì presso— CARLO FEA, B. iii. 145; L. C. vi. 106
- Niobe.* La strage dei Niobidi E. BRAUN, B. xx. 68, 87
 ——— Figura di—, sul monte Sipilo. B. xv. 64, 65; Padre SECCHI, B. xv. 65
 ——— Groupe de la Famille de— trouvée à Soissons. CH. LENORMANT, B. iv. 145; J. DE BREUVERY, v. 105
- Nismes.* Fouilles faites au-devant du Temple de Diane. AUGUSTE PELET, A. vii. 195. Plan des Fouilles, *tav. g.*
- Nola.* Fouilles de— THEODORE PANOFKA, B. i. 18
- Norba.* Porte e Pianta di— ED. GERHARD, A. i. 60; M. i. 1, 2
- Norchia.* Notizie preliminari, F. ORIOLI, A. v. 18; Nekropolis, 27; Sui due principali Fasciate, o Frontoni, 52.
 ——— Tombeaux de— ALBERT LENOIR, A. iv. 289; M. i. 48
 ——— Osservazioni sui Monumenti di—. Dr. ULRICHs, B. xi. 43; E. G. iii. 83, 89
- Obelisks.* See *Rome, Luxor.*
 ——— Sugli Obelischi di Roma. L. M. UNGARELLI, B. vi. 159
- Ocha.* See *Carystos.* Tempio di Giunone sul Monte—, vicino a Carystos. Prof. H. N. ULRICHs, A. xiv. 5; M. iii. 37
- Olevano* (Dintorni di Roma). Antiche Mure e Monumenti. WIL. ABEKEN, B. xiii. 49
- Olympia.* Sculptures d'—. CH. LENORMANT, B. iv. 17; A. BLOUET, A. iv. 212
 ——— Bassirilievi di— CH. BUNSEN, B. iv. 28
 ——— La Nascita di Venere sulla base del Giove Fidiaco. H. BRUNN, B. xxi. 74

- Oplonte* (near Pompeii). Case Antiche. CARLO BONUCCI, B. vi. 145
- Ornaments*. Sepulchral—. Osservazioni sopra alcuni Ornamenti rappresentati di preferenza dagli antichi sui Monumenti Funebri, e particolarmente nell' adornare il bel Sarcofago di Bomarzo. A. M. MIGLIARINI, A. xv. 367, *tav. m. n. o.*; B. xvii. 203; C. CAVEDONI, B. xvii. 32; E. GERHARD, B. xvii. 204.
- Orbe* (Canton de Vaud). Musaici. Baron de BONSTETTEN, B. xix. 52
- Orleans*. Fouilles de—. C. F. VERGNAUD ROMAGNESI, B. vi. 167
- Orvieto*. Antichità di—. C. BUNSEN, B. v. 93
- Sepolcri LODOVICO GUALTERIO, B. iii. 33; iv. 216
- Ostia*. Scavi PIETRO CAMPANA, B. vi. 120
- Pæstum*. Scavo d'una lunga colonnata C. BONUCCI, B. i. 68; vi. 50
- Scavi del Foro C. BONUCCI, B. vi. 50
- Intorno un quarto Tempio di—. Cav. PIETRO BIANCHI, B. ii. 226
- Tempio Romano di—. EMIL WOLFF, B. ii. 135
- Palermo*. Sepolcri di recente scoperti in— Duca di SERRADIFALCO, B. vi. 209
- Palladio*. Drawings by— in the Basilica at Verona L. K., A. xi. 185
- Pallantium*—et le Temple d'Athens Soteira L. ROSS, A. viii. 10
- Pandosia*. Recherches sur la ville de—. Duc de LUYNES, A. v. 5; M. i. 49
- Parasites* B. xiv. 11
- Parma*. Ruine di Antico Edificio MICHELE LOPEZ, B. xiv. 148
- Scavo del Teatro Antico B. xvi. 168
- Lettere intorno alle rovine di un Antico Teatro scoperto in—, M. Lopez, 8vo. Paris, 1844 Notice of—By E. B. B. xvii. 54
- Pausilypo*. Villa di Lucullo. Scavo pel Cav. Gugl. Becchi. EMIL WOLFF, B. x. 132; H. W. SCHULZE, xiii. 159
- Grotta di—, disotterata H. W. SCHULZE, B. xiii. 147
- Péanie* (dans l'Attique). Sur le Démos de—. L. ROSS, A. ix. 5
- Pericles*. Busto di—, della Villa Albani E. BRAUN, B. xxi. 97
- Perugia*. Antica Fabbrica detta Tempio di S. Manno F. SPERONI, B. vi. 191
- Sepolcro dei Volunni, scoperto nel Feb. del 1840. Gio. Bat. Vermiglioli, 4to, Perug. 1840 Notice of—By A. Genarelli, B. xiii. 12
- Sepolcro dei Volunni. SERVANZI-COLLIO e Prof. FEURBACH, B. xii. 116
- Sepolcri SERVANZI-COLLIO, B. xv. 17
- Pessinuntum*. Découverte de—, par M. Ch. Texier B. vi. 240
- Phigalia*. Intorno un Colosso di Apolline, trasportato di Figalia in Megalopoli, B. xviii. 109
- Piacenza*. Musaici di Pontenure presso—. M. LOPEZ, B. v. 158
- Pisa*. Bassorilievo Greco in Campo Santo IPPOLITO ROSELLINI, A. vi. 236
- Sulla Necropoli di—, antica A. FRANÇOIS, B. xxi. 22
- Pittura Antica*. Alfeo che raggiunge Aretusa. Pittura trovata a S. Martino ai Monti. E. BRAUN, A. xi. 229; M. iii. 9
- Polychromy*. See *Athens* (Erechtheum and Propylæa); *Tarquinii*.
- Système d'Architecture Polychrôme, fondée sur les Vestiges du Temple de Concorde à Agrigentum V. BALTARD, B. ix. 49
- Disotteramento dei propilei in Atene. L. ROSS, B. ix. 45

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XXV.

ON THE BUILDING ACT OF THE EMPEROR ZENO:
BEING THE POLICE REGULATION OR LAW OF THE EMPEROR ZENO,
ON THE CONSTRUCTION AND DISPOSITION OF PRIVATE
HOUSES IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

By H. E. DIRKSEN.

Read at the Academy of Sciences, (Berlin,) on the 8th February, 1844.*

Translated by

W. R. HAMILTON, Esq., F.R.S.

TO WHICH IS ADDED, BY THE SAME, A TRANSLATION OF SEVERAL IMPERIAL LAWS
RELATING TO THAT SUBJECT, AND ENACTED DURING THE THIRD AND
THREE FOLLOWING CENTURIES OF OUR ÆRA.

ONE of the most remarkable documents in the collection of Justinian's Constitutions is an ordinance of the Emperor Zeno,† originally promulgated in the Greek language, and containing regulations respecting the building of private houses. This ordinance not only treats generally and largely on the relative elevations and distances of contiguous private buildings in Constantinople, but also on the liberty allowed, in case of a friendly understanding amongst individuals having a common interest therein, to arrange the exterior architectural plan of their residences according to their own convenience. At the same

* *Das Polizei-Gesetz des Kaisers Zeno, über die bauliche Anlage der Privathäuser in Constantinopel*, von HRN. H. E. DIRKSEN, (abhandlungen der Königl. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1844, p. 81).

† Zeno reigned from A.D. 474 to A.D. 491. Justinian reigned from A.D. 527 to A.D. 565.

time, there is scarcely any other existing monument of the Roman constitutional law, of which it can be said, on such good grounds, that the decree of the legislator, though known to exist, was so little appreciated in respect to its real character, its purport, or its contents. Some few preliminary observations may be acceptable on the cause of this remarkable circumstance.

The codex of Justinian contains, in separate and distinct sections, the laws which relate to private buildings,¹ and those which were enacted to regulate public works.² And although, amongst the documents which still exist of the collection of the Constitutions of Theodosius,* we have that section only which treats of the last-mentioned division, namely, the public works,³ it can scarcely admit of a doubt that a section relating to the law of private houses did also exist in the Constitutions of Theodosius, and that it served as a model for the system compiled under Justinian. The collection of the laws of Burgundy, for Roman citizens, cites indeed, a special title of this description, though not with perfect official accuracy, from the codex of the Constitutions of Theodosius:⁴ and we find in the corresponding title of Justinian's collection several laws of Constantine and his successors, the greater part of which appear to have been formed out of this supposed lost section of the Theodosian codex ;⁵ though we may fairly conclude, from the corresponding section of the Constitutions of Justinian, that the Theodosian codex did not contain any very comprehensive enactments on the subject of domestic architecture; for such of the regulations as are contained in the Constitutions of Justinian, corresponding in order of time with those in the Theodosian codex, simply relate to some insulated and unimportant objects of municipal building law. On the other hand, at the conclusion of this same title relating to private buildings, we find a law, subsequent to the reign of Theodosius, which, notwithstanding its originally merely local application, is par-

* Theodosius reigned from A.D. 379 to A.D. 395.

ticularly worthy of attention as a building police regulation, or building act as it may be called, remarkable for the important information which it gives us, and for the distinctness with which its details are carried out;—this is the ordinance of the Emperor Zeno, which is described as an Instruction to the prefect of the City of Constantinople;⁶ and which, as a municipal or civil law of a place inhabited by Greeks, is drawn up in the Greek tongue.⁷ Justinian himself declares this ordinance to be the most important and comprehensive of all the regulations on the subject, and he made it a common and general law of the empire.⁸ Consequently, in this redaction of the codex of the Constitutions, the corresponding ordinance of the Emperor Leo I.,* as well as an earlier law of the Emperor Zeno on the same subject, were effectually superseded, as mere essays on the subject, and comparatively useless and insignificant, although the law of Zeno, of which we are now speaking, expressly refers to them as precedents.⁹ And whilst Justinian thought it expedient to enact, by a special law,¹⁰ that this later regulation of the Emperor Zeno should become, from a simple civic decree, an universal law of the empire, he was not induced to add anything to it. However, some years after, to prevent misunderstandings and evasions, he did make another special law on the subject, but merely as a supplement or appendix to that of Zeno.¹¹

In the collection of Justinian's Constitutions, this building law of Zeno was preserved in its original Greek text, whilst the copies of the collection made in the Western Empire omitted altogether the Greek text, without substituting anything in its place; and when the Latin version was annexed to the Greek text, the contents of Zeno's ordinance were merely referred to, and the document itself was necessarily lost sight of, and was only recovered by a series of circumstances, which are not without their importance in estimating the value and

* Leo I. reigned from 457 to 474.

genuineness of the existing text. A short description of these circumstances, though they have already been sufficiently explained by other commentators,¹² will not be out of place here.

The complete original text of Zeno's law was first brought to light in manuscripts of the Greek *Novellæ* of Justinian:¹³ it was given to the public in connection with them,¹⁴ and it thus gradually passed into the several editions of the codex of Justinian's Constitutions. In the collections of Roman laws subsequent to those of Justinian, we meet with the same text in a great variety of forms.¹⁵ In the Bodleian Manuscript of a collection, composed of various fragments of laws, relating to profane as well as to ecclesiastical subjects, subsequent to Justinian, this text is given quite perfect, at least for the first half, reaching to the conclusion of sec. 5.¹⁶ The other known collections give only extracts of this text, from first, second, or even third-hand authorities, as it may happen. Of the former class of authorities are the *Prochiron*, and the *Synopsis of the Basilica*, of the Emperors Basil I., Leo VI., and Constantine VII.,¹⁷ (867-959), from which last the portion of the original text, which is imperfect in this section, is completed in the editions of the *Basilica*.¹⁸ The publications of Constantine Harmenopolus¹⁹ upon this subject must be referred to the other class of authorities. These last are said to be memoranda, or notes, compiled by an architect of Ascalon, of the name of Julianus, from the edicts of the prefects.²⁰ The contents are a medley of the most varied description; for they not only treat of the local rights or laws of single individual districts,²¹ but references are also made in them at one and the same time to the *Responsa* of Papinian, and to the laws of Zeno;²² at times, also, expressions of the classic writers on the science of building seem to have been present to the memory of the architect-compiler.²³

We can no longer say, with certainty, to what extent the original text of the *Basilica* contained the whole of Zeno's law; but we may presume that the compilers of the *Basilica* must

have especially had in view that part of the law (sec. 6, c. xii. 1) which referred to the public piazzas or squares of Constantinople, without regard to the rest of the law, or to the next following section, which treated of the public buildings; for in the Synopsis²⁴ of the Basilica we actually find the same separation of subjects; and this explains the remarkable circumstance, that the insertion of the complete text of Zeno's ordinance in the Bodleian MS. is only continued to the close of the fifth section.²⁵

On the other hand, we have no reason to doubt the fact, that the compilers of the collection of the Constitutions of Justinian admitted into the section on private buildings the text of Zeno's ordinance in as perfect and as connected a state, as that in which it was originally published from the manuscripts of Justinian's Novellæ, and as it was afterwards, for the more complete restoration of that law, transferred to the editions of the codex of Constitutions. It has recently been supposed by a learned writer,²⁶ well versed in this branch of documentary knowledge, that the whole contents of Zeno's ordinance as they appear in the *Constitutio Restituta* of this emperor, and as they must, in all probability, have been preserved in the collections of prefects' edicts, can scarcely have been admitted into the collection of Justinian's Constitutions; as the compilers of these last would naturally have thought that a mere extract of its most important principles would be fitter for their purpose. This view of the matter, though its consequences are not quite free from contradictions,²⁷ has, nevertheless, received the approbation of some high authorities.²⁸ But the argument adduced in support of it is more specious than demonstrative. It is assumed that Justinian's compilers could not have considered themselves justified in collecting, besides his own laws, those also of his predecessors without abridgment, when they saw that this abridgment was, in fact, quite as detailed as the full ordinance of Zeno itself; nor is the other plea thought to be without due importance, namely, that Zeno's law could scarcely have been admitted into the copies of the collection of the Greek text of Justinian's

Novellæ, if such law was already given at full length in the codex of the Constitutions. In this course of argument it has, however, been entirely overlooked that Justinian did, by an express law,²⁹ appropriate to himself the ordinance of Zeno, when he gave to what was before a mere local regulation the higher character of a general law of the empire. In this fact, we see the implied instruction to the compilers of the codex of his constitutions, to distinguish Zeno's ordinance from all similar ordinances of Justinian's predecessors, by the full and entire admission of it into the collection. In his Novellæ, also,³⁰ Justinian again refers to this same municipal building-law of Zeno, and he makes one insulated point of it the object of a declaratory enactment. Seeing, then, that this declaration of Zeno's ordinance is mentioned with distinction in the edicts of the prætors,³¹ as well as in the extracts from the text of Justinian's Novellæ,³² it was natural enough for the collectors and copyists of the *Greek* text of the Novellæ also to admit the whole of Zeno's law in its Greek version, although it was also to be found in the codex of Justinian's Constitutions. It may at least be stated with great probability, that the text of this law would have been preserved in a much more perfect state in the edicts of the prætors, than in the collections of Justinian. The remains of the eparchica of this period prove, without exception, the endeavours which were made to give merely a compendium of the many and varied contents of a legal document of the nature of Zeno's ordinance; not, indeed, to do even this continuously, but in detached parts, according to the subjects, and arranged under separate heads or rubrics; nor, indeed, are the extracts strictly confined to the original contents of the document, but mixed up with additions from a later system of legislation.³³

The foregoing explanations on the position held by Zeno's building ordinance in the body of laws compiled by Justinian, as well as on the manner in which it has been transposed from its original text, may account for the remarkable appear-

ances which the treatment of the text presents to us on the part of the commentators on the Roman laws. We need only here refer to one important point in Justinian's enactments.³⁴ That emperor laid it down in express terms,³⁵ that every doubt, (whether Zeno's law was valid outside also of Constantinople, and was to be preferred to the older and nearly obsolete law on the same subject,) should at once be set aside, and that it should be considered as of universal obligation. It is only in the later declaratory regulation³⁶ that it is mentioned by way of note or supplement, that the distinct enactment of Zeno's ordinance against the shutting out of the view of the sea by a neighbour's house was only to have effect in Constantinople: a point which is also especially brought forward in the collection of laws³⁷ subsequent to Justinian. The commentators have not hesitated to view the whole of Zeno's law as Justinian did, namely, as a summary of many single ones of general import, and to distinguish permanent enactments from those of merely local application. But as, according to this method of interpretation, the law in question must remain a closed book to every one, it is no wonder that the *literatur* (or series of commentaries upon this Constitution,)³⁸ has little else to show than fruitless attempts to approach to the understanding of some peculiarities contained in it of small importance;³⁹ whilst either nothing at all is said of the import of the entire document,⁴⁰ or, if anything, very insufficiently.⁴¹

Against this mode of interpretation, the most effectual remedy would be, entirely to separate Zeno's law from the legislation of Justinian, and to comment upon it independently of everything else. The direction which should be given to such an inquiry is sufficiently pointed out by certain expressions in the law itself. Zeno, for example, expressly designates his own ordinance as the development or complement of an older ordinance for Constantinople only, enacted by his immediate predecessors. He enlarges especially on the dispositions which refer exclusively to the locality of that capital, and he describes

several of the building arrangements there in use as dependent on the peculiar locality; whilst at the same time he is considered to allude to a mixture of the Greek and Roman style of architecture prevalent in the city. It then becomes the province of the expositor of our law, who would carefully keep in view the object of its author, to place in a just and proper light, first, the course of events which brought about the chief building law, with its relation to other corresponding ordinances of the Roman emperors; and, secondly, he should specially bring forward those peculiarities of Zeno's regulations, which refer exclusively to the local circumstances of the capital of the Byzantine empire, or which were at least produced by them.

I.

In the preamble of his law, Zeno premises that both of his own judgment, and in consequence of the reports of the prefects of the city, to whom the ordinance is directed, he is about to publish a comprehensive and general regulation for the building police of the capital of the empire, with the view of putting an end to the various doubts which had arisen in carrying out the corresponding ordinance of his predecessor Leo; and at the same time to combine and complete the separate dispositions of his own earlier enactment on the same subject. The enacting portion of the law itself is in accordance with this preamble; and whilst the two older regulations of Leo I. on building police are repealed by it, those of Zeno are described as still in force; and we are told that the present ordinance is mainly intended to form a comprehensive and declaratory supplement to them;⁴² nor is it any contradiction to these premises, that such earlier laws of Leo and Zeno were not admitted into the collection of Justinian's Constitutions; the only conclusion to be drawn from this fact⁴³ is, that Justinian, after having admitted into his codex the unabridged text of the most recent declaratory regulations of Zeno, thought it would be quite superfluous to adopt also

that which Zeno himself had described as imperfect in its contents, and obscure in expression. There is another point, too, which Zeno has mooted in the Introduction, which deserves notice. The emperor assures the reader that he has taken pains to avoid all strictly legal or forensic expressions in the text of this declaration, and, by the substitution of descriptions intelligible to all, to make it easy for every one to understand of himself the meaning of the several legal formulæ, without having recourse to the instruction of a technical expositor or commentator. Hence we may infer, that a good knowledge of the locality, to which the regulation in question was limited, was of no less importance for the meaning of the terms, than for the understanding of its contents. If now we compare with this the language of Justinian, who, in the explanation he has left us⁴⁴ in reference to the extended validity of Zeno's law over the whole Roman empire, has described this very law as a *constitutio, quæ de servitutibus loquitur*, we shall be convinced, not only that the choice of this technical and forensic expression has deranged the historical point of view, which would have enabled us to understand and to appreciate Zeno's plan,⁴⁵ but also that even the contemporaries of Justinian could not possibly have derived from it any useful information towards understanding the practical bearing and meaning of the whole regulation.

With a view, then, to make a nearer approach to the understanding of the separate enactments of Zeno's ordinance for subjecting buildings to some public rules of police, we must show how the occasion for the law itself was connected with the history of the origin and the aggrandisement of the capital of the Byzantine empire. The official designation (*felicissima urbs*), which Byzantium bore from its new or second foundation by Constantine, was perfectly well suited to its very favourable geographical position,⁴⁶ however inappropriate the term might appear to the frequent visitations to which it was exposed, of earthquakes and conflagrations, by which the ancient city of Constantinople suffered quite as much as its modern successor.⁴⁷

The immediate causes of these destructive fires, and of the devastations which were produced by them, as well as by the earthquakes, were decidedly increased by the peculiar mode in which the city was built; for, in a proportionately cramped space, it contained the largest number of human abodes which it was possible to crowd within it. From the time of the earliest colonists of Byzantium, they had been obliged, in consequence of the plundering inroads of the Thracians, to confine themselves, in laying out the plans of their buildings, to those spots of a territory intersected and occupied by heights of very unequal elevation, which could be most readily fortified against hostile aggressions.⁴⁸ The public works, by which the emperors Hadrian and Septimius Severus secured to themselves the gratitude of the Byzantines, had not for their object the extension of the city, but exclusively the supplying it with aqueducts, baths, and other constructions of public utility.⁴⁹ Constantine, on the contrary, had in view both the one object and the other. He made room for a larger population, which would necessarily be drawn thither by the removal of the imperial residence, whilst he threw farther out the defensive bulwarks of the city.⁵⁰ This operation must have been frequently repeated under his successors.⁵¹ We are informed by the historian Zosimus,⁵² that neither Constantine himself nor the succeeding emperors were ever able to provide sufficient room for the central parts, the heart, as it were, of the city, such as was required for the wants of public trade and traffic and for the accommodation of the inhabitants. "Look," he says, "at the buildings crowded together in narrow rows; and where the ground is insufficient for building room, attempts are perpetually being made to gain it from the sea by expensive constructions upon piles. The streets are no less confined than the open spaces within the dwelling-houses, so that the inhabitants feel themselves almost as uncomfortable in their own houses, as when out of doors in the immense press and crowd of persons who are continually passing along the streets."⁵³ We are presented with a similar

picture of the city in Agathias' description of the great earthquake which visited Byzantium in 557. He says,⁵⁴ that immediately on the first shock, notwithstanding the cold of the season and the hour of night, the whole population rushed into the streets and squares. But the open air, within the walls of the city, gave no greater security than if they had remained in their own homes; for those lofty buildings ranged close alongside to each other, in the event of their being thrown down, would have hastened the inevitable fate of the crowds of persons wedged together in endless confusion all along the narrow streets. With this, also, is connected the fact, that when larger public buildings were to be newly built up in Constantinople, as, for example, the construction of the church of St. Sophia under Justinian, the requisite space could only be found by the expensive purchase of many adjoining private houses.⁵⁵

A system of construction so defective converted the capital of the Byzantine empire into a focus of the most calamitous conflagrations, and in a much greater degree than was ever the case with Rome. This also enables us to understand how the measures ordained by the legislative enactments, which were regularly called forth on the occasion of every great conflagration in the imperial residence, were attended with very unsatisfactory results, on account of the peculiar difficulties presented by the situation of the city; or because, when the danger was over, the force of circumstances either led to evasions of the law, or induced the government to make concessions.

The two ordinances of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius, which were addressed in 406 to Æmilianus, the prætor of the city, and which are expressly announced as provisions against the extension of fires,⁵⁶ have been pointed out by J. Gottfried⁵⁷ as regulations occasioned by the great and destructive conflagration stated to have taken place in that year.⁵⁸ These regulations prescribe a more commodious plan of construction, and the use of fire-proof materials for the steps leading to the public porticoes. They prohibit also the walls of private

dwelling-houses from joining on with those of any public building. They enact that, for the future, in all architectural plans, an open space of fifteen feet should be left between public and private buildings. We may presume, also, a similar connection⁵⁹ between the building-law of the emperor Leo (to which the explanatory and more comprehensive ordinance of Zeno, which is under consideration, was attached,) and the great conflagration by which Constantinople was laid waste in the year 469. According to the most credible authorities,⁶⁰ amongst which we are to reckon the *Metrical Imperial Chronicle* of Ephraim, a production of the beginning of the fourteenth century, and lately discovered by Angelo Mai,^{60a} this conflagration, which lasted for four days, and extended from north to south, laid waste the whole of the buildings which covered an area of five stadia long and fifteen wide, and destroyed much property, and treasures of art of inestimable value. The emperor Leo escaped to the suburb of Pera, and took care to secure for the future to this district a greater number of municipal buildings, by removing to it some of the public works.⁶¹ The same chronicler, Ephraim, relates that another calamitous fire, though of smaller extent, but one deeply to be deplored on account of the destruction of the great public library, visited the imperial city under the reign of Zeno.^{61a}

The regulations enacted by the laws of Leo for rebuilding the capital are only to be collected from the references to them in that of Zeno; for the former have not been handed down to us either in Justinian's Constitutions, or by any other channel. But the references in Zeno's law require to be very carefully examined and criticized; for it sometimes takes the tone of a mere explanation and extension of that of Leo, and at others gives us the words in an authentic and original form of another and earlier law of Zeno himself, of somewhat similar import, but which is equally lost to us.

The emperor Zeno expressly⁶² and particularly attributes to his predecessor, Leo, the prohibition, in the reconstruction of

the houses in Constantinople, to alter their previous form to the prejudice of the neighbours, or to intercept their light. But whilst Zeno himself confirms this prohibition, he thinks it expedient to make this reserve, that as such prohibition is only intended to benefit such neighbours, it may, on their free will and consent, be modified, or entirely laid aside. It must have been also clearly stated in the law of Leo, according to Zeno's version of it,⁶³ that, by a still earlier ordinance, on the reconstruction of a house destroyed by fire, if such new house was raised to the height of one hundred feet, the owner acquired the right of depriving his neighbour even of the view of the sea. This modification of the law is farther carried out by Zeno, to the effect that any mass of new buildings is also to be thus favoured. When, however, such mass of new buildings, the old ones not having been burned down, is rebuilt, the liberty to deprive the neighbouring houses of their view of the sea by such lofty private structure, can only be assumed on condition that a space a hundred feet in extent, and without any building upon it, shall be left quite free between the new and the adjoining buildings. To this, however, is added the further modification, that the claim of the proprietors of the adjoining plots of ground that their free and uninterrupted view should not be taken from them, should apply exclusively to the habitable parts of these private dwelling-houses, and not to those spaces which were merely appropriated to household purposes; for in respect to these last, nothing more need be observed than the usual legal interval of twelve feet. It is also clear that the habitable part of a house might, by arrangement with the neighbours, and with the free consent of the ground-landlord, be deprived of the right of such free view.

The question—whether the law of the Emperor Leo may have contained express directions in respect to the position or disposition of *mæniana* or *solaria*, will be further examined in a subsequent part of this paper.

The remaining portion of Zeno's ordinance consists of regu-

lations which have for their object, either the explanation of an older law of the same emperor, on the minimum of distance allowed between contiguous private dwellings; or which were sanctioned on this occasion by Zeno, as new and independent enactments for the completion of the regulations of Leo; or they are intended to ensure the efficiency of all the existing building ordinances, whether those of Leo or Zeno. This is done partly by denouncing severe punishments against the violators of the law, partly by the introduction of a simpler and more expeditious process for settling the several private complaints which had been occasioned by the new buildings.

It is to the older law of Zeno that we are to refer those points of the declaratory ordinance we are now treating of, which have for their object the maintenance of a free interval of twelve feet between contiguous private houses.⁶⁴ The apparent uncertainty contained in the words of this law, τὸ πλεόν ἢ ἑλαττον δυοκαίδεκα ποδῶν, is set aside by the explanation, that the stated interval of free space was to extend from the foundation to the cornice of the contiguous buildings. He who observed this interval, whether in the renewal of old or in the construction of new buildings, was not to be obstructed in reference to the height of his walls, or the opening of windows, provided he did not shut out his neighbour's house, not including the garden, from the view of the sea. Reference is also made in this document to such limitations and extensions of the right of building, as might pass from the ground proprietor to his neighbours by inheritance or by agreement. Whilst, then, this emperor (Zeno) makes express reference to a copy of the *Σεία νομοθεσία*,⁶⁵ he does not mean that his own older law should be understood by that expression, but the regulation of the Emperor Leo. He is not speaking of a corresponding ordinance on the *legitimum spatium*, but on the liberty previously granted to construct windows *ad libitum* in the lofty dwelling-houses which were to be erected.

The following enactments (to which we shall have again to

refer, when we come to the explanation of the several clauses of the law) are to be viewed as new and substantive regulations, to which the attention of Zeno was drawn by the concessions of Leo in favour of those who undertook to build. For example: the precise prescriptions in regard to the plan and elevation of the *mæniana* or *solaria*, and on their fire-proof construction, as also on the use and nature of the steps leading to the upper parts of the buildings;⁶⁶ so also the restrictions in reference to the disposition of shops and warehouses where goods were sold, in the intervals of the colonnades in the different squares, or open spaces of the metropolis.⁶⁷

That section in Zeno's law is very carefully compiled, which treats of the punishment or penalty inflicted on those who violate the legal restrictions on construction;⁶⁸ and the same may be said of that which treats of the judicial proceedings in cases of private complaints.⁶⁹ In the progress of this Essay, we shall have occasion to show the very favourable light in which Zeno's regulations for these objects present themselves, when we compare them with the corresponding ordinances of the earlier or later emperors. One of the characteristics of Zeno's law is, not only that he is anxious to secure the proprietor against the delays of the contractors and others, by means of the official intervention of the prefect of the city, but that, in order to secure the just and impartial treatment of complaints, which might be brought by the suffering neighbours against the proprietor, he has released the jurisdiction of the prefect from the observance of such formalities, as seemed most likely to interfere with a speedy decision, and which tended to encourage chicanery. These regulations are introduced with so much circumspection, that every prejudice is removed which might interfere with the right of both parties to a satisfactory and impartial hearing.

After this general review of the elements on which was based the building legislation, as well of Leo as of Zeno, it should be our object, before we proceed to the explanation of the

principal details in the ordinance of Zeno, to examine preliminarily the following question:—"Where are we to seek for the difference of principle between the two legislative acts? and how far some of the orders or precepts of both the legislators—which apparently clash with the express purport or motive of the law—may be justified by the necessary adoption of certain arrangements, in consequence of the peculiar locality of the capital?"⁷⁰

We can hardly be mistaken if we conclude, from the above-mentioned peculiarities which Zeno adopted from the law of Leo, that, in order to forward the rebuilding of the capital, which had been laid waste by a wide-spreading conflagration, Zeno thought right to offer various advantages to those who were disposed to build, and, therefore, only kept in view the most indispensable provisions against future danger from fire: for it is clear that Zeno, as well in the declaratory portion of his additions to Leo's law, as also in his own independent ordinances which are annexed to that law, decidedly took pains to assign the proper limits to these privileges, and to protect them against probable abuses. Amongst these privileges must certainly be reckoned the permission, by which it was not only allowed to erect houses to the height of 100 feet, but this was also accompanied by other special advantages to the owner. On the other hand, there are a few—but only a few—probable grounds for supposing that there were also in the same law some favourable regulations in respect to the *maniana*. The raising of the dwellings to the great heights therein mentioned, which could only be possible here and there, on account of the foundations, seems to have been favoured by the terraces on which Constantinople was built, and, indeed, almost to have been rendered unavoidable by the limited space for building within the city walls. It is, therefore, more than probable that the prohibitions⁷¹ enacted by the earlier Roman emperors especially for the city of Rome, against carrying buildings above the height of sixty or seventy feet, was not applied to Constanti-

nople. Moreover, the provision of the old Roman municipal regulations, that a certain extent of ground, unencumbered by any building, was in all cases to be left between adjacent houses for security against fire, appears to have been brought into operation also in Byzantium, and was considerably extended by the edicts of the Christian emperors.⁷² We need not, however, suppose that it was intended at Constantinople, more than in Rome, that this insulation of private houses should apply to all the four sides, but merely to those sides not bordering on the public streets: for the descriptions of the peculiar architecture of Constantinople which have been already given,⁷³ show that the habitations in the lines of the principal streets and squares were erected alongside of each other uninterruptedly.⁷⁴ The predecessors of Zeno contented themselves with prohibiting, in express words, the building of any private houses, or the making of any additions to them, in immediate contact with any public edifice; but they enacted no prohibition against the close vicinity of private dwellings.⁷⁵ And Zeno himself, in the passage of the law we are treating of, where he enjoins neighbours to preserve the *legitimum spatium* in a bye-street or passage, does not refer to houses ranging alongside of one another, but to such as were placed opposite to or facing one another.⁷⁶

Now, when the Emperor Leo gave to houses which were a hundred feet high the privilege of intercepting from their neighbours the view even of the sea,⁷⁷ it is plain that he favoured one rule of local law at the expense of another. The favoured privilege of a free view of the sea is described by Justinian⁷⁸ as a local regulation, exclusively calculated for the locality of Constantinople. We must not, however, assign as in any way a motive for this privilege a care for the sanitary state of the city, although, in ancient times, the free passage and current of air were carefully provided for in the disposition of private dwellings.⁷⁹ The express words of the Emperors Zeno and Justinian⁸⁰ place it beyond a doubt, that the law for leaving

open the view of the sea had reference simply to the personal gratification of the inhabitants. Leo disregarded the favour altogether, the moment he could ensure thereby that houses would be built a hundred feet high. Zeno also confirmed and extended the concession, when he confined his care on the subject to a provision for the separation of the houses of private individuals, when carried to the height alluded to, by a considerable interval of free space from the neighbouring houses behind them.

It is probable, though not absolutely certain, from the corresponding words in the edict of Zeno,⁸¹ that Leo's law also contained special stipulations for the guidance of the building-contractors, in reference to those overhanging and projecting structures appended to dwelling-houses, and which in Rome were known by the names of *maeniana* and *solaria*, used also, with the same meaning, in Constantinople, though sometimes confounded with the *parapetasia*.⁸² * for, in the year 368, Valentinian and Valens had indiscriminately removed all *maeniana* erected in Constantinople, and prohibited them altogether for the future.⁸³ By a law of the Emperor Arcadius, in 398, this prohibition was extended to all similar buildings in the metropolis coming under the name of *parapetasia*.⁸⁴ The subsequent ordinance of Honorius and Theodosius, in 423,⁸⁵ concedes the construction of *maeniana*, in cases where a free interval of ten, or, if required, fifteen feet, is reserved when they are erected; but this arrangement is expressly confined to the provinces. On the other hand, Zeno's law, of which we are speaking, treats of the *maeniana* in the capital as of a common circumstance; but it is provided that they shall be constructed of fire-proof materials, and that the

* The *Maeniana* may be considered as open balconies, verandas, or loggia; and, indeed, though not generally spelt with diphthong *æ*, may be considered as being anything that projected from the *wall*; the *Solaria* were the flat roofs or terraces exposed to the *sun*; and the *Parapetasia* appear to have been such projecting buildings as were *concealed* by awnings, lattice-work, or solid enclosure.

proper distance should be secured between them and the adjoining houses.⁸⁶ This justifies the supposition, that the law enacted by Theodosius for the provinces had been, in the interval, applied also to the metropolis of the Byzantine empire.

The direct object of Leo's building ordinance, namely, to encourage a disposition to build in the capital so lately reduced to ashes, and to release it from all restrictions not absolutely necessary to provide against future accidents from fire, might have been justified by the pressure of existing circumstances; but we must seek for other causes to comprehend the merit of the subsequent ordinance of the Emperor Zeno. The experience gained since the publication of Leo's building law had led to the conviction, that the extension of the liberty in question, like the limitation of it, in the extent of the *legitimum spatium*, opened a door as well to the groundless encroachments of the owners, as to the litigious reclamations of the neighbours, who pretended to be damaged. Zeno did what he could to put a stop to this source of odious complaints and endless lawsuits; and his address in solving this difficulty deserves to be fully explained. He went direct to the root of the evil, in endeavouring to remove the vagueness of the form and words employed in the compilation of the older laws; and he thoroughly instructed all persons interested therein, how, in laying out a plan for building, they might meet beforehand every future encroachment upon the limits of the ground-plan authorized by the law, and this by means of a kindly understanding with the neighbours who were entitled to interfere. An understanding of this kind could not, indeed, supersede the rights of individuals, any more than restrictions on buildings required by the public interest could be considered as in any manner subject to the private *arrangement* of the neighbours. Zeno, moreover, gives it to be understood, that the weakness of Leo's legislation on this subject consisted in merely enacting prohibitions and concessions, without laying down at the same time any sufficient rules for their practical application. This want of a com-

prehensive system of regulations is fully provided for by the law we are treating of as enacted by Zeno, inasmuch as it prescribes to the competent authorities a precise and definite mode of proceeding for the disputes which might arise out of the schemes and plans for building houses within the walls of Constantinople.⁸⁷

It has been already mentioned that the older ordinances, both of Leo and Zeno, for regulating buildings, gave occasion to various chicaneries, litigious informations, and lawsuits. Zeno had especially shown the extent of this mischief in respect to the inadmissible interpretation which had been given to the words of his own earlier law, *i. e.* τὸ πλεόν ἢ ἔλαττον δυοκαίδεκα ποδῶν.⁸⁸ This will also apply to what the same emperor has said, in the preface to the ordinance in question, on the necessity of correcting the mal-interpretations of the law of Leo. The same may be said of the edict of Justinian,⁸⁹ upon quibbling and vexatious misconstructions given to Zeno's provisions for the encouragement of private buildings, when they were separated from the adjacent houses by an interval of 100 feet. The proprietors had, for instance, taken advantage of this law to deprive their neighbours of the view of the sea, merely by building a wall outside of this interval, without troubling themselves further about the erection of a dwelling-house. Such like infractions or circumventions of the law, which the emperor characterises as a confirmation of the proverbial denomination of neighbours' quarrels, were to cease for the future; and the favour in question could only hold good when proper dwelling houses were *bonâ fide* erected.

On another authority, also, a credible account has come down to us, which leaves no doubt that the litigious disputes of the inhabitants of neighbouring houses in Constantinople were not merely prompted by the peculiar position of the city, but that they had an inexhaustible source in the national character of the inhabitants themselves. Agathias distinctly relates⁹⁰ the following circumstances, amongst various others, which occurred

on the occasion of the great earthquake in 557, by which the inhabitants of the capital were for a long time kept in a state of continual alarm. Anthemius of Tralles, whom Justinian invited to Byzantium on account of his distinguished acquirements in mathematics and in mechanics, and who there gave a very remarkable proof of his ability, in the construction of the church of St. Sophia,⁹¹ was, in the beginning of his residence there, on terms of the most intimate friendship with his next neighbour, Zeno, a rhetorician; but they became afterwards bitter enemies, from a cause which has never been accurately explained. It can, however, scarcely be a matter of doubt, that the erection of some new building, or the alteration of an old one in the house of one of the parties, by which the other felt himself aggrieved, either in respect to the view, or some other cause, contributed to their differences, such quarrels amongst neighbours in Constantinople being of daily occurrence. Upon this, Anthemius laid down a series of pipes or conduits under the foundations of his own house, which lay deeper than those of his neighbour, by which he contrived to play a great mass of hot vapour against Zeno's house, which lay on a higher level, in order to frighten him. The scheme did not fail of its effect: his frightened neighbour at first attributed the phenomena produced by it to an earthquake; but after a time, and after other experiments creating optical and acoustic illusions, which were practised against him for the same objects, and which were meant to imitate thunder and lightning, he was no longer in doubt respecting the originator of these extraordinary appearances. He addressed himself to the Emperor, and petitioned him for protection against the ingenious annoyances of his persecutor.

II.

If we now proceed to consider in detail the contents of Zeno's ordinance, we shall find that some of its enactments are, by the circumstances attending their application, expressly limited to the locality of the metropolis. On the other hand,

in some of these details such local limitation can only be deduced from incidental allusions to the peculiarity of the Greek style of building, and particularly that of Constantinople.

To the first of these classes must be referred the contents of the sixth section of our Constitution, which regulates the architectural plan and elevation of shops in the public squares or open places of the imperial residence. It is there enacted, that the intervals between the columns, which belong to the public colonnades and squares, in those parts of the city which lead from the Μῆλιον to the Capitol, must not be occupied by buildings, partition-walls or enclosures, or other permanent structures. It will only be lawful to place here stalls, or other places of sale, not more than six feet in width and seven in height, so that free access to the street shall be kept open in particular parts of the colonnades. It is at the same time decreed, that all such shops or stalls in this district shall be faced with marble, at least on the outside. In respect to the other parts of the city, it is left to the discretion of the prefect of the city to grant permission for the erection of such shops as he may judge expedient, so as not to interfere with the public convenience. This magistrate is simply instructed, in the granting or in the refusal of such permissions, to proceed impartially, and without distinction of persons.

It is evident, from the foregoing statements, that this favoured district of the city, from its situation and its architectural decoration, must have been a very distinguished quarter of the metropolis of the Byzantine empire. It cannot be necessary to enter into any refutation of those who refer the expression Capitolium to Rome, and change the word Μῆλιον into Μιλιάριον, thereby imagining the Miliarium, which stood in the Forum of Rome, and which, from the character of its ornaments, was called Miliarium Aureum.⁹² The expression Capitolium is applied not unfrequently to other cities subject to the Roman dominion, sometimes as marking the locality of the public treasury, sometimes the seat of some

learned institute or academy—in both cases following the example of the Roman Capitol, which was as well the seat of the public treasury, as of the public library, and in process of time was used also as the theatre for holding the public exercises in rhetoric or oratory.⁹³ Thus, a mention of the Capitolium of Carthage, in Africa, occurs in the Roman codex,⁹⁴ to designate the spot where the landowners throughout the province of Africa were directed to pay the instalments of their land-tax. In the same manner, also, the Capitolium of Constantinople is spoken of, as being a public building quite distinct from the many imperial palaces which were in the same city. We may especially quote the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*,⁹⁶ which tells us, under the year 407, A.D., that the statue of Christ, in the Byzantine Capitol, had been thrown down by a hurricane.⁹⁷ We may refer also to an ordinance of the younger Theodosius, of the year 425, which is preserved in the collections of the Theodosian Constitutions;⁹⁸ here the Capitol is mentioned as the place in which were delivered the public lectures to the High School in Constantinople; and the lecturers themselves are therein described as *intra Capitolii auditorium constituti*, and *hi qui in Capitolio docere præcepti sunt*.

Nor have we less ample authorities for the mention of a distinct locality in Constantinople, under the name of Μίλιον. We may begin with the reference in Suidas.⁹⁹ This reference comprises, under the same denomination, apparently very different objects—partly, *i.e.*, a milestone, corresponding to the *Miliarium Aureum* at Rome, and partly a splendid architectural monument at Constantinople, which contained an allegorical statue of the *Fortuna Urbis*, and the statues of several emperors. This combination of objects is, however, justified by a comparison of the various appropriate or occasional epithets which Codinus gives to the Μίλιον, called by him sometimes μέγalon, and sometimes κορωνίον. He describes it amongst the architectural monuments at Byzantium¹⁰⁰ which

originated with Constantine, as the termination of a large colonnade near the imperial palace, and as one of the remarkable given points, according to which it was convenient to define the extent of the several regions of the city. He speaks also¹⁰¹ of the sculptured monuments which surrounded the Μίλιον. Then again, of the triumphal arches on the place or *area* of the Μίλιον, the tops of which were decorated with the statues of Constantine and Helena, also with a cross, bound around with a chain, which was considered as the symbol of the inviolability of the city.¹⁰² In the immediate vicinity of this monument Codinus places also the equestrian statues of Trajan and of the younger Theodosius, as well as the statues of some of the members of the family of the Emperor Justin. He mentions also a Basilica, which was built near the Μίλιον.¹⁰³ In another passage,¹⁰⁴ it is stated by him that the Emperor Phocas erected a Temple of St. Phocas on the area of the Μίλιον; and close by—namely, on the spot where was formerly an old gate, with a relief of horses for the *cursus publicus*^{104a} he placed the image of a biga, from which the spot came afterwards to be called Δίππιον. We must, therefore, consider the Μίλιον at Constantinople as a *place* which had its name from certain preparatory arrangements there made for the *cursus publicus*,¹⁰⁵ and containing also several public monuments. Some of these buildings Zosimus^{105a} places in the Forum of Constantine; we may therefore look for the *place* of the Μίλιον in this spot. There is nothing contradictory with this in the fact that, according to the authority of the historians,¹⁰⁶ the trophies of a war brought to a successful conclusion, as well as the decapitated heads of traitors, may have been exposed to view on the same place. On the other hand, the proposed change of the words¹⁰⁷ ἀπὸ τοῦ καλουμένου Μιλίου into α. τ. κ. Μιλιαρίου, in the text of Zeno's law, must be decidedly rejected;¹⁰⁸ and it has already been disproved by the best commentators.^{108a}

Another question may be asked:—Which district or part of

the city can it have been, which Zeno's ordinance describes as limited by the Capitol and the *Μίλιον*, and as traversed by open colonnades? The answer cannot be long doubtful. This was the intersectional line leading from the fourth to the eighth region, within which were built the two Forums of Constantine and Theodosius, and which, consequently, adjoined those large spaces or squares which were adorned with splendid buildings and fine monuments of art.¹⁰⁹ It can scarcely be required to enter into any justification of the opinion, that for such a distinguished quarter of the city, the admission of public shops within the range of the colonnades could only have been allowed under certain conditions; and these conditions must have been such as to consort with the character of the surrounding neighbourhood without prejudicing trade, whilst of course these restrictions would not have been requisite in the less ornamented regions of the city. It might rather excite our surprise that the same law, which just before¹¹⁰ had expressly forbidden the appropriation of any space in the public streets or squares to the use of private buildings, should afterwards have permitted the erection of buildings for trade on those very spots, merely placing them under the superintendence of the magistrate. But similar contradictions are frequently to be met with in the most distant and distinct portions of Roman history. The Herculanean Tables¹¹¹ prohibit, in the most circumstantial and precise language, the occupation of the colonnades and public squares in Rome with private buildings; but this restriction is immediately modified by a stipulation, that every exceptional authorization given for this purpose by the competent officers shall be scrupulously attended to and maintained. The Christian emperors also, who were perpetually renewing these prohibitions against the extension of private houses to the public squares and buildings,¹¹² nevertheless frequently allude to the shops and stalls erected within the colonnades near the Baths of Zeuxippus in Constantinople; and they enjoin, withal, that the ground-rent, or land-tax,¹¹³ to

be raised on these localities shall be disposed of in favour of the building-fund belonging to the metropolis. Nor does it require any more direct proof, that the shops or magazines for the most costly goods were situated in the most showy parts of the city,¹¹⁴ and by their rich and splendid decoration, contributed to enhance the gorgeous appearance of the whole city. The difference, however, in respect to the arrangement and the decoration of these shops, which Zeno's law forces on our observation, between the different districts of the metropolis, is, perhaps, further explained by the fact, that during the reign of that emperor, a very great accession of magnificent public works in the principal places of the metropolis took place, owing to the liberality of one Mammianus;¹¹⁵ and it thereby became necessary to make the prohibition still more stringent against their being disfigured by private buildings. Codinus also informs us,¹¹⁶ that several public monuments of an earlier time, which encroached upon the public squares in Constantinople without contributing to their beauty, were removed by the Emperor Zeno.

Amongst the particular stipulations of Zeno's ordinance, in which we seem to recognise a combination or confusion of certain architectural arrangements suited to Greek manners and to the locality of the metropolis, with the mode of building specially prevalent in Rome, we must not omit to enumerate the following. In the first place, we may mention the details¹¹⁷ regarding the different restrictions for regulating the windows which give a free view, or prospect windows, in contradistinction to those which only served for the admission of light, or lumeniferous windows. We are not to conclude from hence, that this description or form of window was first introduced by the imperial edict to which reference is here made. Zeno seems rather to have provided therein against any misinterpretation of a former ordinance of his on the *legitimum spatium*, which gave leave to the proprietor of a house, who had left an interval of twelve feet between him and his neighbours unbuilt upon, to

open in his own wall windows of any form and character. Nor can we refuse to admit that occasions may have occurred in Rome, as well as in Constantinople, for distinguishing between windows constructed for the admission of light, and those which commanded also a prospect or view from them.¹¹⁸ On the other hand, we are to attribute only to the locality of Constantinople the enactment of Zeno,¹¹⁹ that in the case of a distance of not more than ten feet between adjacent houses, the *rule* should be, that only lumeniferous or light-admitting windows should be introduced, and that these must always be at the height of at least six feet above the floor of the room. It is also expressly enjoined, that this distance was to be measured from the real level of the floor, and no false floor (Τὸ καλούμενον ψευδόπατον) was to be allowed; that is to say, there should be no banquette or raised floor under the windows within the floor of the rooms, which would afford the means of seeing out of the higher windows.¹²⁰ This prescription seems to allude to a well-known or common construction in the disposition of Greek dwelling-houses, which served, indeed, to circumvent the purpose of the building laws, but need not in any way have been first called into existence by them. We find likewise in Vitruvius¹²¹ other technical expressions, compounded after the same manner as ψευδόπατον, and which always point to some special contrivance, occasioned by the peculiarities of the Greek style of architecture.

We must also place in the same category the enactments in this ordinance of Zeno in regard to the *solaria*.¹²² It has already been shown¹²³ that the Romans clearly distinguished that upper portion of a residence known under the name of *solarium*, which was exposed to the uninterrupted rays of the sun, from the *maeniana*, or buildings projecting from any part of the outer wall of a house, and specially appropriated to the enjoyment of an uninterrupted view. So common were these projecting casements, that Vitruvius describes the painted scene in the comic theatre (or that required for every-day life), as

representing the fronts of houses, with many windows, and projecting *mæniana*.¹²⁴ On the other hand, in Constantinople, it does not appear that these appropriations were so precisely¹²⁵ observed; for in consequence of the local regulation against the building out their neighbours from the view of the sea, the *solaria* may have also served the purpose of the *mæniana*. Zeno's law enacts that the *solaria* should not be built of wood, but of fire-proof materials, such as were used in the Roman buildings. (Τῷ σχήματι τῶν λεγομένων ῥωμανίστων.) It is at the same time provided, that these *solaria* must be raised to the height of fifteen feet at least above the pavement of the street, and that the stone or wooden pilasters which served as their supports should only be erected in the lateral lanes or passages; nor even there be allowed to stand perpendicularly on the pavement, but were to be inclined towards the wall of the house, so as not to encroach on, or interfere with the public use of the highway. It was also prohibited to construct any access or approach from the street to such solarium. If we are not mistaken, we may here perceive a decided mixture of the elements of the Greek and Roman styles of building. In one passage, the imperial enactment respecting the height of the *mæniana*, and the mode of supporting the *solaria*, proves their identity with the Roman *mæniana*,¹²⁶ to which also we are referred by the expression, ῥωμανίστων. But then, again, the mention of an approach specially and immediately leading from the street to the solarium* reminds us of a custom peculiar to the Greeks. This is the description which Vitruvius¹²⁷ gives of the peculiar distribution of the space in a Greek dwelling-house; in which are described the separate passages leading from the principal entrance of the house to certain adjacent portions of it, which were thus put in

* When the *Mæniana* consisted of buildings covered with a pergula, and exposed to the sun, they would acquire the name of *Solaria*; and when the *Solaria*, or terraces on the roof, were enclosed in at the sides, and made to project over the wall, they would obtain the name of *Mæniana*; and thus there would be a constant confusion between these terms.

immediate communication with the street. The object which the architect has in his eye therein, namely, to provide for the accommodation and convenience of the guests who were lodging in the house, has, indeed, in itself no immediate connexion with the *solaria*. But still less can we refer this arrangement to an imitation of the custom in Rome for providing approaches to the *cænacula* by steps from the street.¹²⁸ For without taking into consideration the difference between the *solaria* and the *cænacula*, the ordinance we are discussing does not treat of a flight of steps opening merely toward the street, but of steps quite out of the house, and leading down from the *solaria** into the street. It was these last only which Zeno attempted to regulate, as constructions which narrowed the gangway, and increased the danger of fire. Finally, with regard to the enactment of Zeno respecting the support of the *solaria* by slanting pillars, it must not be overlooked that this mode of construction still exists in Constantinople, and in the suburbs of that city.

Something still remains to be added, on the punishment which the Emperor imposed on those, who transgressed the prescribed regulation respecting the architectural disposition of the *mæniana*.¹²⁹ The illegal structure was to be demolished or *pulled down*, and the ground-landlord was to pay a fine of twelve pounds of gold. Similar punishments awaited the architect, as well as the contractor for the work, and the superintendent; and this last, if unable to pay the fine, was visited also with corporal punishment and banishment. The transgression of the prohibition of Justinian, which we have before alluded to,¹³⁰ namely, the depriving a neighbour of his view of the sea by a single wall within the legitimate interval, was also visited by this Emperor with the forfeiture of ten pounds' weight of gold. He added, however, a peculiar enactment for the

* It appears probable, from the frequent interchange of the words *Solarium* and *Mænianum*, that the steps here referred to gave access to the *mæniana*; as it would be contrary to the universal practice of the East, for steps to lead up to the roofs of the houses.

application of these fines, and they were to be handed over to the theatrical fund, which was under the administration of the prefect of the city.

The double purpose of the penal enactment of Zeno, that is, as well with a view to the immediate setting aside of such architectural projects as were contrary to law, as to the levying of the penalty incurred by the offenders, is not expressed with the same precision, or in the same decisive language, in the former precedents of the building laws of the Romans which have been handed down to us. Thus, for example, in the Table of Heraclea a power is purely and absolutely placed in the hands of those officers charged with the management of the city police, to remove all unlawful hindrances and nuisances created by buildings on the open *places* and streets of Rome, and to inflict the legal penalties on the offenders;¹³¹ and the activity of the officers was ensured by the authority or privilege of the citizens to denounce all such violations of the law to the superior magistrate.¹³² And in later times this was rendered more perfect by the intervention of the public prosecutor.¹³³ In the prohibition to sell to another the right or obligation to pull down houses, or to apply architectural ornaments to the decoration of the buildings of another city, the Roman laws¹³⁴ mainly point to a penalty to be imposed on its infraction—this being the most efficient means of preventing the illegal act in question, *i. e.*, the violation of a former Building Act; whereas, in other cases in which, without competent authority, any private scheme had been carried into execution on a ground and soil belonging to the public, all the classic jurists,¹³⁵ as well as the constitutional laws of the emperors,¹³⁶ prove that the immediate and inevitable consequence of such transgression of the law was the removal of the projected nuisance, and the replacing of everything in its former state.

NOTES.

¹ viii. 10, De *Ædificiis Privatis*. ² viii. 12, De *Operibus Publicis*. ³ xv. i. *id.*

⁴ In the Ottoboni MS. of the *Lex Rom. Burgundion.* tit. xv., we read as follows: De servitute luminis, vel aëris, similiter constitutum est, ut inter privatorum fabricas x. pedes, inter publicas xv. dimittantur, secundum legem Theodosiani, lib. iv. sub titulo, "De *Ædificiis Privatis et Publicis*." Amaduzzi (in his edition of the *LL. Novellæ Aneodot.* p. 205, not. 14, Rom. 1767, F.) has concluded from this citation, that Gothofred must be mistaken in his attempt to replace the lost section (De *Ædificiis Privatis*) at the conclusion of the fourth book of the Theodosian Collection of Constitutions. The same objection was afterwards made by Wenck, in the edition of the libb. v. prior. Theod. C. p. 269, not. y, Lips. 1825-8. There are, notwithstanding, some strong grounds in favour of Gothofred's arrangement, which is supported also by G. Hänel, in his edition of the Theodos. Cod. iv. 24. Compare also Haubold's *Exercitation. Vitruvian. Spec. II.* in f. (in *Opuscul. t. ii.* p. 425, not. f.)

⁵ The ninth chapter of the *Codex Just. De Ædific. Priv.* 8, 10, has evidently crept out of the 46th chapter of the *Codex Theodos. C. xv. 1, De Operib. Publ.* But for the other Constitutions of the same titulus, which do not coincide with the time of Theodosius II., their origin can only be sought for in the lost section of the Theodosian Collection, which has already been alluded to.

⁶ The address of this law has lately been well made out by E. Zachariä, in his edition of the *Prochiron Imp. Basilii, &c.*, p. 318, Heidelb. 1837, 8°, on the authority of a MS. in the Bodleian library; on the same authority, the judgment which had been passed as to the name of the prefect of the city, (*Ἀδαμάντιος*), on the testimony of a MS., is further strengthened. (See *Pet. et Franc. Pithœi Observation. ad Cod. et Novell. Cod. viii. 10*, p. 384, Par. 1689, F.; Spangenberg's edit. of the *Cod. Just. l. l.* and the edit. of Hermann, p. 524.) The reading in Justinian's c. 13. *Cod. 8, 10*, "*Constitutio Zenonis div. mem. ad Amantium Pf. v. Scripta*," which is taken from the *Recensio Bononiensis*, rests on a very pardonable mistake. For during the period of the Christian emperors, the name of Amantius much more frequently occurs amongst the higher officials than that of Adamantius. Compare the *Fasti Consulares*; the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius, iv. 2; the *Chronicon Marcellinus*, p. 59, Lutet. 1619, 8°; the *Chronicon Alexandrin.* p. 763, ed. Raderi Monac. 1615, 4°, and Gothofred's *Comment. on the Codex of Theodosius. Protopograph. C. Th. v. Amantius*.

⁷ These are sufficient grounds to do away with the conjecture, that there might have been here what might be called a *bilinguis constitutio*. On the Constitutions of this kind under the later emperors, compare Biener's *Revision of the Just. Cod. sec. 98 seq.* Berlin, 1838, 8°, and the *Author's Civil Law Treatises*, vol. i. p. 57. *Ibid.* 1820, 8°.

⁸ c. 13, l. l. 8, 10.

⁹ c. 12, sec. 2, 4, ib. 8, 10.

¹⁰ See note 8.

¹¹ Nov. 53. On the other hand the Nov. 165, corresponding to this in the contents, is not one of Justinian's laws, but a portion of the so-called *Eparchica*. Compare Biener's History of the Novellæ of Justinian, p. 452 seq. 476, Berl. 1824, 8°.

¹² See C. Witte on the *Leges Restitutæ* of Justinian, Cod. S. 20, p. 206 seq. Bresl. 1830, 8°: Biener's l. l. p. 551 seq. 617 seq. and in the additions to the Revision of Just. Codex, p. 163 seq.

¹³ Compare the section: Description of the most important MSS. of the Novellæ, in Biener's History of the Novellæ, Append. v. p. 551 seq.

¹⁴ Pithoüs l. l. p. 384 seq. See above, note 6.

¹⁵ Compare Biener, l. l. p. 385-401, and in the additions to the Revision, p. 164.

¹⁶ Zachariä l. l. p. 315 seq. See note 6.

¹⁷ Ibid. p. 209 seq.

¹⁸ Basilicorum, lviii. 11, c. 12, lviii. 12, c. 12.

¹⁹ In the *Manuale Legum*, II. 4. (Compare the edition by O. Reiz, in the supplemental volume of the *Thesaurus Nov. Jur. Civ. et Can.* by Meerman.)

²⁰ Compare the Rubric to sec. 12 of the *Manuale Legum*, l. l. ²¹ Id. sec. 42.

²² Id. sec. 51.

²³ Id. sec. 49. Compare Vitruvius de Architectura, vii. 5.

²⁴ See above, note 18.

²⁵ See note 16.

²⁶ C. Witte, l. l. (Note 12.)

²⁷ Witte sets out with the supposition (p. 20), that the text which we have in the printed editions of Justinian's Constitutions is much too detailed for the object of the collection: accordingly, he considers this text to be the original of the law. On the other hand, at p. 207, he concludes, from the deviations from that text in Harmenopulus, that the reporter may have made use of a more perfect original copy of Zeno's Ordinance, which may have found its way into the *Eparchica* (Regulations of Police). The passage, however, in Harmenopulus, (ib. sec. 46,) to which special reference is made, is not in any degree the origin of Zeno's law, but an extraneous addition from other sources.

²⁸ See Biener's additions, p. 164, and Herrmann, *ibid.* p. 519, not. a. See note 6.

²⁹ Compare note 8.

³⁰ See note 11.

³¹ Compare Novellæ, 165, (note 11); Harmenopulus, *ibid.* ii. 4, sec. 46, and Theodorus Hermopolit. Nov. 165, p. 165, cited in the following note.

³² Athanasii Scholast. epitome Novellar. Justiniani, tit. 21, c. 2, (in G. E. Heimbach's *Anecdota*, t. i. p. 180, Lips. 1838, 4°) and Theodori Hermopolitani *Breviarium Novellar. Justin. Nov.* 63, (in E. Zachariä's *Anecdota*, p. 68, Lips. 1843, 4°.)

³³ Compare Zachariä, l. l. p. 246, cap. 3. De *Edictis Præfectorum Pr. quæ supersunt*; and p. 266 seq. *Edicta Præfectorum, Pr. Harmenopulus, ibid.*

³⁴ We need not pause as to the other question, whether the modern common-law praxis can take cognizance of the contents of c. 12, sec. 8, 10, although this, being a *Lex Restituta*, does not belong to the received code—whereas, the received law of Justinian, (that is, c. 13, id. 8, 10,) of which there is no doubt, and by which Zeno's ordinance was confirmed in its fullest extent, must remain inapplicable and unintelligible, as a *referens sine relato*, unless the practical lawyer refers to Zeno's text. Compare Pfeiffer's *Practical Conclusions*, vol. iv. No. 1.

³⁵ c. 13, l. l. 8, 10.

³⁶ Nov. 63.

³⁷ Prochiron *Basilii*, etc. tit. 38, 5, p. 210. (See above, note 6.) Basilicorum, lviii. 11, c. 12. Harmenopulus, l. l. ii. 4, sec. 46. Compare Jo. Luencavius *Notator. lib. ii.* (in Otto's *Thesaur.* t. iii. p. 1548.)

³⁸ Haubold, in his *Manuale Basilicorum*, gives a view of books illustrative of Zeno's law, *Cod. Just.* viii. 10, c. 12, c. 13, and much more completely in *Exercitationes Vitruvianæ*, l. c. p. 425. (See above, note 4.) The several works on the building regulations of Rome are given by Treckell, in his *Observations on the Select Antiquities of Brisson*, I. (*Opera Minora Brissonii*, ed. Treckell, p. 1, Lyons, B 1747, F.) and in Haubold's *Institution*. J. R. Hist. Dogmat. iii. 3, sec. 164, p. 109, of Otto's edition. Unfortunately, we have not had it in our power to compare the treatises of A. Federigi, which are there quoted (*Diss. in quâ L. 12, De Ædif. Privat. explicatur*, Neap. 1766-1770,) with those of N. Carletti, (*La Costituzione del Imp. Zenone*, Neap. 1783, 8°,) which treat exclusively of Zeno's Ordinance, both in a juristical and an architectural point of view. The judgment given of these treatises by Griesinger, (*De Servitute Luminum*, p. 167, Lips. 1819, 8°,) does not bear the stamp of his having very carefully examined their contents. This is not the case with that of Haubold, l. c. This last writer praises but moderately the work of Federigi, and describes Carletti as having copied from him.

³⁹ Thus, for example, in the concise observations of the brothers Pithœi, (see above, note 6,) and in the Commentators on Harmenopulus. (See above, Reiz. loc. cit. and Abr. Havercamp's *Specimen. Jurid. Inaug. ad C. Harmenopuli promptuar.* ii. 4, sec. 34 in G. Örlsch's *Thesaur. Diss. Jurid. Belg.* vol. 1, t. 3, p. 45 seq.)

⁴⁰ e. g. in G. Panciroli's *Thesaur. Var. Lection.* II. p. 228. In Heineccius' *Jurisprud. Rom. et Att.* t. ii, p. 1350.

⁴¹ Westphal (*De Libertate et Servitutib. Prædiorum*, ii. 7, sec. 180 seq. p. 195 seq. Lips. 1773, 8°); this author is said by Witte, loc. cit. p. 208, to be the only good editor of Zeno's law, but by following his own mode, of acting merely as a compiler, he has given us nothing like an original inquiry into the subject.

⁴² c. 12, sec. 1, 2, 4, h. t. 8, 10. ⁴³ Compare note 8. ⁴⁴ c. 13, id. 8, 10.

⁴⁵ This clearly results from the list of works illustrative of Zeno's law; see note 38 seq.

⁴⁶ Compare Procopius de *Ædificiis*, i. 5.

⁴⁷ A long list of these calamitous events might be made from the Chronicles. A specimen from the time of Constantine to that of Justinian will suffice; local earthquakes of considerable importance are reported in the years 396, 407, 417, 422, 423, 447, 480, 487, 533, 557. See the *Chronicon* of Marcellinus, p. 9 seq. 27, 40, 52. Lutet. 1619, 8°; the *Chronicon* of Alexandria, pp. 714, 718, 726, 734, 738, 758, 786, ed. M. Raderi. Monac. 1615. 4; the *Histories* of Agathias, v. 3. Compare Gibbon's *History of the Decline, &c.*, cap. 43. ad fin. Slighter volcanic phenomena, which, however, were very destructive in the capital of the empire, and gave occasion to the foundation of several penance-days in the church, may be passed over; as, for example, the copious shower of ashes in 472, which coincided with a remarkable eruption of Vesuvius. (*Marcellini Chronicon*. p. 37; *Chronic. Alexandr.* p. 748.) The less extensive conflagrations were those of the years 446, 448, 491, 498, 507, 509, 510. *Marcellin.* l. cit. pp. 27, 28, 44, 50, 51. *Chronicon Alexandr.* p. 760. The most destructive belong to the years 404, 406, 407, 433, 465, 469, 532. (*Marcellin.* loc. cit. p. 13 seq. 23, 63 seq. *Chronicon Alexandr.* pp. 714, 716, 728, 744, 748, 778.)

⁴⁸ Codinus de *Signis Constantinopolitanis*, p. 51 seq. The same, *De Ædific. Constantinopolitanis*, p. 84 seq. Becker's ed. Bonn, 1843, 8vo. *Chronicon Alexandr.*

p. 618 seq. Du Cange, Constantinopolis Christiana, i. p. 16, (in the Appendix to his *Histor. Byzant. Lutet. 1618. F.*) Gibbon, ch. 17.

⁴⁹ Codinus de Origina. C-pol. p. 12 seq. ed. Becker. *Chronic. Alexandr.* pp. 662, 664. Du Cange, loc. l. p. 21.

⁵⁰ Id. p. 23 seq. Codinus, l. l. p. 15 seq. Zosimus *Histor.* ii. 30 seq.

⁵¹ Du Cange, p. 37 seq. Codinus de Formâ et Amb. Urbis C-pol. p. 26. Idem de *Ædif. C-polit.* in init. p. 71. seq. ⁵² *Histor.* ii. 30 seq. 35 seq.

⁵³ We are here strikingly reminded of the descriptions of the locality of the more modern city. Compare extract of the description by the American traveller, N. P. Willis, in the *Magazine of Foreign Literature*, 1843, N. 77 seq.

⁵⁴ *Historiar.* v. 3.

⁵⁵ Codinus de S. Sophia, p. 132 seq. ed. Becker.

⁵⁶ Theod. Cod. xv. i. c. 45, c. 46, de Operibus Pub. (Just. Cod. c. 9, De *Ædific. Priv.* 8, 10.) ⁵⁷ See his Comment. in Theod. Cod. l. l. ⁵⁸ See above, note 47.

⁵⁹ This has already been pointed out by G. Pancirolus, loc. cit. (See above, n. 40.)

⁶⁰ See Evagrii Scholast. *Ecclesiast. Histor.* ii. 13. Compare Du Cange, l. l. lib. i. p. 66, and Gibbon, loc. cit.

^{60a} In the *Nova Collectio Scriptorum Veterum*, t. iii. p. vii. seq. 24. Rom. 1828, 4°.

⁶¹ *Chronic. Alexandr.* p. 748. The formal concession of civic or municipal rights to Pera, as well as its connexion with the city, were first granted by Justinian. Compare the last cited authority, p. 774, with Du Cange, l. l. lib. i. p. 66 seq.

^{61a} loc. cit. p. 26.

⁶² c. 12, sec. i. Compare pr. C. h. t. 8, 10.

⁶³ c. 12, sec. 4, *ibid.* 8, 10. The expression used in this document, *ἐτι δὲ τοῦ προτέρου νόμου*, in accordance with the reference immediately following to houses consumed by fire, can only point to the law of Leo, and not to the older ordinance of Zeno, spoken of in the second sec. of the same.

⁶⁴ c. 12, sec. 2, 3. *ibid.* 8, 10. On the relation of this injunction of Zeno to the ordinances of earlier emperors bearing the same appellation, compare the list of works regarding the building laws of Rome, referred to in note 38.

⁶⁵ c. 12, sec. 2, *ib.* 8, 10.

⁶⁶ c. 12. sec. 5. *ibid.*

⁶⁷ c. 12. sec. 6. *ib.*

⁶⁸ c. 12. sec. 5, 1.

⁶⁹ c. 12, sec. 7, 8, loc. cit. 8, 10.

⁷⁰ The commentators on Justinian's Jurisprudence, who make mention of Zeno's ordinance, readily pass their judgment on its real object; we entertain, however, some doubts, although the purport of this enactment may in fact be in conformity with the expression of Greisinger, loc. cit. p. 167, (see note 38,) whether the emperor had specially in view to restrict the right of house-owners, to construct on their own walls prospect or look-out windows, commanding a view of their neighbours' property.

⁷¹ Compare the list of works in note 38.

⁷² Id.

⁷³ See notes 52 and 54.

⁷⁴ On this mode of building, compare Haubold's *Exercitation. Vitruv.* p. 395 seq. 406, 410, 440 seq. (See note 4.)

⁷⁵ Theod. Cod. xv. 1, c. 39, c. 46, c. 47. De Opp. Public. J. Gothofredus in *Comm. ad l. l. Ammianus Marcellin.* xxvii. 9, sec. 10.

⁷⁶ c. 42. secs. 3, 5, h. t. 8, 10.

⁷⁷ Compare note 63.

⁷⁸ Nov. 63.

⁷⁹ Compare Vitruvius de *Architect.* v. 1, 7.

⁸⁰ c. 12, secs. 2, 4. *Ibid.* 8, 10. Nov. 63, *Præf.*

⁸¹ c. 12, sec. 5, loc. cit. 8, 10.

⁸² *Com. the Author's Manuale Latinitatis*, v. *Menianum, Parapelasia, Solarium.*

⁸³ Ammian. Marcel. l. cit.: Namque et mæniana sustulit omnia, fabricari Romæ priscis quoque vetita legibus; et discrevit ab ædibus sacris privatorum parietes iisdem inverecunde connexos. Compare Valerius and the other commentators on this passage. ⁸⁴ Theod. Cod. l. l. c. 39. ⁸⁵ Just. Cod. c. 11. l. l. 8, 10.

⁸⁶ See note 82.

⁸⁷ See note 69.

⁸⁸ See note 64.

⁸⁹ Nov. 63.

⁹⁰ Historiar. V. 6, 7, 8. Gibbon's objections (chap. 40) to this narrative of the historian are rather calculated to support its credibility; for though many throw a doubt over the problems said to have been solved by Anthemius the mechanician, Gibbon himself allows that this is confirmed by the improvements introduced into the mechanical contrivances of our own times.

⁹¹ Compare Procopius de Ædific. I. 1.

⁹² Compare Spangenberg, in the Göttingen edition of the Corpus Jur. Civ. and the Codex Const. viii. 10, c. 12, sec. 6, note 61.

⁹³ Compare J. Gothofredus in Comm. ad. Theod. Cod. xiv. 9, c. 3, and J. C. F. Bähr's History of Roman Literature, sec. 14 b, p. 39 of the second edition, Carlsr. 1832, 8vo. ⁹⁴ Theod. Cod. xi. 1, c. 34, de Annona et Tribut.

⁹⁵ Compare Du Cange, l. l. lib. 2, p. 112 seq. 149. (See note 48.) ⁹⁶ Loc cit. p. 714.

⁹⁷ Codinus, de Ædif. C-politan. p. 76 seq. 83, ed. Becker, (compare Procopius, l. l. i. 10,) places a brazen statue of this description, and set up by Constantine, in the χαλχη: this building, however, formed a part only of the great Imperial palace. Compare Gibbon, loc. cit.

⁹⁸ Theod. Cod. xiv. 9, c. 3, de Studiis Liberalibus Urbis Rom.

⁹⁹ Μίλιον. v. Στάδιον.

¹⁰⁰ De Originibus C-polit. p. 22. De Formâ et Amb. C-pol. p. 25.

¹⁰¹ De Signis C-polit. pp. 35, 40, 69 seq. De Ædific. C-polit. pp. 101, 103. Compare Incerti Auctoris enarrat. Chronograph. (at the end of Becker's edition of Codinus.)

¹⁰² This cross was substituted for the car of the sun and the statue of Fortuna Urbis, which had previously occupied this site. ¹⁰³ De Signis C-polit. p. 38 seq. 69.

¹⁰⁴ Ibidem, pp. 37 seq., 51. Compare the notes of Lambecius, ib. p. 237, Becker.

^{104a} This is probably the same ancient gate on the site of which Constantine, in extending the walls which surrounded the new city, constructed the splendid forum, which was called after him. Compare Zosimus, Historiar. ii. 30 seq.

¹⁰⁵ We need not here refer to the more recent meaning of the word μίλιον, which is synonymous with μιλιαρήσιον, and which occurs on a small coin. (Compare Codinus de S. Sophia, p. 136 seq. ed. Beck. Du Cange's Glossary Med. et Infim. Græcit. h. v. Veteres Gloss. verb. Jur. v. Μιλιαρίσιον. In Otto's Thesaurus Jur. t. iii. p. 1764.) Compare also the Journal of the History of Law, vol. xii. N. i. p. 12. ^{105a} Loc. cit.

¹⁰⁶ The several passages of the Byzantine Historians are collected by Pithæus, loc. cit. and in Du Cange's C-polis Christiana, lib. i. pp. 72, 113 seq. See notes 6 and 48.

¹⁰⁷ The meaning of Μιλιαρίσιον does not exactly correspond to the Latin expression Miliarium. See Du Cange's Gloss. Med. et Inf. Græcitatis, h. v.

¹⁰⁸ e. g. Pithæus and Herrmann, loc. cit. (See note 6.)

^{108a} The criticism might be dispensed with, as the Miliarium Aureum in Rome is called by Dio Cassius, Histor. liv. 8. τὸ χρυσοῦν μίλιον.

¹⁰⁹ Codinus de Orig. C-polit. p. 15, 22; de Signis C-polit. p. 41. Procop. de Ædific. i. 10. Compare Du Cange, C-pol. Christ. lib. i. p. 64 seq. 70 seq.

¹¹⁰ c. 12 sec. 3. h. b. 8, 10.

¹¹¹ Aer. Britan. Lin. 68 seq. Compare the Author's Treatise on the Civil Law vol. 2, p. 296 seq. 307 seq.

¹¹² Theod. Cod. xv. 1, c. 22, c. 35: de Opp. Pub. Just. Cod. c. 20, c. 21. ib. 8, 12.

¹¹³ Theod. Cod. loc. cit. c. 52. Compare J. Gothofredus in Comm. ib.

¹¹⁴ See Du Cange C-polis. Christ. lib. 2, p. 109 seq.

¹¹⁵ Evagrius, loc. cit. iii. 28.

¹¹⁶ De Signis C-politan. pp. 41, 46.

¹¹⁷ c. 12. secs. 2, 3, h. t. 8, 10.

¹¹⁸ Compare Cujacius, Obs. xiii. 30. The careful distinction between *lumina* and *prospectus*, well observed in the language of the Roman jurists, is known to all. Fr. 16, Diss. de S. P. V. 8, 2. Compare the Author's Manuale Latinit. v. *Lumen*, sec. 1, A. v. *Prospectus*, sec. 1.

¹¹⁹ c. 12, sec. 3, ib. 8, 10. Compare Havercamp, loc. cit. p. 53. See note 39.

¹²⁰ Harmenopolus, l. l. ii. 4, sec. 55, and the commentators on the passage. (Note 174 of the edition cited in note 19.)

¹²¹ loc. cit. ii. 8 (where the author is speaking of the *pseudisodorum*, or stone walls built in unequal layers), and iii. 2, iv. 7, (where mention is made of the pseudo-dipteros and pseudoperipteros.) Compare the commentators on these passages, e. g. A. Rode in his edition of Vitruvius, Berlin, 1800, 4°. Compare also Gloss. Placidi Grammat. (in A. Maii Collect. Auctor. Classic. t. iii. p. 495, Rom. 1831, 8°) v. *Pseudothyrum*.

¹²² c. 12, sec. 5, eod. tit. 8, 10.

¹²³ See note 81. Compare Festus. v. *Mæniana*; Isidor. Origin. xv. 3; Veter. Gloss. Verbor. Jur. v. *Σωλάριον*. (Otto's Thesaur. Jur. iii. p. 1806.)

¹²⁴ loc. cit. v. 7.

¹²⁵ Compare Cujacius Obs. i. 30, xiii. 30.

¹²⁶ In the Commentary of Asconius on Cicero's Divinat. in Cæcil. c. 16, on the origin of the *mæniana*, we read the following description:—"Exceperat jus sibi unius columnæ, (sc. Mænius,) super quam tectum projiceret ex provolantibus tabulatis, unde ipse et posterī ejus spectare munus gladiatorium possent, quod etiam tum in foro dabatur." Compare Schol. ad Cic. p. Sextio, c. 58, sect. 4. (In A. Maii Classicor. Auctor. e Vatic. Codd. editor. t. ii. p. 152, Rom. 1828, 8°)

¹²⁷ Loc. cit. vi. 10.

¹²⁸ Comp. E. Otto de Tutela Viarum, iii. 5, p. 481 seq.; Trajecti ad Rh. 1731, 8°; Haubold, l. l. p. 442. See note 74.

¹²⁹ c. 12, sec. 5, l. 8, 10.

¹³⁰ Nov. 63, c. 1. Compare note 89 seq.

¹³¹ Compare the Author's Treatises on Civil Law, vol. ii. p. 295 seq.

¹³² Fr. i. sec. 14, 16, 17; Diss. de Oper. Novi Nunciat. 39, 1. Compare J. Rävardus, Conjectan. iii. 12.

¹³³ Fr. 48, Diss. eod. 39, 1. Compare Fr. 1, pr. de Jure Fisci, 49, 14.

¹³⁴ Fr. 52, Diss. de Contr. emt. 18, 1; Fr. 41, sec. 1 seq. Diss. de Legat. 1, (30.) Compare the Author's Scriptores Histor. Aug. p. 152 seq. Leips. 1842, 8°.

¹³⁵ Fr. 11, sec. 14 Diss. de Legat. 3, (32.)

¹³⁶ Theod. Cod. xv. 1, c. 22, c. 25, c. 38 seq. c. 46 seq. De Opp. Pub.

A COLLECTION OF SOME OF THE BUILDING LAWS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

(JUSTINIANI CODICIS LIB. VIII.)*

TIT. X. ON PRIVATE BUILDINGS.

1. *On Baths.* Severus and Antoninus, Impp. AA. to Taurus.—You are hereby empowered to build the bath, as you desire, and raise a building over it; but you must observe the same form which is prescribed for others who are allowed to build over a bath: that is, you must raise it upon arches, and it must be itself arched; nor must you exceed the usual height. P.P. (without date or consulship.)

2. *On the Non-destruction of Buildings.* Alexander, Imp. A. to Diogenes.—It is already prohibited, by an edict of the blessed Emperor Vespasian, and by a decree of the senate, to pull down buildings, and carry away the blocks of marble.† But an exception is made in favour of transferring such materials from one house to another. Yet it is not lawful even for proprietors so to conduct such removals, that the public appearance should be deteriorated by the demolition of whole buildings. P.P. 11 kal. Jan. Alexander, A. Cons. 223.

3. *On Ruined Buildings.* The same A. to Evocatus.—Whether it be allowable in the case of a whole house tumbling down, not to build it up again in the same form, but to convert it into a garden, and whether this may be done with the consent, as well of the magistrates offering no opposition, as of the neighbours;—Let the Præses take cognizance of the case; and when he has ascertained the practice of the town in disputes of this kind, let him order what is right. P.P. 7 kal. Apr. Julian. (2.) and Crispin. Conss. 225.

4. *On Buildings in common.* Philip. Imp. A. and Philip. C. to Victor.—If, as you submit to me, the co-proprietor of a building refuse to contribute his proportion of expense to its repair, you will not necessarily require any extraordinary aid. For if you complete the buildings at your own sole expense, and his proportion, together with interest, shall not have been reimbursed to you within four months after it has been demanded, or if the said co-proprietor should in any manner have prevented this from being done, you will be entitled to claim the right of property over the whole, or you will obtain it according to the precedent of ancient usage. P.P. 4 kal. Apr. Philip. A. and Titian. Conss. 246.

5. *On Baths built on joint Land.* Diocletian and Maximian, Impp. AA. and CC. to Octavius.—If he against whom you petition, being already cognizant that a part of the ground belongs to you, shall have attempted, not as your partner or colleague, and as therefore sharing in his anxiety for a work in which you are both interested, to restore the substantial construction of the baths, not with the view of receiving from you your portion of the expense, but that he may seize upon the whole property, and re-construct on his own account the building which has fallen down, the new structures which are thus erected on the ground of another person shall be forfeited to the proprietor of the ground, and the expense

* These Imperial Laws, of which an English version is now appended to H. E. Dirksen's paper, by the Translator, do not form a part of the original work. The titles &c. are taken from Gothofred's *Corpus Juris*. + (of which they are constructed, with a view to trade and profit.)

incurred for this iniquitous purpose need not be repaid to him. The Præses of the province, as the mindful guardian of the public law, the decree of the blessed Hadrian being obsolete,* will take care that the enactments of the law are observed in settling the dispute. P.P. 4 and 3 non. Oct. AA. Conss. 290.

6. *On the Removal of Marbles, &c.* Constantine, Imp. A. to Elpidius, Vicegerent, Prefect of the Province.—If any one after the passing of this law shall remove into the country, from the plundered city, any ornaments, (*i. e.* marbles or columns,) he shall lose the estate which he has thus enriched. But if any one should be desirous to remove from his own house in any one city to his own house in any other, the marbles or columns from walls in a falling state, as such an operation is likely to tend in a double manner to the decoration of the public property, he may freely do it. Power may also be given to transfer ornaments of this kind from property in one part† to another, although such removal should take place through walls, or though the objects be carried through the midst of the city—with this restriction, however, that that only which has been brought into the city be exported from it. Given at Viminacium, 6 kal. Jan. Crispus (2.) and Constantin. (2.) Conss. 321.

7. *On the Removal of Marbles, &c.* Julian, Imp. A. to Vitianus, the Vicar of Africa.—It shall not be lawful for any one to take away‡, or remove from, any of the provinces, columns or statues, of whatever material they may be. Given, 6 kal. Nov. Julian. A. (4.) and Salustius, Conss. 363.

8. *On the Duties of the Curiales and non-Curiales.* Valens, Gratian, and Valentin II. Imppp. AAA. to Modestus, Prefect of the Province.—Be it enacted, that the curiales of the several cities shall be obliged, even against their will, to repair the houses which were formerly within such cities, or to rebuild them anew, it being their duty ever to discharge the public offices there, and to increase the number of their inhabitants. But the proprietors of houses in cities where there are not curiales, shall be bound to repair them if neglected and dilapidated: this will be done under the control of the judicial authority specially superintending a compliance with this law. Given, 13 kal. Nov. Gratian. (4.) and Merobaud. Conss. 377.

9. *On the Space to be left between New and Old Buildings.* Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius, Imppp. AAA. to Aurelianus, Prefect of the City.—If the proprietor of a piece of ground near any public building is desirous of building upon it, he must begin by placing an interval of fifteen feet between the public and the private buildings: and he must be made to understand, that by this interval it is intended that the public buildings should be protected from harm, and that the private builder may avoid the loss of having to pull down, for having built on forbidden ground. Given, 10 kal. Nov. Arcadius, A. (6.) and Probus, Conss. 406.

10. *On the Construction of enclosing Walls.* Honorius and Theodosius, Impp. AA. to Monaxius, Prefect of the Province.—Permission is hereby given to all who wish it, throughout the provinces of Mesopotamia, Osdrœna, the Euphrates, the Second Syria, Phœnicia, Libanius, the Second Cilicia, both the Armenias, both the Cappadocias, the Pontus of Polemon, and the Hellespont, and to all other provinces, where it may be desired, to surround with a wall their own possessions, or constituted places of dominion. Given at Constantinople, 3 non. Maji. Theodosius, A. (9.) and Constantin. (3.) Conss. 420.

* antiquato D. Hadriani edicto.

+ (of the province.)

‡ *aufferri*, not *afferre*.

11. *On Mæniana.* The same AA. to Severinus, Prefect of the Province.—Mæniana, which the Greeks commonly call *τειχοστάς*, whether those already built, or those which may hereafter be built in the provinces, unless there shall be ten feet of clear space between them, shall be absolutely demolished; but in those places where private buildings are placed facing the public granaries, owing to the obstruction of these mæniana, intervals of fifteen feet must be preserved. We announce also to those who are about to build, that they must all observe these intervals for the future, so that if any one shall attempt to build within the prescribed limits—*i. e.*, ten feet for ordinary structures, and fifteen feet in the case of there being mæniana,—he must be apprised that not only will all that he has so constructed be pulled down, but the house itself will be forfeited to the Fisc. Given, 3 kal. Oct. Asclepiodotus and Marinianus, Conss. 423.

LAWS OF THE EMPEROR ZENO.

12. *Preface.*—Zeno, Imp. A. to Adimantius, Prefect of the City.—Ever since we began to be in the enjoyment of a state of peace, and doing our utmost to preserve our subjects* from external wars, we have applied our mind to the enactment of various useful laws. Amongst these, we have determined to include the present law, in which we propose clearly to exhibit what your excellency† has suggested; and, adopting every precaution to prevent any possible ambiguity of expression, we have also avoided as much as we could technical words, preferring the use of the more vulgar terms, in order that all whom it may concern may understand it without the assistance of an interpreter. For we have been informed by your excellency‡ that the divine law, enacted by Leo, our predecessor,§ of immortal memory, concerning those who might be ambitious of building in this our glorious city, is in some parts of it doubtful, in consequence of the mistaken opinions of its interpreters.

— Sect. I. *On the Space requisite to be left by him who builds.*—We therefore ordain, that neither those who wish to repair their houses, (nor those who intend to build anew,) shall depart from the previous forms, nor shall they take any light or prospect from their neighbours, unless in accordance with the original structure; but we are pleased to add also, what extent of right may be acquired by the builder of each new house, in cases where he may have obtained the power, either by contract or other stipulation, to change, if he pleases, the old form. We accordingly authorise him, if such contract or stipulation should be in his favour, to build according to such contract or stipulation, even though by so doing he may seem to injure such of his neighbours as might have objected to the contract.

— Sect. II. *On the Height to which it is permitted to raise a House.*—Moreover, since our constitution directs that an interval of twelve feet must be left by him who is about to build, between his own and his neighbour's house, and that he may add to it *more or less*,—(as this gives great security to those who build), and as no doubtful or ambiguous words ought to be admitted,—we ordain, in the most clear and explicit terms, that an interval of twelve feet must be left between each house, beginning from the part immediately above the foundations, the same admeasurement being preserved to the very summit of the building. He who shall accordingly in future observe this ordinance, will be allowed to raise his house

* *populos nostros.*+ *tua magnificentia.*† *magnitudo tua.*§ *pater.*

as high as he pleases, and may construct windows, as well those which we call prospective,* as those which are only luminiferous,† according to the said divine constitution, whether he is desirous of erecting a new house, or of reinstating an old one, or of re-constructing one which has been destroyed by fire. He shall, however, be in nowise permitted to encroach upon the prescribed interval, so as to deprive his neighbour of a direct and uninterrupted prospect towards the sea, from any or every side of his house—a prospect which he may enjoy at home either standing or sitting; nor can he be allowed in any such manner to affect this prospect, so that his neighbour should have only an oblique view of the sea. In respect to gardens and trees, the former constitutions contain no regulations regarding them, nor will any be given on this occasion—they are not required.

— Sect. III. *On Windows.*—No one who is building a house near a cross-road, alley, or street, of twelve feet in width, shall be allowed to take from, and add to his own building, any portion of such street or cross-road. But in prescribing the interval of twelve feet between the houses, we do not intend to diminish that which of right belongs to the public, or to divide it amongst private proprietors, but we are desirous of preventing that such intervals between the houses be made more narrow. But if the space exceeds twelve feet, the same must remain as it is, for our intention is not that the width of the streets should be diminished, but that the rights of the city should be preserved. But if the previous form of the old building was such that the interval between two houses was less than twelve feet, the owner must not be allowed to raise his house beyond what it has been heretofore, nor must he construct any windows, unless he gives an interval of at least ten feet.

But in such case, he who is about to build cannot make any prospect windows, except such as were there before; but he may make luminiferous windows, provided he preserves an interval of six feet upwards from the floor. He must, however, in no case, venture to make what is called a *pseudopatum*, (that is, a false or fictitious flooring or pavement in the building itself,‡) and then from the real floor measure his six feet to the luminiferous windows. This would be a false and sophistical construction of the law, and a mere pretence of obeying it. For if this were to be permitted, it would happen, by the introduction of such *pseudopatum*, that the luminiferous windows would be used as if they were prospective, and there would be no difference between them. This would be a decided nuisance to his neighbour, and we therefore prohibit it to be done, and forbid the builders so to act, even should they attempt to procure the right by virtue of any agreement or stipulation.

— Sect. IV. *On the Right of Prospect.*—Moreover, since it has been judged expedient to give permission by a former law to raise the height of houses rebuilt after a fire to the extent of one hundred feet, even if the neighbour should thereby be shut out from his prospect of the sea,—in order to prevent any doubt upon the subject, we ordain that this power shall hold good in favour of those which are renewed after a conflagration, as of those which did not exist before, and are now built for the first time. But in respect to those which have suffered no injury from fire, but have become decayed from the effect of time, or any other cause, and all other kind of houses, if an open interval of one hundred feet is left between them and their neighbours, they may be erected free of all impediment, even although

* *prospectivæ.*

† *luciferæ.*

‡ (under the window.)

they may deprive others of the sea view. But such sea view may be taken from kitchens, privies, closets, staircases, passages leading to bye-alleys, or from courts for carriages, although the new buildings may not have such intervals of a hundred feet, provided only that the interval be not less than twelve feet. These regulations must be observed in all cases, where there is no special agreement in favour of the party building. But neighbours who build in virtue of such special agreements, may build according to the manner determined between themselves. They are in such case allowed to construct houses in the space not reserved, although they may deprive of the sea view those who have given their consent and made the agreement, or their successors; for it is not right to take away by a general law competent rights, which have accrued legally to others.

— Sect. V. *On Solaria, Mœniana, and Staircases.*—This, also, we decree to be observed as law. That no *solaria* shall hereafter be built entirely of wood or planks; but they must all be constructed after the manner and form of those which are called *Romanensia*, and a space of ten feet must be left between any two opposite solaria. If the narrowness of the street does not admit of this interval, the solaria must then be built ἐκ παραλλαγῆς, *i. e.*, not facing each other, or ἐκ παραλλήλου, but alternating one with the other, transversely and obliquely. But if such interval does not exceed ten feet, no solaria or *mœniana* at all can be allowed to be built, whether facing each other directly, or only obliquely. When, however, they shall be erected in conformity with the preceding regulations, we ordain that they be elevated at least fifteen feet from the ground, and the pillars which support them, whether of wood or stone, must be so fixed in the ground as not to stand κατὰ κάθετον, or perpendicularly; so that neither the wall, nor the void space which is beneath those solaria built above, as we have described, be encroached upon, nor the alley or public road be made more narrow. We forbid also that steps shall commence from the level of the footway and lead up to the solaria: so that by the greater care and precaution thus employed, a greater distance between the solaria may be obtained, peril to the city and to the inhabitants of houses may be diminished, and fires may become less frequent, of less duration, and more easily extinguished. If, however, solaria or steps should be erected in any manner contrary to this our law, not only shall they be forthwith demolished, but the owner of the house shall pay a fine or penalty of ten pounds of gold; and the architect who designed, or he who received commission for the work,* shall pay other ten pounds of gold; and if the workman† who executed it shall not be able, through poverty, to pay the fine, his punishment shall be no less than banishment from the city.

— Sect. VI. *On the Colonnades of Public Porticoes and Areas.* Moreover, we ordain that no one shall be allowed to obstruct with buildings the numerous rows of columns which are erected in the public porticoes and areas ‡ leading from that which is called *Milium* to the Capitol: or by setting up close boarding, or any other construction, among the columns. But any such buildings § must not exceed six feet in width, inclusive of the wall towards the open street, and they must not be more than seven feet in height. But in every case we will that a free way from the porticoes to the streets, through four rows of columns, be set

* *qui designavit architectus, aut qui opus recepit.* † *artifex*: probably the builder. ‡ *Stationes.* § (as are at present existing.)

apart:* shops or booths of this description must be ornamented, on the outside at least, with marble, that they may be an ornament to the city, and give pleasure to the passers-by. But in all other quarters of the city we allow the erection of shops amongst the columns, as far as, and in whatever manner, you think they may be useful to the city—the strictest impartiality being observed, so that whatever is permitted to one person be not prohibited to another.

— Sect. VII. *On Lawsuits raised against Persons building.* We ordain, also, as follows, with a view to prevent our just and honest citizens from being injured by the tricks and machinations of litigious persons.† It frequently happens that when such persons are about to build, vexatious lawsuits are got up against them, not for any injury done, but from sheer envy, and with a view to create delays: for example,—that they may oblige one who has begun to build to suspend his operations, and leave his work half finished, they drag him into a court of justice, and make him spend in law the money he had laid aside for building, and (what is the most prejudicial of all), when he shall have got a sentence in his favour, they still hold him bound by the most indissoluble chains, whilst, under pretence of an appeal, he is kept expecting the appointed term,‡ and all the while the adversary is enjoying his disappointment, and the interruption of the building.

We enjoin, therefore, in cases of this kind, that if the appeal is made from the decision of an arbiter, as soon as ever the notice has been laid before the judge, or the form of the appeal reduced to writing, it shall be lawful for either the appellant or the appellee, without being strictly bound to observe the legal period of appeal, to address themselves to your excellency,§ either alone or with the adverse party; and if this adverse party does not make his appearance after being duly summoned, the controversy shall come to a close, so that, without any further delay, the suit shall be legally put an end to, in order that the party who has been unjustly prohibited from proceeding with his building may not suffer irreparable mischief, if forced, during present or approaching winter, to wait a long period for the stated days of appeal.

Moreover, that which is most important,—if any one, in cases of this kind, should complain of your excellency's sentence, and be desirous of appealing, we ordain that a consultation shall be immediately held, and either of the parties, appellant or defendant, shall be entitled to have the sentence more accurately discussed within the precincts of our own sacred palace, and without delay. Whoever shall be so presumptuous as to put impediments in the way of persons building, should be informed, that if they lose their cause, they will have to make good all loss which shall have been sustained, and will moreover have to replace the price of materials, which will probably have been spoiled or deteriorated in the delay caused by the law-suit.

But in respect to those who shall have attempted to build contrary to law, if these are defeated in the suit, they will have to refund the losses or injuries of the person who denounced it, and who was therefore obliged to attend the pleadings.

All controversies of this kind we direct to be decided by your excellency ||

* *per quatuor columnarum ordines*: probably signifying three *intercolumniations*.

+ *calumniantium*.

§ *tua magnificentia*.

‡ *fatales dies*.

|| *magnitudo tua*.

alone, nor do we allow them to be heard before any of the other illustrious magistrates, nor do we permit those who litigate on these questions to plead public service, either military or civil, for refusing judgment, nor to be excused the payment of expenses and losses, which shall be decreed in the sentence of the most illustrious* Prefect of the city, or by the decree of the officer appointed by him; but we will that those who have lost their suit by your excellency's† sentence, shall be answerable in all things, no one alleging, for purposes of exemption, the prescription of the Forum.

— Sect. VIII. *On the finishing of a Work left incomplete.* Your excellency will also take care that no contractor, or smith, or workman, shall leave a work begun by him till it is finished; but, as he has received the price of the work, he shall be obliged to complete it; or he must make good every loss which the person desirous of building may expect to suffer from it, as well as every farther loss ensuing from its not having been finished. But if he who shall have incurred this penalty shall be unable from poverty to advance it, he must be beaten with rods, and expelled from the town. No one shall be prohibited from completing work begun by another, an opinion which we know to have been entertained by some workmen, or contractors, who would neither finish what they had themselves commenced, nor allow others to complete it, and thus bring very heavy losses on those who wish to build their own houses. He, therefore, who refuses on this account to finish a work which was begun by another, shall pay the same penalty as is incurred by him who abandons the work begun by himself.

13. *On the above Law of the Emperor Zeno.* Justinian, Imp. A. to Joannes, Prefect of the Province.—Doubts having been entertained whether the constitution of Zeno, of blessed memory, which was addressed to Amantius,‡ prefect of the city, and which treats of services,§ was only local, and exclusively applied to this most flourishing city; and that these (ordinances) were only to be observed here, but that the old ordinances, which are of a different purport, still hold good in the provinces,—we, being of opinion that it is unworthy of this period, that one law should be observed in this our royal city, and another amongst our provincial cities, do hereby decree that the same constitution shall be held valid throughout all the cities of the Roman empire, and that everything relating to it shall be regulated thereby; and if, by any enactment in that law, innovations shall have been made upon the old arrangement, the same shall be observed by the prefects in their respective provinces; all former ordinances, not altered by the Zenonic constitution, remaining as before under the old laws. Given at Constantinople, kal. Sept.,|| after the consulate of Lampadius and Orestes. V.V. C.C. 531.

TIT. XI.—ON THE INJUNCTION OF A NEW WORK.

1. *If the Denunciator of any new Building is prepared to show cause, let him be heard, and the cause be enquired into, and Judgment pronounced within Three Months.* Justinian, Imp. A. to Joannes, Prefect of the Province.—It has come to our knowledge¶ that some doubts have been hitherto entertained respecting the injunction of

* glorississimi.

† magnificentia tua.

‡ Adimantius.

§ servitutibus (with respect to property).

|| (the first year)

¶ nostra tranquillitas.

a new work ; and it has been said, that if any one has issued an injunction to prohibit a work, he cannot, after the lapse of a year, again prohibit the proceeding with the building. There seems to us to be a double injustice in this conclusion ; for if he has unjustly prohibited the work, such prohibition ought not to last for a whole year : if it has been done rightly, he should be at liberty to prohibit it also after the expiration of the year. To prevent, therefore, this unjust version of the law, we decree that if any one shall have issued the injunction in this royal city, the prefect of the city shall hasten a decision ; and in any of the provinces, the governor* shall determine it within the space of three months ; but if any kind of impediment shall arise, so as to delay the decision of the difficulty, permission shall be given to him who is anxious to proceed in the building, to do what is required, after he shall have given proper securities to the office of the prefect of the city or of the province,—*That in case it shall be decided that he has built contrary to law, he will at his own expense pull down all which he had erected subsequent to the injunction.* In this manner, works will not be prohibited by futile denunciations, and the rights of those who apply for the injunction will be duly consulted. Given at Constantinople, 12 kal. Nov. the second year after the consulate of Lampadius and Orestes, VV. CC. 532.

TIT. XII.—ON PUBLIC WORKS.

1. *On Immunity.* Constantius and Constans, Impp. AA. to Catulinus.—Many persons have obtained immunities from public works by awards of the judges. We, therefore, order that all immunities hereafter so obtained shall be of no value. Given at Sirnium, 6 kal. Aug. Ursus (Lupulus,) and Polemius, Conss. 338.

2. *On the Statement of Expenses incurred.* The same AA. to Marcellinus, Count of the East.—Whatever expense shall have been incurred for public works, you will take care that an account be kept. Given at Constantinople, 5 non. Oct. Limenius and Catulinus, Conss. 349.

3. *On the Cross and Holy Relics.* The Epitome of a Greek Constitution.—No monk, nor any one else, shall erect a cross, or any holy relics, in a public place, or where public shows are exhibited.

4. *On the Prætoria and Public Buildings.* The same AA. to Ecdicius, Prefect of Egypt.—Care must be taken to preserve (at all times) for the rights and use of the public, the *prætoria* of the judges and all public buildings. P.P. at Antioch, 4 non. Dec. Mamertinus and Nevitta, Conss. 362.

5. *On the Judges.* Valentinian and Valens, Impp. AA. to Symmachus, Prefect of the City.—Let no one of the judges project any new work within the city of Rome (the new city as well as the old) † without our special approbation, (unless he is willing to defray the expenses of it from his own resources.) But we give permission to all of them to sanction the re-construction of those which are affirmed to be in a state of dilapidation and ruin. Given at Philippi, 8 kal. Jun. Divus Jovian. and Varronian. Conss. 364.

6. *On Prescriptions of Time and Rescripts.* Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, Imppp. AAA. to Proculus.—Prescription of time ought not to obstruct a public right, nor should even imperial rescripts be allowed to operate in such manner : and therefore all buildings ought to be demolished which, throughout the various

* *Rector.*

† Constantinople, as in Rome ?

cities of the empire, either in the Forum or in any public place whatsoever, are acknowledged to have been erected (without regard to beauty or utility, or the decent appearance of the city.)* Given at Constantinople, 3 id. Jun. Merobaudes and Saturninus, Conss. 383.

7. *From what Works the Prescription of Dignities does not exempt.* The same AAA. to Cynegius, Prefect of the Province.—All people are bound in duty to give their earnest aid in the construction and repairs of harbours, aqueducts, (and walls,) nor should any one claim the privilege of being excused from bearing his part in a labour of this nature. Given at Constantinople, 15 kal. Feb. Richomeris and Clearchus, Conss. 384.

8. *On the Failure of Buildings.* The same AAA. to Cynegius, Prefect of the Province.—All persons who have been entrusted with the care of public buildings, or to whom money has been in the usual manner entrusted for erecting them, must, with their heirs, be held responsible for the same for fifteen years from the completion of the work: so that if any fault or failure shall have occurred in the building within that prescribed term, it must be repaired from their estates or patrimony (excepting, of course, what may be the effect of accident.) Given at Constantinople, 3 non. Febr. Arcadius, A. (I.) and Bauton, Conss. 385.

9. *Whether Houses may be destroyed for the sake of erecting Public Buildings.* Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius, Imppp. AAA. to Aurelian, Prefect of the City.—Whenever we shall have granted permission to erect a public structure, your excellency† will take care that provision be made, that no house is to be pulled down for the purpose of beginning any public building, unless compensation be given to the value of fifty pounds of silver. But with respect to buildings of a higher value, let the matter be brought before us, and referred to our decision, that when a larger sum may be required, the imperial authority may act. Given at Constantinople, 3 kal. Mar. Theodosius. A. (3.) and Abundantius, Conss. 393.

10. *On the Inscription of Names.* The same AAA. to Rufinus, Prefect of the Province.—If any judges shall have inscribed their names on any work completed (with public money) without mention of our name, let them be guilty of treason. Given at Constantinople, 3 non. Jul. Arcadius (3.) and Honorius (2.) AA. Conss. 394.

11. *On the Repair of the Public Walls and Baths.* Arcadius and Honorius, Imp. AA. to Eusebius, Count of the Sacred Largesses.—In order to prevent the destruction of the very splendid cities and towns of the empire, we assign one third part of the revenues of estates belonging to the Republic for the repair of their walls and baths. Given at Milan, 11 kal. Jul. Olybrius and Probinus, Conss. 395.

12. *On the Walls of the City.* The same AA. to Cæsarius, Prefect of the Province—Let all governors‡ of provinces be admonished by letters, that they do assure themselves that the several orders and inhabitants of every city ought to build their Walls anew, or to strengthen those already built; and the charges are to be regulated on the following conditions, namely, that the apportionments be assigned according to the means of each individual; that the lands of the citizens be taxed according to the estimated expense of the work to be undertaken, so that neither

* *contra ornatum, et commodum, ac decoram faciem civitatis extructa nascuntur.*

† *sublimis magnificentia tua.*

‡ *Rectores.*

more nor less than what is required shall be raised, and that no time be lost in putting it in hand. Its fair and just proportion must be laid upon every (productive) acre, that all may equally provide for the expense required. (No excuse will be allowed, nor any claim for immunity will be listened to.) Given 9 kal. Apr. Arcadius, (4.) and Honorius, (3.) AA. Conss. 396.

13. *On the Judges and Corporations of the City.* The same AA. to Theodorus, Prefect of the Province.—Let no one of our judges so far presume upon his office as to order the commencement of any new work without consulting our authority;* nor let him dare, without your excellency's sanction, to take down from the public works any ornaments or marbles, or anything of that nature which shall have been esteemed to be either useful or ornamental to the state, or to remove them to any other place. If any one shall act contrary to this order, he shall be fined six pounds of gold; and the like penalty shall be incurred by the several orders of the citizens, unless they protect the embellishments of their native place,† under the authority of this decree. But the judges of the provinces may, by their own authority, undertake such buildings as shall serve for granaries or hostelryes,‡ if moved by such laudable devotion to the public good. Given at Milan, (3) kal. Jan. Honorius (4.) and Eutychianus, Conss. 398.

14. *What Buildings may be destroyed.* The same AA. to Severus, Prefect of the City.—If any structures, such as are commonly called *parapetasia*, or any other description of building, be so attached to the walls, or to any public buildings, as to endanger the neighbourhood, in respect to fire or thieving, or so as to reduce the extent of the streets or the width of the porticoes, our order is that they shall be destroyed and razed. Given at Constantinople, 6. id. Oct. Honorius A. (4.) and Eutychianus, Conss. 398.

15. *If the Prince may grant a Deed of Gift of any Public Building.* The same AA. to Eutychianus, Prefect of the Province.—In the event of any persons requesting from our bounty the gift of any public work or building, they shall not be granted to him unless they are in a state of absolute ruin, and of little or no use to the city. All rescripts of this kind are to be forwarded to the judgment of your illustrious office. Given, id. Dec. Honorius A. (4.) and Eutychianus, Conss. 398.

16. *On the Statues of the Prince.* The same AA. to Æmilian, Prefect of the Province.—If at any time the public service should require that porticoes or other structures, failing from old age, or shattered by fortuitous causes, should undergo a thorough repair, it shall be lawful, even without application to us,§ to remove from such building either our own statues, or those of our predecessors, provided it be done with proper care and respect,|| and when the building is repaired they shall be again restored to their proper places. Given at Constantinople, 5 kal. Jul. Arcadius A. (6.) and Probus, Conss. 406.

17. *No Portion of the Ground of a Public Palace may be occupied by Private Buildings.* Honorius and Theodosius AA. to Monaxius, Prefect of the Province.—Wherever any portion of ground within the Palatium of the city has been inconveniently occupied by private buildings, all such buildings shall be forthwith pulled

* *pictate nostra.*

§ *nostra clementia.*

+ *genitalis patriæ.*

|| *cum reverentia.*

† *stabulum.*

down, and the ground be restored to the palace, which ought in nowise to be straitened by the structures of private individuals. For it is an imperial privilege to be acknowledged by, and due from all persons, that those habitations should be reserved for us, which have been selected by our lawful authority, and according to the statutes of the Republic. Every such act of usurpation for the future must be prohibited. Given at Constantinople, 9 kal. Mar. Honorius, (8.) and Theodosius, (3.) AA. Conss. 409.

18. *On the Towers on the Walls, for the Defence of the City.* The same AA. to Anthemius.—The work being now complete, we direct that the towers of the new wall, which has been built for the better defence of the most splendid city, under the superintendence of your excellency, and by our authority, shall be assigned to the use and accommodation of those through whose lands it has been carried. The same also is to be a perpetual decree, with the condition, that those who thus become entitled to the use of these towers shall be bound to keep them in due repair at their own expense. Being in the enjoyment of a public property, they must be aware that the repairs and care of it must belong to them. In this manner, the beauty of the work and the defence of the city will be combined with the benefit and convenience of individuals. Given, prid. non. Apr. Lucius, V. C. Cons. 413.

19. *On the Rents of Houses and Shops in the Portico of Zeuxippus.* The same AA. to Severinus, Prefect of the Province.—As many private houses with their shops are said to exist in the portico of Zeuxippus, we ordain that the rents of the same, according to their number, shall, without any reserve, be appropriated to the maintenance of the lights, to the repairs of the buildings and roofs, and to the Baths of this royal city. Given, 5. id. Jan. Victor, V. C. Cons. 424.

20. *On Alleys and Porticoes.* Theodosius and Valentinian. Imp. AA. to Cyrus, Prefect of the City.—Those persons who, without the authority of the divine rescript, to be addressed to your excellency's* judgment, have blocked up with their own private houses any lanes, either entirely or in part, or who have trespassed upon the porticoes, shall (by this our enactment) render to the most holy city its former rights; and a penalty of fifty pounds (of gold) shall be imposed upon any who shall hereafter be bold enough to attempt a similar encroachment. Given, kal. Nov. Theodosius, A. (17.) and Festus, Conss. 439.

21. *On the Basilica.* The same AA. to Cyrus, Prefect of the City.—We ordain that the gilded Basilica, which is also decorated with marble slabs, shall for ever remain free and unincumbered, and that it shall not be concealed and obscured† by the addition of any statue or painted portraits in honour of any one, nor shall any stalls or workshops, consisting of frame-work, be erected in any part of the said basilica. We also decree, that no horses shall be admitted into it, nor any nuptials be celebrated within its walls. Given at Constantinople, 11 kal. Feb. Valentinian. A. (5.) and Anatolius, Conss. 440.

22. *If New Works may be commenced before former ones are completed.* Leo, Imp. A. to Erythrius.—It shall not be lawful for any one of the judges in this noble city, or in the provinces, to commence any new works before he shall have done his utmost, and with due diligence and earnestness, to complete those which were begun by

* *tuae celsitudinis.*

† *obumbratione fuscari.*

his immediate or more remote predecessors, and which may have perished from age, or have been abandoned through carelessness. More merit and praiseworthiness will result from thus restoring to a state of neatness and perfection what are decaying from age, and require repair, and which, being commenced by others, have been left by them half finished. Given at Constantinople, 11 kal. Mar. Martian. and Zeno, Conss. 469.

TIT. XIII.—ON THE EXPENDITURE OF PUBLIC WORKS, AND ON THE
ELDERS (PATRES) OF THE CITY.

1. *The Rectors of the Provinces and other Dignitaries are forbidden to destroy any of the Public Works, and to receive even a single grain of the Moneys appropriated to such Works, as they have formerly done. The Defenders of the City are required to look to the fulfilment of this.* Zeno, Imp. A. to Arcadius, Prefect of the Province.—We command all and each of the governors of the provinces, and the respectable judges of each diocese,—that is to say, the augustal prefect, the count of the east, and both the proconsuls and the vicars, together with their *apparitors*, according to the tenour of the general arrangements within the limits of your illustrious government,* that they shall abstain from destroying any of the public buildings or aqueducts, which have been, or which may hereafter be, erected from the income of the cities, or from any source whatever of voluntary liberality; and that they shall not, at any time, or in any manner, impair the civic revenues, or public works executed, or to be executed, by appropriating to themselves a single grain from any of the moneys so laid out, or by receiving any gain; the same sums being made over to the fathers of the cities, and to their care. If, however, any persons shall engage to execute any public work at their own expense,—although they promised to do so of their own free will, it is nevertheless certain that they are bound by legal obligation to act up to their promise, and to fulfil their engagement by the completion of such work,—yet we grant to them, that neither they, nor their heirs, shall ever be exposed to any inconvenience or molestation for alleged non-fulfilment of their promise, in any manner, or at any time, either by way of forfeit, or by compulsion to complete. If, however, any governor of a province, or his officers, by wasting the public revenues, or by neglecting, in despite of our orders, the public works, shall take to his own use a single grain from the revenues, or shall in any manner transgress the commands of this most sacred law, the five chiefs of the office shall be condemned to perpetual exile, and shall forfeit all their property to the city which they shall have injured; moreover, the governor† of the province shall be mulcted in the penalty of fifty pounds of gold. To the same punishment shall also be subject the illustrious judges, (however high their situation,)‡ and all their official servants, (as aforesaid.) Given—§

* *magnificæ tuæ sedis.*

+ *Rector.*

‡ *Spectabilibus Judicibus (licet illustri dignitate fuerint decorati.)*

§ (No date.)

XXVI.

ON THE LOST GROUP
OF THE EASTERN PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON.¹



REDUCED FAC-SIMILE OF CARREY'S DRAWING, EXECUTED IN 1674.

“Cependant, je ne puis pas le dissimuler, j’aime à me représenter ces magnifiques ouvrages dans leur primitif état. Malgré moi, mon imagination les remplace dans leur ensemble, avec tous les détails, et tous leurs accompagnemens, et il me semble que toute tentative qui produiroit une partie de cet effet, serviroit utilement les intérêts de l’art.”

QUATREMERE DE QUINCY.

“The universally acknowledged pre-eminence of the sculptures of Phidias, is a reason why we should endeavour to derive as many deductions and conclusions as possible with regard to their pristine character; and the greater the genius which produced them, the more important does it become, accurately to comprehend the thoughts and intentions, as expressed both in the whole and in all its particulars.”

WELCKER.

I HAVE been encouraged by the above quotation from the admirable *Lettres à Canova*, by that enthusiastic and eloquent artist, M. Quatremère de Quincy, to venture upon a subject, from which I might otherwise have been deterred by the very different opinions of other writers.⁽²⁾

¹ The accompanying engravings have been copied from the copper-plates of the Eastern and Western pediments, as restored by Professor Cockerell, and published by the Trustees of the British Museum, who have very kindly lent them for that purpose; and I take this opportunity of thanking them, to express my obligations to Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Newton, and other friends, for several valuable suggestions. The western pediment exhibits only one or two trifling alterations, but the eastern has been entirely re-arranged. In submitting this design to the public, it is necessary to apologise for any defects, whether of drawing or composition, which it may exhibit; and to beg the reader to consider that it is formed, not from any description of the sculptures, not with any idea that it represents the actual works of Phidias, but simply as an illustration of the text, and as founded solely upon incidental notices in the poets, upon vase paintings, and other monuments.

² “Après avoir vu la difficulté qu’il-y-a de rendre compte des figures même

No small degree of credit is due to the accurate Stuart for having been the first who perceived that the eastern end of the Parthenon formed the front of the building. Dr. Spon, Sir George Wheler, M. de Nointel and others, in looking at the sculpture of the western pediment, which was then, with the exception of the statue of Minerva, tolerably perfect, all believed that what was before their eyes was not existing, and that what was destroyed was visible before them. This mistake arose from the almost total destruction of the eastern pediment, and the meagre description of the temple given us by Pausanias. The figure of Minerva in the western pediment having fallen, led these persons to suppose that the statue of Neptune represented Jupiter, and thus not only each individual statue in this pediment was misinterpreted, and those remaining of the eastern pediment equally misunderstood, but the very plan and arrangement of the building was not comprehended. Notwithstanding the opinion and authority of Stuart, and more recently of Visconti, the French interpreters of the *Antiquities of Athens* reverted again to the former error, which opinion was also accepted by one of the most distinguished antiquaries of the present day; and it was not till 1825, when M. Quatremère de Quincy published his *Restitution des deux Frontons du Temple de Minerve à Athènes*, that Stuart's opinion was ultimately established and confirmed.

The leading cause of all this error was the ruined state of the eastern pediment. Long before the damage occasioned by the Venetian bombardment, we find in the drawings by Nointel,

qui restent, on voit combien il doit être plus difficile encore de rendre compte de celles qui ont cessé d'exister. Il faut même avouer que de semblables projets de restitutions, quoique utiles aux artistes comme études, doivent être exclus d'ouvrages de la nature de celui dont il est ici question."—MILLINGEN, *Annal. dell' Inst. di Corr.* iv. 207.—"The attempt to *infer* the treatment and details of the alto-relievo group which once occupied the eastern pediment, from the fragments of it which remain, would be as futile an enterprise, as that to reconstruct an Athenian tragedy from a few broken lines."—CHR. WORDSWORTH. *Athens and Attica*, 8vo. Lond. 1836, p. 116.

taken in 1674, the centre of the pediment is one large void: and in 1676, Spon and Wheler write—"The postick or hind-front" (as called by them) "was adorned with figures, expressing" (as supposed by them) "Minerva's contest with Neptune about naming the city of Athens; but now all of them are fallen down, only part of a sea-horse" (a horse's head) "excepted."⁽¹⁾ The destruction of the eastern pediment was caused by the Christians, who had pulled down a portion of the pronaos of the temple, in order to make room for the absis of their church.

M. de Quincy did not content himself with proving the eastern extremity to be the front of the temple; but he projected an imaginary restoration of the composition of its pediment, based upon an observation of Visconti's.⁽²⁾ It is due to this distinguished architect and antiquary (M. De Quincy), that we give the chain of reasoning which he adduces in support of his argument:—

"The mythological origin or birth of the divinities formed, if we may so say, the foundation of pagan religion; and the theogony, the source of all fable, was in some measure the element of their creed. Nothing was more common in works of art than these theogonic representations. On the base of the statue of Minerva, by Phidias, in the interior of the Parthenon, that sculptor represented the birth of twenty divinities, '*viginti dii nascentes*,' among others that of Pandora.⁽³⁾ Would it not have been most natural for Phidias, charged with the sculptures of the Parthenon, to choose for the subject of the principal front of his temple, the birth of her to whom it was dedicated? How can we suppose that Phidias, who must have been acquainted with the marvellous story of her birth, the details of which are still remembered by all the world, would not have seized this idea for the principal subject, and represented it under those circumstances which would render it apparent to the spectators? We must, then, allow that the worshippers of Minerva, with whom the miracle of her birth was an article of faith, would never have been induced, so complacently as Spon and Wheler, to accept the presentation of the daughter, mentioned by no ancient writer, for the accouchement of Jupiter, sung by all the poets.

¹ WHELER'S *Journey into Greece*, p. 360-364.

² "Toutes les figures qui appartoient au centre de la composition, dont les principales représentoient Minerve tout armée, sortant de la tête de Jupiter, avoient disparus depuis un tems immémorial."—VISCONTI, *Mémoire sur les Ouvrages de Sculpture qui appartoient au Parthenon*, 8vo. Lond. 1816, p. 38.

³ PLIN. *H. N.* xxxvi. 5.

"In the Museum at Bologna is an ancient Etruscan patera" (mirror) ⁽¹⁾ "representing the birth of Minerva, the treatment of which is so conformable to the ancient myths, that I cannot imagine any composition which would be more suited for the centre of the pediment. It represents the birth of Minerva, who issues from the head of Jupiter. The goddess has the helmet on her head, the buckler on her arm, and a spear in her hand. Jupiter is seated, holding the sceptre in one hand, in the manner of a spear, and the thunderbolt in the other. On each side of the goddess is a woman. On his right is the deity called Diana, Juno or Lucina, whose two arms are elevated, and who seems by the action of one of her hands to have assisted at the operation of the extraordinary childbirth. On the left of Jupiter is Venus, recognisable by her half-naked attire, a sprig of myrtle, and a dove. Behind Juno Lucina is Vulcan, still armed with the axe which has cleft the head of the god, and seeming to regard with admiration the success of his operations.



¹ It is published by Dempster (*Etr. Reg.* i. 78); Gori (*Mus. Etr.* tab. 120); and explained by Foggini (*Diss. Corton.* ii. 93); and Lanzi (*Saggio di Lingua Etrusca*, ii. 191).

“Engraved pateras (mirrors) and terra-cotta vases may be considered as the productions of a manufacturing industry. Whatever degree of ability we might wish to attribute to the artists employed in multiplying such works, we cannot award to them the merit of invention, of composition, of whatever constitutes, in fine, the original idea of those various subjects presented to us in such works. It is probable that such manufactories had formerly, as our own in the present day, models of figures and groups copied from ancient sculptures or paintings, and that these designs formed types, which were copied with more or less fidelity, and which served to perpetuate the more ancient style of drawing of the primitive schools.

“Thus may be explained the excessive difference of style in the drapery, the drawing, and the general treatment, which one beholds in two vases, found, perhaps, in the same tomb, and which display the same form, material, varnish, and workmanship, though their style and drawing indicate a difference of many ages.

“A similar anomaly of style is met with in the Etruscan pateras. Some of them display an apparent treatment without art, or anterior to art, which is in all probability imitative. Others, on the contrary, exhibit compositions, forms, outlines, attitudes, and movements, which indicate either the epoch of a more advanced art, or that they are copies of original works by superior artists. In this last category may, we imagine, be placed the design of the copper patera representing the birth of Minerva. The general composition, the grouping, the character of the heads, the style of drapery, the costume of the figures, the pose and attitude of Vulcan,—all are distinguished from that stiff, false, and unpractised drawing of the outlines, that monotony of drapery, that absence of truth, that awkward stiffness, that affectation of constantly showing a profile,—incontestable signs of ignorance, which betray the age of the first essays of imitation among all people.

“If the style of drawing and the composition of this work had offered us those traits of a primitive style, which in Italy, as in Greece, preceded by a lapse of several ages the epoch of Phidias, we might suppose that the idea of this representation of the birth of Minerva, on an instrument of sacrifice doubtless in use in the worship of that goddess, might have been handed down by tradition, and after being multiplied under the same form as an object consecrated by religion, might have suggested to the sculptor of the pediment in question the general intention of his subject.

“But it is otherwise. The composition, the adjustment, the design of this scene traced on copper, evidently indicate an age in which the arts of Etruria, although greatly inferior in several respects to those of Greece, had yet received from them some reflection, and thrown aside their first stiffness. Thus it will be permitted to suppose, that the grand and celebrated compositions of the Parthenon at Athens were reproduced in design, and that some of the subjects became the objects of free imitation for many of those dependent arts, which in all ages exist at the expense of the superior. It is probable, therefore, that the Etruscan patera may be a reminiscence of the pediment of Phidias. At all events, and without carrying these conjectures too far, we shall find, I think, by a comparison of the design of this patera, with due regard to the composition required in a pediment, that the centre of the pediment, considering its pitch, and the elevation of its upper angle, would present the most natural situation for a subject such as that I have restored. Minerva, rising above the head of the god, would be placed immediately under the angle, and nothing would have been more easy than the execution of such a group,

especially when one considers that the sculptures of these pediments, instead of being executed in bas-relief, carved out of the solid blocks of the tympanum, were composed of statues, each of independent workmanship, and afterwards placed together so as to form one general composition."

This opinion of Minerva rising from the head of Jupiter was adopted by Brøndsted, (*Voyages et Recherches en Grèce*, fol. Paris, 1830), and more recently by Gerhard, (*Athenens Geburt*, 4to. Berlin, 1838), who only differs from M. De Quincy in the appropriation of some of the accessorial figures. He founds his opinion, however, not on a single Etruscan mirror, but on the numerous representations of this subject on painted vases, which he considers "should remove all doubt as to the subject represented in the pediment of the Parthenon."

In a subsequent pamphlet, (*Drei Vorlesungen über Gyps-Abgüsse*, 8vo. Berlin, 1844), M. Gerhard has given a restoration of the pediment, taking as his basis a vase of remarkable beauty and importance (formerly belonging to M. Beugnot, but now in the British Museum),¹ which vase has also been published and explained by MM. Lenormant and De Witte, (*Elite des Monumens Céramographiques*), and by Forchhammer, (*Die Geburt der Athene*).



THE BIRTH OF MINERVA, AS REPRESENTED ON THE BEUGNOT VASE.

As considerable use has been made of this vase in the accompanying restoration, it may be useful to describe the different figures, as explained by these writers. In the centre we behold Jupiter (Zeus) and Minerva (Athena). On their right are Vulcan (Hephæstus), Neptune (Poseidon), and Bacchus

¹ No. 741 *. See *Vase-Catal. Brit. Mus.*

(Dionysus): on their left Eileithyia and Diana (Artemis). All these have their names written in characters running towards the centre. Between Poseidon and Dionysus are two figures, which have been taken for Nike (Victory) and Apollo, or Iris and Theseus. The outside figures have been described by Gerhard as a Demos and Nereus; by the British Museum Vase-Editors as a Demos and Hades; by Forchhammer as Olympus and Thessalus; and by Lenormant and De Witte, as Amphictryon or Icarius, and Cecrops.

This vase not only puts us in possession of several particulars relating to the myth, but it is also interesting, as being the most carefully-painted vase of the Minerva series, and in having the figures red on a black ground, like the Magna-Græcia vases. Although we cannot consider that it offers us a precise indication of the order and arrangement of the Parthenon pediment, there being six figures on one side, and only three on the other, it is possible that some of the figures may have been copied, by various gradations, from the Parthenon pediment; and we may at least be allowed to give a greater importance to the representation on this vase, from its vast superiority over other similar monuments. The points which I consider of such interest are—

The appearance and attitude of Diana and Nike:

The attitude of Apollo, whose clenched hands so admirably correspond to the description by Homer:(¹)

The attitude of Eileithyia:

And the presence of Hades and a Demos.

With respect to the unequal distribution of the figures, we may imagine that the artist has omitted two figures on the left of the centre, from want of space; and if we suppose these to be Mars (Ares) and Venus (Aphrodite), we shall have the same characters as in the accompanying design, with the exception of Dionysus in lieu of Juno (Hera).

¹ See page 394, note 5.

In opposition to the advocates of the foregoing theory, that the actual birth was represented, several writers have reverted again to the original supposition, entertained by Spon and Wheler, and by Stuart, that the presentation rather than the birth of Minerva was selected by the sculptor, as being equally indicative of the sacred myth, and as being more consistent with the principles of artistic treatment. This idea was first put forward by Professor Cockerell, in 1830, (in his *Illustrations of the Elgin Marbles in the British Museum*, vol. vi. pl. xxi. p. 13), whose opinion Millingen immediately supported, (*Annali dell' Inst. di Corr. Archeol.* iv. 1832, p. 207), though he objected, that the figure of Jupiter must have been represented standing, as, otherwise, the projection of the feet and knees would have been greater than that of the corona. More recently, Professor Welcker has published an essay on the same subject, (*On the Sculptured Groups in the Pediments of the Parthenon*: translated by Dr. L. Schmitz, *Class. Mus.* vol. ii. 8vo. Lond. 1844, p. 367,) in which he advocates a similar opinion, believing, with Millingen, that Jupiter must have been in a standing position. He considers the former theory as monstrous, and objects to its advocates, that representations depicted on vases were copies rather of paintings within the temple, than imitations of the sculpture without:—

“Architectonic sculpture, as applied to the ornamenting of temples (κόσμος), does not follow quite the same laws, and has, in part, its peculiar subjects. It is at any rate obvious, that the products of vase manufactories, destined for certain purposes in ordinary life, can have had but a very limited influence upon sculpture and upon great public monuments. Every one who looks at the creations of Phidias with eyes entirely free from the impressions made by vase-paintings, and with an unbiassed judgment, must confess that he could not have represented Zeus in the same manner as the vase painters. And if ever so many other artists, working as they did for the most distant localities, and with the most distant objects in view, had followed the examples of those painters, certainly the sculptor who created the groups of Aglauros, Herse, and Pandrosos, and of Thallo and Auxo, who knew how to manage within a given space the original figures of Aphrodite on the knees of Dione, and the groups of the Eleusinian divinities, and who invented the figures of the twelve gods sitting on chairs in the eastern frieze, cannot have adopted an ancient type in representing Zeus giving birth to his daughter; he cannot have disfigured, by a monstrous notion of the ancient belief in miracles,

and by a remnant of the rude simplicity of early ages, a work which, in all its details, contains evidence of the most extraordinary power of invention, and, at the same time, of the deepest and purest artistic taste, and which throughout breathes life and nature, notwithstanding its sublime grandeur; he cannot have intolerably exaggerated in his colossal marble a representation which, destined as it was for a small painting on a small vessel, and for small and limited circles, was still bold and dangerous: and he cannot have exhibited such a thing to the eyes of all Greece, in a spot which, of all others at Athens, was calculated to invite the curiosity of all admirers of art. It is, indeed, repugnant to our feelings, and impossible to conceive it."

I have thought it necessary to give the opinions of these writers thus fully, that the reader may be able to form a more complete idea of the subject in dispute, and to judge more freely of the probability of the theory which I am about to propose, and which will be found to be in part compounded of the two opinions, without being identical with either. I agree with MM. Visconti, Quatremère de Quincy, Bröndsted, and Gerhard, in the opinion that the presentation of Minerva to the gods of Olympus, cannot be understood as identical with the birth of Minerva as described by Pausanias; and I agree with MM. Cockerell, Millingen, and Welcker, in condemning the conceit of representing a doll-like figure of Minerva, issuing from the head of Jupiter, in so palpable a material as marble, as being altogether monstrous and inartistic.

"Non tamen intus

Digna geri promes in scenam: multaque tolles

Ex oculis, quæ mox narret facundia præsens."(1)

"Nec, quodcumque volet, poscat sibi fabula credi."(2)

With the exception of Professor Cockerell, who unites in himself the practised knowledge of architecture and sculpture with the power of learned criticism, and of M. Bröndsted, the other writers have treated the subject only in a mythological aspect.(3) Leaving this part of the question—so far as regards

¹ Hor. *De Arte Poet.* 182-184.

² *Id.* 339.

³ Since the preparation of this article, I find that Mr. Lloyd, in an essay written in 1846, and unpublished (but communicated to a few friends), adopted the view of placing Minerva upright, in the centre of the pediment; Juno being seated on one side of her, and Jupiter opposite on the other: the grouping of Jupiter and Vulcan being taken from the bas-relief published by Winckelmann.

the central figures—for the consideration of those who are more competent than myself to express an opinion, I purpose to treat the subject simply in an artistic point of view. I propose to consider, not so much the instructions which the Hierarch would give through Pericles, as the conceptions which Sculpture would create in the mind of Phidias—not so much what Phidias had to do, as how he did it.

There can be no doubt that of the two theories which have been suggested, the presentation of the new-born goddess to the deities of Olympus would afford a subject of great nobleness and beauty. Jupiter would be seated in the centre of the pediment, and with his attributes—his lofty and magnificent throne, his carved footstool, his sceptre and his eagle,—would form an imposing and splendid centre to the composition. No “monstrous” wound, no expression of pain, would detract from the god-like serenity of Jupiter’s appearance; no exaggerated character in the other deities would tend to lessen the simple majesty of the general composition. The various figures of the pediment, though disposed in different attitudes, would yet form one continued whole, having a grand central point of unity, and that centre, the sovereign deity himself. Surely, no subject could exceed in nobleness of character that in which the king of the gods is represented sitting on his throne, surrounded by all the superior deities. But though one of the most desired objects with the sculptor would be to form the noblest scene he could devise, this was not the paramount requirement. It being Minerva’s house, he had to represent Minerva’s birth; and such, according to Pausanias, was fully executed:—“To those entering the temple called Parthenon, all that is placed in the pediment refers to the birth of Minerva; but in the back of the temple is the contest of Minerva and Neptune for the right of territory.”

Ἐς δὲ τὸν ναὸν, ὃν Παρθενῶνα ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐς τοῦτον ἐσιοῦσιν, ὅποσα ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις ἀετοῖς κείται, πάντα ἐς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶς ἔχει γένεσιν. τὰ δὲ ὑπισθεν ἡ Ποσειδῶνος πρὸς Ἀθηνᾶν ἔσταν ἔρις ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς.⁽¹⁾

¹ PAUS. i. 24, sec. 5.

Although this event is literally represented in the vase-paintings adduced by the opposite party for their authority, and although the compositions on such vases are generally such as are most typical of the event indicated, and which most perfectly embrace, as well the events which preceded the moment chosen, as those which followed it; yet we have no authority for supposing that the artist of the Athenian pediment was obliged to select such moment, embracing most completely every event referred to. Such representations become liable to objection, when we consider that the moment chosen being that which is most perfectly in equilibrium, and referring equally to the events preceding and following—would relate equally to Jupiter as to Minerva. Were an earlier moment indicated, then, although the subject would still relate to the birth of Minerva, the scene would have especial reference to the pain induced by the operation of Vulcan; or still earlier, to the labours of childbirth; or earlier still, to the swallowing of Metis: and in these cases, Jupiter would be brought more and more in view, and Minerva less.

It is precisely thus that we find the subject treated by the vase-painters. In more than one example, we have Jupiter in labour, in which the condoling expression of the surrounding deities is most comically represented;⁽¹⁾ in another, Eileithyia is actively engaged in her professional duties;⁽²⁾ in others, Jupiter is represented with his hands clenched, as in the vehemence of pain;⁽³⁾ in another, he is in the action of hurling his thunderbolt at Vulcan, in return for his compulsory assistance;⁽⁴⁾ in others, with the hand outstretched, as in the moment of delivery;⁽⁵⁾ in several, we have the goddess rising from the head of Jupiter; in two vases, we see Minerva standing on his knee;⁽⁶⁾ and we have two other examples, in which she

¹ LENORMANT and DE WITTE, i. pl. 54; *Museo Etrus.* ii. 1, 2, 31², 48.

² LEN. pag. 190; PASSERI, *Pict. in Vasc. tab.* 152; DEMPSTER, *Etrur. Reg.* i. pl. 74.

³ LENORM. i. pl. 58, 60, 61.

⁴ *Id.* pl. 56.

⁵ *Id.* pl. 62, 64.

⁶ *Id.* pl. 55, 59; Vases of Comte Lamberg, i. 83.

appears in perfect stature, before Jupiter, who stretches out his hand towards her in exultation.⁽¹⁾ It is far from impossible that vases may one day turn up, which shall represent the swallowing of Metis, or the operation of Vulcan's axe: for as the decoration of vases was left to the fancy of the artist, the scene might be represented in a thousand manners, though, as I have stated, the point of time most generally chosen is that of the actual delivery.

But in the application of this myth to the pediment of the Parthenon, we have no authority for supposing that the artist was under the obligation of selecting such said moment of most perfect equilibrium. On the contrary, his object would naturally be to give as much importance as possible to the representation of Minerva, and he would endeavour to select such a point in the history as, at the same time that it effected this, should refer clearly to the previous events. Another objection to the adoption of the vase-paintings is the diminutive size given to the principal figure, the infant puppet-form of which would appear another being from the gorgeous chryso-elephantine statue within the naos of the temple. But independently of the want of importance given to the figure of Minerva, the difficulty and absurdity of executing such a figure in the solid, constitutes an insuperable objection.⁽²⁾

Before venturing on any conjectural restoration of the eastern pediment, it will be well to examine attentively the composition of that of the western front. In doing so, it will be found that order and symmetry,⁽³⁾ required by Vitruvius in all architecture, are peculiarly necessary as the very fundamental laws of a pedimental composition: and that no statue,

¹ LENORM. pl. 66; *Mus. Etrus.* ii. 29.

² It is true that a statue of this description did actually exist at Athens, (PAUS. i. 24,) but as an individual work it might have been treated ever so capriciously.

³ "Non potest ædes ulla sine symmetria atque proportione (Eurhythmia) rationem habere compositionis, nisi uti ad hominibus bene figurati similitudinem, membrorum habuerit exactam rationem."—VITRUV. *de Archit.* iii. 1.

however well executed, or however beautiful in itself, can look well in a pedimental group, unless its form, and mass, and attitude, and, indeed, its entire character, be in accordance with the figures immediately surrounding it, but more particularly with the figure corresponding to it on the other side of the pediment. There is a passage in Aristotle which directly bears upon this subject.

To form a *unity*, it is necessary that "the parts be so connected, that if any one of them be either transposed or taken away, the whole will be destroyed or changed: for whatever may be either added or omitted without making any sensible difference, cannot be a part of the whole."⁽¹⁾ With this key to our enquiries, we proceed to examine the sculpture of the more perfect pediment.⁽²⁾

In the Western front of the Parthenon we have the most beautiful group left us from antiquity. Nothing can exceed the admirable play of lines produced by the sculptor in this composition. Notwithstanding the variety of figures, there is not one which presents a perpendicular line. Artistically speaking, the subject is divided into two masses, the figures of which are of proportionate size. In the central group are Neptune and Minerva, with their chariots and attendants. These figures, by their arrangement as well as by their size, constitute the principal and more prominent group. The second mass, if we

¹ ARISTOT. *Poetica*, viii. 4. *Ed.* Hermann.

² In decorating the pediment of a temple, the sculptor must have felt great difficulty in applying his group to so unaccommodating a form as a triangle. When the subject admitted of the introduction of the supreme deities in the centre of the group, as in the pediments of the Parthenon, the artist availed himself of the common practice of remote antiquity, of representing the deity as of colossal size; and he was thus enabled to fill up his pediment more easily. But when the subject was of no sacred character, but represented such scenes as a battle between Greeks and Amazons, no such liberty could be permitted, and the sculptor was obliged to have recourse to other means to raise up the centre of his composition. We find these two manners well exemplified in the monument at Xanthus. In the eastern pediment, the god and goddess, seated in the centre, are of colossal size; and, in the western, the centre is occupied by a figure on horseback, which fills up the composition very successfully, while the shoulder of the half-pediment which is preserved to us is occupied by men on foot, advancing against him.

may so call it, is composed of the accessorial figures in the two extremities of the tympanum, which also correspond to each other in their individual parts.

By this division of the sculpture, the eye is enabled at a glance to grasp the leading subject represented by the artist, instead of wandering indistinctly over the whole of the composition had the figures been of a more equal gradation. As the central group comes out distinctly from the side groups, so the two principal figures, Neptune and Minerva, stand out boldly from all other figures: and thus the eye is attracted at first by the general character of the central group, and immediately after by the principal personages of that group.

Though the figures of Neptune and Minerva are so colossal, that were they standing upright their heads would touch the apex of the pediment, yet, by the attitude given to them, all appearance of heaviness is overcome, and the figures are prominent without being overpowering. The Neptune leans to the right, the Minerva to the left, while their arms and legs cross each other, so as to form, with these two figures only, a central group of great variety and beauty of lines.⁽¹⁾ The land and sea-horses on either side give a pyramidal form to this central group, and by the undulating lines of the horses, give a peculiar grace and compactness to the whole composition.

Mr. Lloyd very correctly observes of the Minerva, that "from the view that is shown (in Carrey's drawing) of the fracture, or stump, of her left arm, it must have extended before him, and outwards from the pediment."

This position of the arm I consider necessary to the perfect balance and expressiveness of the figures. Minerva is placed behind Neptune, and behind her horses, and we require this

¹ I would refer the reader to Mr. Lloyd's judicious remarks on these two statues, in the fifth volume of the *Class. Mus.*, where he very accurately describes the tension and relaxation of the different muscles, the relative proportion of vigour and spirit, the contrasted and symmetrical gesture, and the interlacing of the several parts.

extension of one arm, to denote the superiority of the virgin goddess. I have, therefore, in accordance with this feeling, slightly altered the accompanying plate, by introducing the arm and *shield*(¹) of Minerva warding off and protecting her country from the attack of its enemies. The spear is in Minerva's right, the trident in Neptune's left, or weak hand. By this position of the goddess, the sculptor has cleverly managed to place Neptune in the way of *his* horses, while Minerva allows free passage to her own.

Another remarkable evidence of careful study of effect evinced in this pediment, is seen in the manner in which the voids and masses of the pediment are made to alternate regularly with the columns and intercolumniations below; thus avoiding those perpendicular lines observable in the portico of one of our public buildings, where the columns appear to be not only extended by the pedestals below, but to run up into the sculpture above.

This pediment, then, is so remarkable, that we at once turn to the Eastern, naturally expecting to behold there a still more transcendent grandeur and beauty. But, instead of finding in the restorations of this pediment by the various critics who have written on the subject, (²) that blending of the lines, and welding, we might almost say, of the forms together, we perceive in the generality of such designs, insulated perpendicular figures, without life or meaning: instead of the greatly increased proportion given to the principal figures, as observable in the western pediment, we find there the figures are, as much as possible, reduced to one medium size.

Judging of these designs abstractedly or artistically, I

¹ A proper type of Minerva as a guardian deity.

² It would betray a want of candour to include Mr. Cockerell's design, (*Anct. Marb. Brit. Mus.* vi.) in this category, which displays great judgment and ability, though the theory is different from that at present offered. The sculptured pediment of St. George's Hall, Liverpool, designed by Prof. Cockerell, is the finest modern composition for a pedimental group that I am acquainted with. Its general character approaches somewhat to that of the western pediment.

cannot consider that they express the spirit and character of the lost original: we must seek, therefore, in what other manner these elements may be best obtained. It has been stated that in the western pediment the sculpture is divided into two distinct groups, occupying the centre and the extreme ends of the triangle. In the eastern pediment we have only the extreme ends of the pediment, which can give but little or no clue to the arrangement of the central group, which is entirely wanting. The temple being dedicated expressly to Minerva, and finding Minerva holding a conspicuous position in the western pediment, it is reasonable to suppose that Phidias, who was—“*Diis quam hominibus efficiendis melior*,”⁽¹⁾ would have given a still more prominent position in the eastern pediment to the figure of Minerva; by reason both of the greater importance of the subject of representation, and from the east end being always considered as the principal. Minerva should, therefore, be the central figure in the eastern pediment; and, as in the western pediment the central figures are of colossal size, so in the eastern the statue of Minerva should not only occupy the centre of the pediment, but form the most important figure in the composition. In the western pediment, we observe great beauty is effected by the lines of the horses, the forms of which appear necessary to connect the whole together, and prevent an undue preponderance of the perpendicular form. Some lines of this description are required in the eastern pediment, though it is possible that the direction of these lines should be so managed as to produce variety. Thus, the central figure of Minerva, in the eastern pediment, would form a contrast to the double figures of Neptune and Minerva in the western, and thus the converging or pyramidal lines of the horses might require diverging lines in the eastern pediment, which lines are procured in the accompanying engraving, by means of the sceptres of Jupiter and Juno; precisely in the same manner that we find

¹ *Quint. Inst.* xii. 10, sec. 9.

this occasionally managed in vase-paintings.⁽¹⁾ And if we compare the several other groups in the two pediments, we shall observe similar marks of contrast.

This variety we might have expected to behold in the central group of the eastern pediment, had the figures been preserved to us. As the central figures in the western pediment are in animated attitudes, those in the eastern might have been calm and sedate: as the side figures in the western are in quiet attitudes and seated, those of the eastern might have been raised and erect.

These, then, are what I consider to be the characteristics of the eastern pediment,—such a perceptible difference in the size and composition, as should render the central group easily distinguishable from the side groups—such predominating importance given to the central figure, as should render it pre-eminent over all others—such freedom and gracefulness in the curved lines on each side of the centre, as should contrast most effectually with the straight lines, and such fulness and roundness as should unite the whole in one composition. But in imagining the figure of Minerva to occupy the centre of the pediment, we must not forget that the glorious statue of the goddess, the masterpiece of Phidias' art, stood below. The attitude of this figure was erect. She stood upon a lofty pedestal, and her head nearly touched the summit of the roof. The doors are open; and she is visible to the eyes of the countless multitude before the temple. It is impossible, then, to suppose that the Minerva of the pediment could have been represented erect, for she would then have appeared to stand upon the head of the statue beneath. An attitude must, therefore, be selected for her, which shall appear least identical with

¹ See plate 242 and 317 of Inghirami (*Pitture di Vasi Etruschi*), where we see spears and thyrsi so arranged. The celebrated vase of the death of Priam, in the museum at Naples, is particularly remarkable for the pyramidal forms of the various groups.

that below. The being is the same, but the appearances should be most dissimilar.

In conformity with these several requirements, I have imagined the figure of Minerva to occupy the central portion of the pediment, to be represented as just issued from the head of Jupiter, and as rising supremely towards the highest heaven, and springing up into ether.⁽¹⁾

Ἡ γενέτηρος

Πηγῆς ἐκπροθορουσα, καὶ ἀκροάτης ἀπὸ σειρας.⁽²⁾

She has attained her full stature; she utters a loud shout;⁽³⁾ her arms are extended upward, holding a spear and buckler;⁽⁴⁾ while her feet are raised from the ground, to indicate, by the continuity of action, the period of recent birth.

Thus is she described by Pindar,—

What time, by Vulcan's adze, the poets sung,
From great Jove's head, the armed Minerva sprung
With awful shout—Heaven's thunders rolled,⁽⁵⁾
And gods and men all shuddered to behold.

¹ See page 373.

² PROCLUS, *Hymn. ad Miner.* 1, 2.

³ αὐτῇ τε πτόλεμοί τε. HOM. *Hym. ad Min.* xi. 3. φιλόμαχος, ÆSCHYL. *Sept. c. Theb.* 130. In an Etruscan Mirror, published by Dr. Braun in the *Annali*, 1851, (p. 141, pl. G, H,) *Lalan*, a personification of the war-shout, ἀλαλά, is represented, together with *Preale*, who may be considered as a personification of the impetuous leaping-forth of Minerva, fully-armed (πρόλις) from the head of Jupiter.

⁴ See TZETZES, *ad Lycoph.* 355; SCHOL. *ad Apoll.* iv. 1310. Among other derivations of the names of Minerva is that of Πάλλω, to brandish, or vibrate. See also PLATO, *Cratyl.*, 406. Minerva is also described as shaking her shield, (NONNUS, *Dionys.* iv. 390, xxvii. 296); and thus, paying attention also to the vibrating crest of her πῆληξ, we must consider that her impetuous leaping motion, so constantly exhibited on the vases, is an important element to be expressed in a representation of her birth.

⁵ This appears alluded to in the many vases representing the birth of Minerva, where we find Jupiter so generally grasping his thunderbolt. See LENORMANT and DE WITTE, i. pl. 56, 57, 59, 62, 63, and 65 A. It is partly with this view that I have introduced the eagle and thunderbolt under the feet of Minerva, and partly as a figurative representation of the birth of the goddess from the head of Jupiter. The owl might have been introduced in the folds of the drapery. The Scholiast of Aristophanes (*ad Equit.* 1091) says that the owl flying was a symbol of victory. See also DIOG. *Proverb. Cent.* iii. 72.

‘Ανίχ’ Ἀφαίστου τέχναισιν
 Χαλκελάτφ πελέκει πατέρος Ἀθαναία κορυφὰν κατ’ ἄκραν
 Ἀγορεύσας, ἀλάλαξεν ὑπερμάκει βοᾷ. ⁽¹⁾

Thus by Hesiod,—

From his head proceeded, self-created,
 Pallas Tritogenia, blue-eyed maid ;
 Awful, ⁽²⁾ unconquer’d, leader of the fight,
 Whom shouts and tumults, din and wars delight. ⁽³⁾

And thus by Homer,—

Forth from the head of him, Ægiochus,
 Immortal Jove! she rushed impetuous,
 Brandishing aloft her sharp-pointed spear.
 At the dread sight Olympus shook with fear;
 The earth groaned heavily, the sea distress’d,
 With purple waves her sovereign might confess’d. ⁽⁴⁾

And in the same manner is she described by Philostratus,—

“The gods were affrighted at seeing Minerva just issued from the head of Jupiter, by the assisting instrument of Vulcan, appearing completely armed. ⁽⁵⁾

¹ PINDAR, *Olym.* vii. 65-70.

² γοργῶπις ἀδάματος θεᾶ. SOPH. *Ajax.* 450.

³ Αὐτὸς δ’ ἐκ κεφαλῆς γλαυκῶπιδα Τριτογένειαν,
 Δεινὴν, ἐγρεκῦδοιμον, ἀγέστρατον, ἀτρυτώνην,
 Πότνιαν, ἣ κέλαδοί τε ἄδον πόλεμοί τε μάχαι τε.—HESIOD. *Theog.* 924-926.

ἵππων καὶ σακῶν ἀδομένα πατάγφ.—CALLIM. *Hymn. in Lavan. Pall.* 44.
 Πολεμοκλόνον τ’ Ἀθήνην, ANAC. liii.

⁴ Η δὲ πρόσθεν Διὸς ἀνιόχοιο
 Ἐσσυμένως ᾤρουσεν ἀπ’ ἀθανάτοιο κάρηνον,
 Σείσας ὅζον ἄκοντα μέγας δ’ ἐλελίξεν Ὀλυμπος
 Δεινὸν ὑπὸ βρίμη γλαυκῶπιδος ἀμφὶ δὲ γαῖα
 Σμερδαλέον ἰάχυσεν ἐκινήσῃ δ’ ἄρα πόντος
 Κύμασι πορφυρέοισι κυκώμενος, ἔσχετο δ’ ἄλμη
 Ἐξαπίνης.—HOMER, *Hymni*, ii. 8.

⁵ Φρίττουσι δὲ τὴν Ἀθηναίαν, ἄρτι τῆς τοῦ Διὸς κεφαλῆς ἐν ὄπλοις ἐκραγεῖσαν Ἡφαίστου μηχαναῖς, ὡς ὁ πέλεκυς. (PHILOST. *Imag.* ii. 27.) Ἀθηναὶα σὺν ὄπλοις ἀνεθορε. (APOLLOD. *Bibl.* i. 3, sec. 6.) Γενομένην δ’ ἐκ Διὸς καὶ μόνον καὶ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς οὐχ ἦτον τούτων θανμαστὸν τὸ τέταρτον ἐφείλκετο, ὃ δὴ φασι συμβῆναι περὶ τὸ χάσμα τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φάσμα. ἀνῆκε γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐνοπλος, ὥσπερ ἥλιος πᾶνίσχωνόμοῦ ταῖς ἀκτῖσιν, ἐνδοθεν κοσμηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός. (ARIST. *Orat.* i. 18.) See also EUSTATHIUS, *Comment. in Iliadem*, A, p. 83, Rome; LUCIAN, *Deor. Dial.* viii.; MARTIAN. *Capel.* vi.

Such an appearance of their virgin goddess, the personification of intellectual wisdom and excellency, commanding alike from her position and attitude, her casque and ægis, her spear and buckler,—glittering in all the brightness of the sun,—must have elicited a proud boasting, must have awakened a sacred fire in the breast of every Athenian citizen. On either side of Minerva would be Jupiter and Juno, seated on thrones, and the attitude of whose bodies, assisted by the diverging lines of their sceptres, would correspond to, and contrast with, the curved lines of the horses of Nike and Amphitrite, in the western pediment.

The position of the goddess before Jupiter would be conformable with the description by Philostratus, who says that,—

“Jupiter seemed to gasp with delight, as those who endure great labour for the accomplishment of some good, and contemplated his daughter, exulting at her birth.”⁽¹⁾

Nor are we without authority from vase-paintings for this position of the goddess. On two vases she is represented as standing on the knee of Jupiter; on two others as standing



THE BIRTH OF MINERVA, ON A VASE IN THE MUSEO-ETRUSCO.

¹ ‘Ο Ζεὺς δὲ ἀσβμαίνει σὺν ἡδονῇ, καὶ ἀπὲρ οἱ μέγαν ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ καρπῷ διαπονήσαντες ἄλλον, καὶ τὴν παῖδα ἐξιστορεῖ, φρονῶν τῷ τόκῳ. PHILOST. *Imag.* ii. 27. So also by HOMER, Γῆγενε δὲ μητίετα Ζεὺς.—*Hymn. ad Athen.*

before him;(¹) and on another she is represented rising, *full-sized*, from above his head.(²) Another instance of this position is seen in the eastern frieze of the temple of Nike-Apteros, where Minerva appears standing between Jupiter and Neptune, the former of whom is enthroned, the latter seated on a rock.(³)

The vacant space in this part of the composition may be objected to, as contrasting too powerfully with the more crowded portions; but I have had a particular object in thus opposing it. I desire to express by this vacuity the ethereal firmament, as especially considered the province of this divinity, as the earth was that of Ceres, or the sea of Neptune.(⁴) Jupiter and Juno were also taken for this element: but Jupiter, as the centre of the universe, was considered as occupying the middle region of the heavens; Juno as the lower region; and Minerva, as the excellency of wisdom, and as proceeding from the head of Jupiter, was regarded as occupying the summit of the ethereal atmosphere.(⁵) Tzetzes describes Minerva as "the air or exhalation which moves heaven;"(⁶) Gyraldus, quoting Diodorus, Porphyrius, and Macrobius, says that ether was attributed to Minerva from "the unsullied purity of that element;"(⁷) and Eustathius to the same effect;(⁸) Martianus compares her to "ethereal fire;"(⁹)

¹ See ante, p. 364, note 1. The accompanying figure is from the *Mus. Etrus.* ii. 29. It is described as Jupiter and Juno, and some other deity, though it evidently represents Jupiter, Minerva, and Vulcan. It occurs on the same vase as the engraving in the next page.

² LENORMANT and DE WITTE, i. pl. 63.

³ ROSS, SCHAUBERT, and HANSEN, *Akropolis von Athen.* p. 11. pl. xii.; GERHARD, *Annali dell Inst.* xi. 61, tav. E. Behind these are the other of the twelve deities. Juno is most probably the figure seated in a throne at some distance from the scene; though, from the manner in which the standing figure immediately behind Jupiter holds her veil, she might have been taken for that divinity.

⁴ SALLUST. (*Philos.*) *De Diis et Mundo*, cap. vi. Compare TZETZES, *Alleg.* 149.

⁵ PHURNUTUS, *De Nat. Deor.*; BEGER, *Thes. Bran.* iii. 219, 439; CREUZER, *Symb.* viii. sec. 29, vol. ii. p. 800.

⁶ TZETZES, *ad Lycoph.* 17.

⁷ *Hist. Deor. Syntag.* 338 A, 339 A B; DIOD. SIC. i. 12, sec. 7; FULGENTIUS, *Mythol.* ii. 3, *de Min.*

⁸ EUSTATH. *Comment. in Iliadem*, A, p. 83, 123, *Rome.*

⁹ MARTIAN. *Capel.* vi.

and, lastly, we learn that the blue eyes attributed to this divinity, were considered by some as having reference to the colour of ether.⁽¹⁾ It is in conformity with this belief, that I have hazarded the bold idea of representing her in what may be regarded as the too theatrical attitude of rising towards the apex of the pediment. This idea appears expressed in the accompanying engraving from the *Museo-Etrusco*, (ii. 29, but un-



THE BIRTH OF MINERVA, ON A VASE IN THE MUSEO-ETRUSCO.

explained,) where we find Jupiter, recognised by his thunder-bolt and sceptre, before whom are Apollo and Eileithyia; the birth of Minerva being symbolized by a bird flying from the head of Jupiter. It is important to observe that it occurs on the same vase as the figure in page 372.

In the oration by Aristides, in honour of this divinity, we read,—

“But as she was born in the summit of heaven, and from the summit of Jove’s head, so the summits of all cities [acropoli⁽²⁾] were dedicated to her,” &c.⁽³⁾

¹ EUST. *Com.* A, p. 124; DIOD. SIC. i. 12, sec. 8.

² PHURNUTUS, xx.

³ “Ατε δὲ ἐν κορυφῇ τε τοῦ Ὀλύμπου καὶ ἐκ κορυφῆς τοῦ Διὸς γενομένη πόλεων τε πασῶν τὰς κορυφὰς ἔχει κατὰ κράτος ὥς ἀλλήῳ ἡρηνικία (vel ἡρκυία) καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅσοι θεοφιλεῖς οὐκ ἄτη πατεῖ τὰς κεφαλὰς, Ἀθηνὰ δὲ ἀνέχει καὶ ἐμβατεύει, τηροῦσα τὸ σύμβολον τῆς αὐτῆς γενέσεως.—ARIST. *Orat.* i. 19.

"She occupies," says Diodorus Siculus, "the summit of the universe,"—

τὸν ἀκρότατον ἐπέχειν τόπον τοῦ συμπαντος κόσμου.⁽¹⁾

She was said to be born from the summit of Jupiter's head, because ether is the highest portion of the atmosphere,—

αἰθέρα τὸν ὑψηλότετον εἶναι ἀέρα.⁽²⁾

Eandem hanc alii ætherium verticem, et summitatis ipsius esse summam dixerunt.⁽³⁾

Ego in altissimis habitavi, et thronus meus in columna nubis.⁽⁴⁾



THE BIRTH OF MINERVA. (PASSERI, LUCERNE).

We meet with a striking illustration of this hypothesis in an ornamental lamp, given by Passeri, (*Lucerne*, i. tab. 52,) where we behold Minerva just issued from the head of Jupiter, floating horizontally in the air.⁽⁵⁾

Another still more hazardous conjecture, and one which I propose with the greatest diffidence and hesitation, is that of attributing wings to Minerva; but although hypothetical, I have thought it necessary to express these wings in the drawing,

¹ DIOD. SIC. i. 12, sec. 7.

² EUSTATH. *Comment. in Iliad.* A, 124.

³ ARNOB. *advers. Gent.* p. 118, lib. iii.

⁴ *Script. Rer. Myth.* 8vo. Cellis, 1834, iii. 10. The highest god: see CREUZER, *Symb.* ii. 800.

⁵ Compare MILLIN. *Pierres gravées*, xvi. where she is represented as moving noiselessly in the air, precisely as she is described by Homer, *Il.* E 778.

that the reader may form a more definite impression of the effect produced. I have been led to adopt this idea, from the objection which might be made to a figure being represented as suspended without support. It is quite certain that Minerva was fabled by the ancients as having wings to her feet and helmet;⁽¹⁾ and it has been very reasonably supposed that such appendages were intended as indicative of wings on shoulders.⁽²⁾

Thus spake the goddess :
Then on her feet her feather'd sandals bound,
Immortal, bright with gold, which o'er the ground
And waters swiftly bore, mid space around.⁽³⁾

So Cicero, to the same effect,—

“Pallantis . . . cui pinnarum talaria affigunt,” (affigunt.) ⁽⁴⁾

Tzetzes gives us this origin of the fable. He says that the goddess Pallas, having slain her father, the winged Pallas, furnished herself with his skin as an ægis, and adapted his wings to her feet.⁽⁵⁾ We know, moreover, that Minerva was commonly represented, among the Etruscans, as having wings on her shoulders;⁽⁶⁾ and there is a passage in Aristophanes from which we might imagine that she was also thus regarded by the Greeks:—

ὁ γ' Ερμῆς
Πέτεται, Ζεὸς ὦν, πτέρυγας τε φορεῖ, πάλλοι γε Ζεοὶ πάνυ πολλοί.
Αὐτίκα Νίκη πέτεται πτέρυγων χρυσαῖν.⁽⁷⁾

Æschylus represents the chorus of the Eumenides as placing the people under the protection of Minerva's wing—

Παλλάδος δ' ὑπὸ πτεροῖς
Οντας ἀζέεται πατήρ—⁽⁸⁾

¹ See ECKHEL, *Doctr. Num. Vet.* v. 84.

² INGHIRAMI, *Mon. Etr.* ii. 643.

³ *Ως εἰποῦσ', ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα,

Ἀμβρόσια, χρύσεια, τὰ μιν φέρον ἡμὲν ἐφ' ἱγρῆν,

Ἥδ' ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν, ἅμα πνοῇς ἀνέμοιο.—HOM. *Od.* i. 96-98.

⁴ CIC. *De Nat. Deor.* iii. 23.

⁵ TZETZES, *ad Lycoph.* 155.

⁶ Among the instances which may be quoted of Minerva's being represented with wings, are a small bronze statue found at Orte in 1837, published in the *Mus. Etrus.* i. 43; a bronze mirror in the Brit. Mus., on which are figured Minerva, Hercules, and Hydra; and other monuments published by Inghirami, *Mon. Etrus.* i. 54; ii. 34, 65.

⁷ ARISTOPH. *Aves*, 572-4.

⁸ ÆSCHYL. *Eum.* 999.

and from Eustathius it would appear that these wings, which from her sublime flight were attributed to her in common with Victory, were golden,—

Διὸ καὶ ὁ μῦθος τὴν Νίκην οὐ μόνον χρυσαῖν πτερύγοιν ἐχόσμησε διὰ τὸ κατ' αὐτὴν καὶ πολυτίμητον καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν μετεωροπόρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ εἰς ταυτὸν ἤγαγεν. ὡς δηλοῖ καὶ ὁ γράψας τὸ Ἀθηνᾷ ἢ Νίκῃ, (1)

which Phurnutus in some measure confirms, by stating that wings were attributed to her by reason of her rapid motion, which no impediment could stay,—

Πτερωτὴ παρειαίγεται, διὰ το ὀξύρροπον καὶ ἐνμετάβολον των παρατάξεων. (2)

Bearing, therefore, in mind the fact that Minerva only, of all the gods, was called Nike,—

ἡ μόνη μὲν ἀπάντων θεῶν, ὁμοίως δὲ πασῶν, οὐκ ἐπώνυμος τῆς νίκης ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ὁμώνυμος, (3)

we may consider that the figure of Nike, which we find on so many coins, the obverse of which bear the head of Pallas, is



intended to denote the unity of the two goddesses in the form of Athena-Nike, the deity so generally venerated by the ancients, and most especially by the Athenians.

There are many passages in which Minerva has this title appended to her own name, as—*Νίκη τ' Ἀθήνα*, (SOPHOC. *Philoct.* 134.); *Νίκη Ἀθήνα*, (EURIP. *Ion*, 1529). In the frieze of the temple of Victory-Apteros, at Athens, it is Minerva who

¹ EUSTATH. *Comment. in Iliad.* A, p. 879, lin. 63, fol. Rom. 1542.

² PHURNUTUS, *De Nat. Deor.* xx. 189, *De Pallade.* "Minerva is called Pallas, allegorically, because of the rapid motion of Providence, or Intelligence, for whom she is considered typical."—EUSTATH. *Comment. in Iliad.* p. 84, Rome.

³ ARISTIDES, i. 29, *Orat. in Pallad.* For other examples see EUSTATH. *Il.* xi. 64, fol. 879; MEURSUS, *Cecr.* viii.; HARPOCRATION and SUIDAS, *sub voce.*

⁴ The example here given is from COMBE, *Vet. Pop. et Reg. Num.* Ath. No. 128.

appears as Victory, standing before Jupiter;⁽¹⁾ and in the poets we find frequent instances of Minerva being called by this name:—'Αθήνην, Νίκην ἣν καλέουσιν, (NONNUS, *Dionys.* xxvii. 63); ἱερὸν Ἀθηναῖς πεποιήται καλουμένης Νίκης,⁽²⁾ (PAUS. i. 42, sec. 4); παγκρατὲς κόρα, (ARISTOPH. *Thesmoph.* 325); ὦ πότνα Νίκα, (EURIP. *Ion*, 460); ὦ μεγὰ σεμνὰ Νίκα, (Id. *Orest.*, *Phoen.*, *Iphig. in Taur.*, *ad finem*; ἐξ οὗ καὶ Νίκη προσαγορεύεται, (PHURNUTUS, xx. 188). Were it not for the identity of these two goddesses, we might regard some passages as of doubtful authority. Some poets make Minerva assist Jupiter in his battle with the giants, and others Victory; and in Philo (PH. *Judæus*, *Lib. de Mun. Opif.*) we find Victory, and not Minerva, springing from the head of Jupiter.⁽³⁾

Athena-Nike was, therefore, the tutelary deity of Athens, and from her statue in the temple of Nike-Apteros being represented without wings, it clearly appears that wings were formerly attributed to her. Moschopolus tells us that the statue of Minerva at Athens was in the form of Victory.⁽⁴⁾

Νικῶ, τὸ περιγίνομαι. ἀφ'. οὗ Νίκη, ἡ τροπαιουχία, καὶ ξόανον Ἀθηναῖς παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις.

Aristophanes, in the preceding quotation, gives golden wings to the figure of Victory.⁽⁵⁾ Eustathius, as we have seen, gives them in like manner to Minerva; and Ulpian states that the wings of *Athena-Nike*, in the Acropolis, were stolen by wicked persons.

Τινὲς δὲ ἐξηγοῦνται Νίκης Ἀθηναῖς εἶναι ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. Ταύτης δὲ τὰς πτέρυγας, χρυσᾶς οὖσας, ἐπεχείρησάν τινες κακοῦργοι ἀφελέσσαι. ⁽⁶⁾

¹ See page 373.

² See HARPOCRATION, *sub voce*.

³ CUPER. *Apoth. Hom.* p. 172. "Quod si accipit res fidem, nulla est ergo Mentis filia, nulla Victoria, nulla Iovis enata de cerebro, inventrix oleæ, nulla magisteriis artium, et disciplinarum varietatibus erudita."—ARNOB. *adv. Gent.* p. 118, lib. iii.

⁴ See MEURSIUS, *Attic. Lect.* i. 20.

⁵ ARISTOPH. *Aves*. See also ATHENÆUS, v. 197, d.; PRUDENT. *cont. Symm.* ii. 27.

⁶ ULPIAN. *Orat. cont. Timocr.* See MEURSIUS, *Attic. Lect.* i. 20; and CUPER. *Apoth. Hom.* p. 172.

It does not appear whether the statue here referred to was that described by Harpocration, from the authority of Lysurgus and Heliodorus, as existing in the temple of Nike-Apteros at Athens,⁽¹⁾ or whether it was that of the temple of the *Winged Victory*, which we learn from Pausanias also existed at Athens;⁽²⁾ the fact, however, is equally important, as establishing that Athena-Nike was occasionally represented by the Athenians as having wings.

Thus, then, notwithstanding the boldness of the conjecture, I have given wings to the statue of Minerva in the eastern pediment, from the consideration that, if wings were ever attributed to this divinity, they would naturally be exhibited at her birth, when she issued from the head of Jove completely armed, in perfect stature, and in possession of all her attributes; when she was represented leaping forth from the paternal head, and, as it were, springing up into her ethereal regions; when, from the difficulty of representing her in this position in a group of sculpture, the artist may be supposed to have gladly availed himself of such assistance, especially as the lines of the wings would form so appropriate a finish to the apex of a pediment; when he would thus obtain the greatest contrast to the statue in the Naos, at the same time that the statue of *Athena-Nike* in the pediment would be in harmony with that of *Athena-Nicephora* below; and lastly, when the appearance of their goddess, with wings extended, would be typical of rising to victory; in close connexion with which would be the brazen-gilt shield affixed to the eastern architrave.⁽³⁾

The idea of thus representing her is rendered probable by the fact, that many temples had their pediments crowned with figures of Victory. Thus, that portico at Sparta, which faced the west, had two pediments, on each of which there was a Nike, the gift of Lysander, and which were monuments of a double

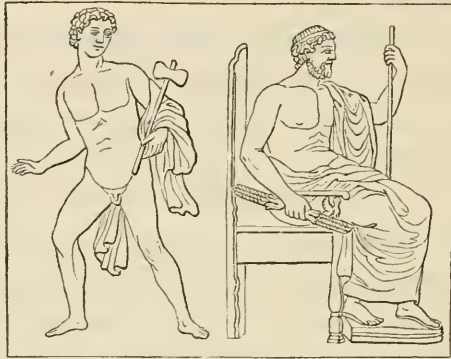
¹ HARPOCR. *Lexicon*, Νίκη Ἀθήνῃ. PAUS. i. 22.

² PAUS. ii. 30.

³ There were shields also in the western architrave, but only half as many, and without inscriptions.

victory; ⁽¹⁾ and in the Temple of Jupiter, at Olympia, a golden Victory occupied the apex of the pediment, beneath which was a golden shield, bearing the Gorgon's head, with the inscription of its dedication, on occasion of a certain victory. ⁽²⁾

Behind Jupiter is Vulcan, ⁽³⁾ whose form and character are admirably represented in an ancient bas-relief of the Museo Rondivini, the form of which is nearly identical with that of the



THE BIRTH OF MINERVA, BAS-RELIEF IN THE MUSEO RONDIVINI.

Beugnot vase; ⁽⁴⁾ he has just struck the blow, and is retreating hastily from apprehension of the effect which might ensue; but in retreating he turns his head, and beholds, with amazement and admiration, the beautiful being so wonderfully brought forth. The admiration on his countenance, and the finger drawn to his lip, are admirably expressive of the desire which animated his breast:—

“Vulcan appeared to entertain doubts in what manner he might best conciliate the goddess, and lavish his enticements upon her, for he perceived that she was born completely armed.” ⁽⁵⁾

Altogether, the figure in the Winckelmann monument is so

¹ PAUS. iii. 17, sec. 4.

² Id. v. 10, sec. 2.

³ Vulcan is said to have opened the skull, because, allegorically, he is taken for fire. See EUSTATHIUS, *Comment. in Iliad.* p. 83, *Edit. of Rome.* The vase painting of the birth of Minerva in the *Museo Etrusco* (ii. 39) is very remarkable; as, instead of a hatchet, Vulcan is represented as effecting the delivery by the motion of his hand.

⁴ WINCKELMANN, *Mon. Ined.* ii. *front.*

⁵ Καὶ ὁ Ἥφαιστος ἀπορεῖν ἔοικεν, ὅτε ποτὲ τὴν ἑδὼν προσαγάγῃται προανάλωται γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ δέλεαρ ὑπὸ τῶν ὅπλων συνεκφύναί οἱ.—PHILOST. *Imag.* ii. 27.

statue-like, so suited to the composition as well as to the myth, and so superior to the other representations of this divinity, which, however, as in the Beugnot vase, are found to partake of the same general character, that we might almost imagine it has been copied, perhaps by several gradations, from the pediment of the Parthenon.

If we adopt this figure, we must then accept that of Jupiter, shown in the same bas-relief, opposite to whom would naturally be the figure of Juno, enthroned in like manner; and as, from the attitude of Vulcan, it is evident he beholds the virgin goddess, and as she is not represented over the head of Jupiter, we may feel assured that, were the bas-relief complete, she would be seen in front of the Father of Olympus. I have already alluded to the correspondence and balance required in the *ἀετοί* of a Grecian temple. These characteristics are particularly observable in the western pediment. Not only do the statues of Neptune and Minerva exhibit great uniformity, combined with great variety of detail and expression, but the other figures of the pediment correspond in number and attitude. Thus, the curved lines of the horses of Minerva on one side answer to those of Neptune⁽¹⁾ on the other; the figure of Thetis to that of Erechtheus; the figure of Nike to that of Amphitrite; and so with the remaining figures of the pediment.

Now we must believe that a similar regularity reigned in the eastern pediment. I have placed Juno opposite to Jupiter,

¹ The car of Neptune has been supposed by some writers to have been drawn by *hippocampæ*, or sea-horses; and this opinion has been supported by the figure of a dolphin apparent in Carrey's drawing, and by the fragment of a serpent, which was supposed to have formed the extremity of one of these animals. The fragment, however, has been clearly shown by Lloyd to have belonged to the statue of Cecrops, in the western pediment (*Class. Mus.* v. 429); while the introduction of the dolphin would be less necessary with *hippocampæ* than with horses. I see no reason, therefore, for altering Mr. Cockerell's more artistic conception, especially when we consider the Athenian myth of Minerva's having created the olive, and Neptune the horse. See the authorities relative to Poseidon ἵππιος, quoted by Mr. Cockerell, (*Desc. Ant. Marb. Brit. Mus.* vi. 22). The car of Neptune in the Temple at Corinth was drawn by horses, not sea-horses.—PAUS. ii. 1.

for although, on some monuments, we find her standing or seated at some distance, to indicate the jealousy with which she regarded the circumstance of Jupiter's giving birth to a daughter without her intervention, we find her on many others identified with Eileithyia, and taking an active part in the delivery. This position of the goddess is, therefore, in entire accordance with these authorities, and with the painting by Cleanthes, ⁽¹⁾ of which Philostratus says,—

“ Even Juno, instead of feeling anger on that account, rejoiced not less than though she had been her own offspring.” ⁽²⁾

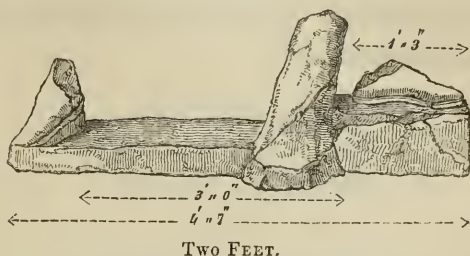
We now want a figure, the attitude and character of which shall correspond with that of Vulcan. The most suitable personage for this position is Eileithyia. The part which she occupied in the event is very identical with that of Vulcan. They each assisted in the birth, and each rejoiced at its success. Vulcan was seized with admiration at the beauty of Minerva. Eileithyia is supposed to denote her joy by the attitude in which she is constantly represented on the vase-paintings. After the fearful blow, Vulcan retreats hastily from the apprehended anger of Jove; while Eileithyia, having performed her task, and her presence being no longer necessary, retires from the assembly of the gods. We thus get a figure, not only whose character, but whose pose and action correspond with those of Vulcan; and it is remarkable that, though these two figures have been taken from different monuments, their attitude and posture should so perfectly agree.

Among the Elgin marbles is a fragment, representing two feet and a trunk or prop. It is published in the *Desc. Ant. Marb. Brit. Mus.* vi. 6. It has been imagined that it formed part of the statue of Minerva in this pediment, and that the trunk between the feet represented the celebrated olive tree. Professor Welcker, however, clearly shows that the trunk cannot be iden-

¹ Cleanthes of Corinth. See STRABO, viii. 343.

⁽²⁾ Καὶ οὐδὲ τῆς Ἥρας τι δεινὸν ἐνταῦθα γέγηξε δὲ, ὡς ἂν εἰ καὶ αὐτῆς ἐγένετο.—PHILOST. *Imag.* ii. 27.

tified with the olive, as "the stump interferes just with the beginning of the calf of the leg: it would, therefore, necessarily have been covered by the garment of Pallas." These feet have



ELGIN MARBLE, BRITISH MUSEUM.

been supposed to belong to a statue of Minerva, Neptune, or Mars: in fact, like Cinderella's slipper, they have been tried upon every figure but the right. That they could not have pertained to the statue of Neptune, is evident from the comparatively small size of the feet; while their feminine character would preclude their being appropriated to Mars; and that they could not have formed part of the statue of Minerva, appears from the fact, that the trunk of the tree inclines inwards. For this circumstance not only shows the impossibility of its being the olive tree, but it proves that it could not have belonged to a statue of Minerva, the broad folds of whose drapery, being solid, would neither have required nor permitted the introduction of such a spur to strengthen it. From the delicacy of the feet, they are regarded by sculptors as having belonged to a female statue; they can, therefore, have appertained only to some deity, as Diana, whose short tunic, reaching to the knees, could afford no sufficient security to the statue; and which would require exactly such a prop as the trunk or spur, to strengthen the otherwise too delicate legs: the whole upright of the statues being thrown on their bases, and the statues being in nowise relieved by connexion with the upright slabs of the tympanum. It is probable, however, that this trunk was inserted for other reasons than mere stability. From the receding direction of the trunk, it would seem that it went behind the leg, and re-

appeared again at the back of the figure; and we may, therefore, assume that the sculptor, considering the nature of Diana, as goddess of woods and hunting, gladly availed himself of so characteristic an emblem of the deity, in order to give strength and support to his work. ⁽¹⁾



But another circumstance of great importance observable in these feet is, that the smaller toes are not expressed, but a separation is only visible between these and the great toe. Now, from the care with which the sculptures of the Parthenon are invariably finished, as well the parts concealed from the eye, as those exposed—those which were never seen after the statue was raised to its position in the pediment, as those which were most prominent, we cannot conceive that these feet would have been thus imperfectly expressed from motives of mere negligence. This imperfect representation of the toes is, therefore, unquestionably caused by their being concealed by the texture of the *cothurnus*, or hunting-boot; and thus we have another evidence of these feet having belonged to the goddess of the chase. ⁽²⁾

The left foot measures fifteen inches in length, which, multiplied by six, gives us the height of the statue at seven feet six inches, to which we must add something for the more delicate proportions of the female form. Perhaps a surer guide would

¹ It is scarcely necessary to refer to examples of the introduction of a tree in statues of Diana, it being a frequent practice of the ancients to make use of a trunk as a support to naked or half-naked statues, as Apollo, Mercury, or Diana: but there are two statues of this goddess, at Versailles and the Vatican, where we find a tree introduced, although the figure is sufficiently strengthened by a dog and a fawn. See MÜLLER, *Denkm.* 156, 158.

² The *chaussure efféminée*, which Millingen objected to in the attribution of these feet to Minerva (*Annali*, iv. 200), is in perfect accordance with the attributes of Diana.

be, the length of stride between the feet, which is three feet. We shall not be very wrong if we suppose the statue to have been eight feet in height; and we shall find that this is precisely the height offered us by the void space of our pediment, after filling in the five central statues. From the position of the feet, we must place Diana on the south side of the pediment. The feet are not only important in establishing the identity of the divinity and the position in the pediment, but also in indicating the attitude of the figure. The feet are stretched out, and, as has been said, about three feet asunder: the left foot is placed firmly on the ground, while the right scarcely touches it. She was therefore in rapid motion, hasting to the scene of the wonderful delivery: and it is this position of the goddess in the Beugnot vase, and which we so constantly see on medals and other monuments,⁽¹⁾ which has induced me to adopt its character as best adapted to the Parthenon pediment. ⁽²⁾

Next to the immediate actors in the scene, as Vulcan, Juno, and Eileithyia, (with whom, indeed, she is often considered to be identical,) there is no deity whom we might so naturally expect to be present as Diana, ⁽³⁾ both from her presiding over travail, and from the affinity of her character with that of Minerva. ⁽⁴⁾

Σὺ (Athena) καὶ παῖς ἃ Δαργηνῆς
 Δύο θεαί, δύο παρθένοι,
 Κασίγνηται σεμναὶ τοῦ Φοῖβου.⁽⁵⁾

The attitude of Diana, bending forward, composes well with that of Vulcan retreating backward, the corresponding lines of whose figures would thus present a perfect balancing of parts, forming by themselves an independent group, subsidiary to the whole composition; a practice which we find so constantly observed in all monuments of pure Greek art.

¹ See MÜLLER, *Denkm.* ii. 156-160.

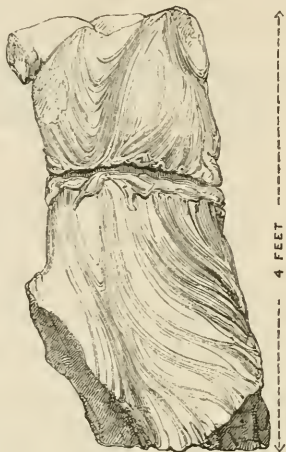
² Compare HENZEN, *Annali dell' Inst.* xiv. 91.

³ It is probable that Diana is frequently represented on the vases in the form of an Eileithyia. Dr. Braun endeavours to prove the identity of this goddess with the *Thalna* of Etruscan mirrors.—*Annali*, 1851, p. 146.

⁴ NONNUS, xlii. 371.

⁵ EURIP. *Ion*, 468-470.

Corresponding to this group, we have on the north side the figure of Eileithyia, tallying with that of Vulcan; in connexion with whom we require another figure, the attitude of which shall agree with that of Diana.



BUST OF NIKE, IN THE EASTERN PEDIMENT.

This figure I should suppose to be Nike (Victory); the bust of which, now in the British Museum, was discovered prostrate within the tympanum, after the execution of Carrey's drawings. The precise situation in which it was found has not been recorded,⁽¹⁾ but it has always been placed contiguous to the Fates. This position of the figure is seemingly confirmed by its resemblance in attitude and size to the figure of Iris on the opposite side; but it is very important to observe, that its aspect towards the centre of the pediment does not correspond with the outward-bound direction of the Iris. The uniformity of size with the Iris, the Parcæ, and the Eleusinian deities, constitutes, it is true, an objection to its being placed in the position I would assign to it; but in the celebrated Beugnot vase, we not only

¹ See VISCONTI'S *Catalogue of the Elgin Collection*, in Appendix to Report from Select Committee. "Noch gehört zu diesen Giebel ein torso einer weiblichen Figur, wahrscheinlich einer *Nike*, welchem man indess keinen bestimmten Platz anweisen kann." MÜLLER, *Denkm.* Bd. i. p. 14, Taf. xxvi. 120.

find the figure of Nike opposed to that of Diana, but we see it represented smaller than any other figures of the composition.

This diminutive proportion has been attributed to the accidental circumstance of the vase being a *Pelike*, and one of the handles coming immediately above the figure: but the artist would scarcely have distorted his composition for this cause; besides which, there is no corresponding reduction of figure under the other handle. The real object of the artist I believe to have been, to thereby represent the recent birth of Minerva, and her subsequent power and glory.

The goddess Nike is generally represented with some other deity. But as Peitho was considered as an attribute of Aphrodite, so, in an especial manner, may Nike be regarded as immediately self-connected, and, indeed, identical with Minerva.⁽¹⁾

Being, then, at least so far as this individual Nike is concerned, called into existence simultaneously with Minerva, it is very natural that we should find her represented of diminutive proportion at the birth of her companion goddess. Only in two other vases is her figure introduced, and there of still more diminutive size.⁽²⁾

This figure, then, in our pediment, like that on the Beugnot vase, is hastening to greet the victorious goddess, rising into existence contemporaneously with herself.

An examination of the trunk in the British Museum will show, that the right thigh of the figure is raised. She must consequently have been in a similar posture to the Diana on the opposite side, having the right leg elevated by an inequality of the ground.

The individual action of the foregoing figures would require a change of grouping in the remaining statues. As, in the pre-

¹ See INGHIRAMI, *Mon. Etr.* ii. pl. 71.

² See page 389. In both these instances, she is represented under the throne of Jupiter. It is strange that this figure in the Beugnot vase should not have been fully recognised. Forchhammer takes it for Iris; and Gerhard, Lenormant, and De Witte, for Nike or Iris.

vious groups, the figures have been separated by large vacuities, we now require close compact masses, to give variety and relief to such arrangement; and as great variety of line has been obtained by the action of the preceding figures, we now require a balance, in the repose of the perpendicular line. To answer this requirement, I would suppose two figures to close in the central composition on each side; and, as the central figures are all in one plane, these, I would imagine, might stand in a double line, but somewhat obliquely with respect to each other. We should thus have the whole central part of the pediment devoted to the general subject of representation; the extreme figures of which would form a kind of frame to the composition, and distinguish it effectually from the supplementary groups of the extreme angles. These figures would probably be—Apollo and Neptune on one side, and Mars and Venus on the other.⁽¹⁾

It is not merely in the outline that the Greek sculptor would seek to give beauty and variety to his composition. Were the decoration in painting or in bas-relief, this only would be required; but the sculpture of these pediments was in complete relief: each figure was a statue, and therefore capable of changing its effect at each movement of the spectator. Confined in his composition by the raking lines of the pediment, he sought to give diversity and freedom, not only by greater or less height, by variety of action, but also by the relative projection of the figures on the horizontal line. Thus, the pedimental sculpture of a Greek Doric temple must have produced an extraordinary effect. Viewing it at a distance, it would present a general outline of the whole composition; but as the spectator approached, and as the sun rose or declined, the groups would appear to move and take up a new position at every change of posture. An ordinary pediment of bas-relief would present the same feature, whether the spectator viewed it in front or in an oblique direction; but a Doric pediment would present a

¹ See note on following page (389).

totally different aspect from these three points of view. From one extremity he would see the faces of some of the figures, which would in their turn disappear, and others become visible, as the spectator approached to the other end. But, independently of this change of appearance, the different positions of

¹ (*referred to in p. 388*). The selection of these deities is confirmed by the following table, which has been framed chiefly from the Minerva series, published by Lenormant and De Witte, by which the reader will be able at a glance to perceive how frequently each divinity is introduced. Those marked with an (*) are published in this essay.

	2 Eileithyias. 1 Eileithya.
LENORMANT, I. pl. 54.....	2 Vulcan.
— 55.....	Mars.
— 56.....	V V
— 57.....	2 M M... J
— 58.....	2 ... V...M
— 59.....	1 M A P
— 60.....	1 ..MM
— 61.....	2 ...V N
— 62.....	1 ..MMA
— 63.....	2 ...VM....J V F P
— 64-5.* ...	1 V A ...ND N...PB D
— 65 A	1 VM...AJ N.....H
<i>Id.</i> page 190.....	2
<i>Uned. Ex.</i> p. 184, No. i.	2 M
— ii.	2 ...V ...M
— iii.....	2 M...A B
— iv.....	1 ..M...A ...N ...N
— v.	2
— vi.....	2 M M
<i>Mus. Etrus.</i> ii. pl. 1.....	M A D
— 2	
— 29*	V
— *	1 A
— 31?	
— 39.....	2 ...V
— 48	1 ...MM.....N
<i>Cospiano Mirror</i> *	V.....J { V or
<i>WINCKEL Bas-relief</i> *	V { D
PASSERI, <i>Lamp</i> *	l V
<i>Annali,</i> 1851, p. 141	J ...D P L
	E EV MMA J ND NV PB HF PD PL 12 10 12 10 10 9 5 4 3 3 2 2 2 2 1 1 1 1 1

the statues, in single or grouped combinations, in greater or less projection, would exhibit a constant variety of form and outline, productive of the highest beauty. It is this variety of plane which must have given such especial richness and fulness to the composition, and rendered it so admirably in character with the nature of the architecture. By this position of one figure before another, the artist obtained for his groups, as viewed from below, an apparent difference of height, which gave the greatest variety of outline to a composition, the sides of which were confined by straight lines. It is this union of the straight lines of the architecture with the rich and broken lines of the sculpture, which must have given such inherent grace to the temple. Thus, the formal outline of the triangle, by the abrupt gradations of size, by the avoidance of straight lines in the composition, by the ease and natural simplicity of the attitudes, by the artful position of the groups—keeping some within, and some without the line of projection; debasing some and raising others above the line of the raking corona, was rendered one, the most effective for the exhibition of works of sculpture.

By these pediments, Phidias has shown how the true artist rises superior to his difficulties—nay, how difficulties in the hand of a true artist often become conducive to fresh beauties; for here we find sculpture applied to the architecture, not in the quaint simplicity of archaic types, not in the vulgar elaborateness of Roman examples, or in the frigid poverty of modern times, but with that exquisite beauty and simplicity of grace, with that boldness of design and delicacy of execution, with that freedom and richness, with that variety and fulness, and with that happy adaptation to the necessities required—that, instead of being mere ornamental sculpture, (*sculpture de bâtiment*,) we are forced to consider them as the very perfection of art; and instead of regarding the architecture as a formal and separate design, we are compelled to regard the whole temple as one indissoluble whole—as the emanation of one master mind.

In treating of the central group of the eastern pediment, the lost figures of which I have thus attempted to replace, it is

requisite to consider its connexion with the side or terminal groups. Now, it is remarkable, and some have deemed it unaccountable, that the figures composing these groups should be directed outwards, and should appear so utterly indifferent to the main action. But this changing of the position of the end figures would not only give a greater variety of posture to the whole composition, but enable the artist to represent these figures in more easy and natural positions. The principal advantage, however, would be, that in whatever point the spectator might stand, he would always see the nearest figures of the composition facing him, instead of having a repetition of broad flat surfaces.⁽¹⁾

But we must not suppose that the attitude of these figures was contrived solely with reference to their artistic effect; it may be regarded as certain that some latent signification was connected with this arrangement. Brøndsted interprets the two extreme compositions to signify — “*Jour et Nuit, Orient et Occident, lever et coucher du soleil, commencement et fin,*” and his opinion upon this point has been generally accepted. I conceive, however, that the sculptor has wished to represent something more than this; and if we examine other monuments, in which the sun and moon are represented, we shall perceive that such emblems are intended to convey some other meaning than the mere rising and setting of the sun, the period of noon-day, or the relative position of east and west, and that they are always introduced with some specific meaning. In the example before us, either they are expressive of the effect of wisdom bursting upon the world, or they are intended to designate the moment of birth, and the communication of the event by the heralds of Olympus.

In the former hypothesis, Minerva springs forth impetuously and fully armed from the head of Jupiter. She shakes her lance — Olympus trembles, the earth groans, the sea is troubled, the sun holds back his horses. With the appearance

¹ The end figures of the western pediment, though reclining in a similar position to those of the eastern, are varied from them, by being represented not only as rising from their couches, but as *turning round*, so as to behold the action taking place in the centre of the pediment.

of Minerva, no darkness can longer exist, no mist any longer remain: the clouds which had concealed her presence are removed, the goddess has burst to light, and wisdom is revealed;⁽¹⁾

“La vérité s’en échappait, toute jeune et toute belle.”⁽²⁾

But this supposition, though it gives a sublime motive to the introduction of Helios and Selene, leaves the former difficulties respecting the other figures of the side groups unremoved; and it is therefore that I consider the second hypothesis as more natural, and more satisfactory.⁽³⁾

¹ See CREUZER, *Symb.* ii. 759.

² J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ, *Hist. de la Réform.* i. 61.

³ The first monument I would adduce is the description of the Delphic peplos, in the *Ion* of Euripides, (114,) in which the moon and stars are represented in the centre, the sun setting in the west, and Aurora rising in the east. In this case, it is true, Helios and Eos merely express the period of time of the subject represented—the hour of midnight: but it must also be confessed that their introduction is not arbitrary, but full of meaning.

A similar example is seen in the bas-relief of an altar to Artemis-Selene, in the Louvre, and published by Bouillon, (*Musée*, iii. 69,) and by Müller, (*Denkmaler*, bd. ii. 190.) It represents Diana as the new moon; beneath whom is a head, indicating the ocean. On the left is Lucifer, or the morning-star, distinguished by a star and an upright torch; and Hesperus, or the evening star, appears with another star and an inverted torch on the right.

Another example is exhibited on the arch of Constantine, on the east and west sides of which we find Sol and Luna, which are probably introduced, not merely to distinguish their relative situation, but to denote the conquests of the Roman empire in the two principal divisions of the ancient world.

A third example occurs in the description by Pausanias (v. 11) of the bas-relief ornamenting the pedestal of the statue of Jupiter in the Temple at Olympia, and which represented the birth of Aphrodite. Here the figures of Helios and Selene have no relation to time, but are symbolical of the twofold nature of the planet Venus—as Phosphorus (Lucifer) and Hespera (Vesper): or, if the planet be considered as not sufficiently connected with the Cyprian goddess, then these symbols might have reference to her being the parent of all mankind; or, they would indicate the universal dominion of the Mother of Love.—See MILLIN, *Mons. Ined.* 318, 322; *Anthol.* ii. 113.

Other examples occur, in which the Sun and Moon are introduced to designate the universal power of the sovereign ruler of the gods and men. In a bas-relief given by Piranesi, (*Magnif. ed Arch. de' Rom.* 198; MÜLLER, *Denkm.* ii. 13,) is a representation of the three Capitoline deities in the centre of a pediment, between which are the cars of Day and Night; and in the one angle of the pediment which is preserved to us, there is a tree and a reclining figure, to indicate the earth; some

Under the figure of the setting sun, Selene, "the eye of night," (*ÆSCHYL. Sept. 390*,) appears a significant emblem of that ζῳφoc,

ocean-god having probably corresponded on the other side as an emblem of the sea. Similar to this is a coin of Nicæa, representing Jupiter as the centre of the universe, surrounded by Helios and Selene, Gæa and Pontos; the whole enclosed by a circle containing the twelve signs of the zodiac (*MIONNET, Suppl. v. 78*; *MÜLLER, Denkm. ii. 26*); and precisely similar in signification is a gem, on which we see Juno, with the heads of Helios and Selene appearing as ornaments to her throne. (*LIPPERT, Daktyl. Scrin. i. 25*; *Denkm. ii. 65*.) Similar instances occur in a lamp published by Beger (*iii. 439, lit. II*); and in a gem given by Inghirami (*Mon. Etr. vi. pl. c. 2*.) In none of these instances, therefore, do the sun and moon indicate the period of noon-day; much less are they inserted as mere artistic decorations; but in every such instance we find them introduced with some specific meaning.

But another more important instance to our argument, is exhibited on a sarcophagus in the church of S. Lorenzo, (fuora le mura), at Rome. On the lid of this sarcophagus is a bas-relief, which Ficoroni considers to "represent the birth and death of the deceased person; for at one extremity is a figure in a quadriga, assisted by a Victory, who urges the horses to the ascent of a mountain;* at the further extremity is another figure, in a biga, giving the reins to the horses, which fall headlong to the ground; and above them is a Genius, in the act of covering them with a mantle." (*FICORONI, Le Vestigia di Roma Ant. p. 117*.) In the centre of the composition, under a canopy, there is what appears to be the standing figure of the deceased; on the right of whom is Tellus, and, on the left, Abundance, or some other divinity; next to whom are the Dioscuri, as protectors of man.

The end figure of vase 59 of Lenormant's Minerva series appears to be Hades; the end figure of vase, pl. 63, is interpreted as one of the Fates, while the figure at the opposite extremity, taken for Peitho, appears rather to represent Proserpine (Compare *MILLIN, Pierres Gravées*, pl. 50, 51), or Ceres; and the end figure of vase, pl. 64 and 65, is considered by the Editors of the Brit. Mus. Vase Catalogue to represent Hades, while the figure at the opposite extremity appears to be a Demos. If this interpretation be correct, we have in the latter two vases an additional confirmation of the theory which is now proposed.

Here, then, we have the sun and moon represented as emblems of life and death; and it is with this same signification that I would interpret these figures in the eastern pediment. It may appear to some unnecessary to have made so long a digression, in order to prove the connexion between sunrise and sunset, and the dawn and decline of life; but the interpretation I am desirous of giving to the end groups of the eastern pediment is new, and I have therefore thought it requisite to bring forward these several authorities in support of my argument.

* *The Hill of Life*, at the bottom of which is a sea-god, in allusion to the λίμνη Ἡελιοῦ, out of which the sun was supposed to rise.—*HOMER, Od. iii. 1*. In the eastern pediment, Helios is actually represented rising from the waves.

which is more especially interpreted as the *darkness* of the infernal regions, ⁽¹⁾ or the “darkness of night,” as *hades* is expressly called by Apollodorus; ⁽²⁾ and we are more particularly warranted in attaching this signification to the emblem, by the fact of finding the statues of the three Moiræ, or Fates, the “daughters of night,” κοῦραι Νυκτὸς, ⁽³⁾ νυκτεριοί, ⁽⁴⁾ in immediate contiguity to that of Selene. From these circumstances, I consider that the group in the northern extremity represented the earth, and that in the southern the infernal regions. According to this hypothesis, we very naturally find Ceres (Demeter,) and Proserpine (Persephone,) on the one side, and the Parcæ on the other: the rising horses of Helios ⁽⁵⁾ to represent *life*, ⁽⁶⁾ the horses of Selene descending into the ocean, to indicate *death*. Thus, the representation of Helios and Selene in the eastern pediment, unlike their supposed introduction in the pedestal of the statue of Jupiter at Olympia (*Class. Mus.* ii. 372), would be equally expressive with the reason of introducing the Ilissus on the north, and the Cephissus and Callirrhoe in the southern extremity of the western pediment, as explained by Mr. Lloyd (*Class. Mus.* v. 426).

The much-contested figure next to Ceres and Proserpine, I regard as the *autochthon* Cecrops, ⁽⁷⁾ the earliest hero-king of Athens. The general attribution of it to Theseus is an anachronism, that hero not having been born till subsequently to the

¹ HOMER, *Il.* xv. 191 ; xxi. 56 ; *Od.* xi. 57 ; xx. 356 : and *Hymn. ad Cer.*

² APOLLOD. i. 1, sec. 5 ; and 2, sec. 1.

³ DUBNER, *Fragm. Eurip. Anon. Trag. Frag.* 216.

⁴ ORPHEUS, *Hymn.* lviii. 114.

⁵ It was frequently customary among the ancients to represent two or more circumstances by the same emblem. It is therefore possible that the introduction of these horses may have reference to the Hymn to Minerva, in which Homer says,—

Στήσεν δ' Ὑπερίονος ἀγλαὸς υἱὸς

Ἴππους ὠκύποδας δηρὸν χρόνον.

⁶

ζωαρκεος ὡ ἀνα πηγῆς

Αὐτος ἐχων κληῖδα.—PROCLUS, *Hym. ad Apol.*

⁷ APOLLOD. *Bibl.* xiv. 1. DR. BRAUN considers it to be Bacchus, a deity who would be equally indicative of the earth.

period represented by the sculpture. The characters selected in such a composition would naturally be those existing at the period assigned, or such as pre-existed. Minerva's birth is proclaimed to Athens⁽¹⁾ and the earth, and a figure is very appropriately introduced, the appearance of which would indicate at once the connexion with Athens, and the novelty of the event portrayed.

There yet remains one vacant space in the southern extremity of the composition, corresponding to the position of Iris in the northern. It has been imagined that this space was occupied by Nike, advancing towards the virgin goddess; but it seems far more probable to suppose that the figure occupying this position would assimilate in attitude and character with the Iris of the opposite group; that is to say, that the figure occupying this position should be Mercury. The central group, which we have just considered, closed in by the figures of Mars and Venus on one side, and of Apollo and Neptune on the other, is Olympus. Within this region, every eye is directed to the new-born goddess, with the various tokens of joy, wonder, fear, or envy, as the different personages of the scene were influenced.

“The immortal gods were seized with admiration,”⁽²⁾

“At this startling sight to Olympus.”⁽³⁾

This unity of action alone can express the precise moment of time so essentially necessary to be indicated in this scene, especially if the figure of Minerva were represented in any other manner than as issuing from the very head of Jupiter. By the striking attitude given to the figure of Minerva, and the unity of action in the other figures, we may say,—

“Phidiæ signum simul adspectum et probatum est.”⁽⁴⁾

Outside the precinct of this sacred sphere, the individuals

¹ The reader must bear in mind the fable related by Pindar and Diodorus, respecting the first worship of Minerva at Athens and Rhodes.

² Σέβας δ' ἔχε πᾶντας ὁρῶντας ἀθανάτους.—HOM. *Hymn. ad Min.*

³ φοβερὰν Σεῶν Ὀλύμπῳ.—ANACR. liii.

⁴ CIC. *Brut.* 64.

who compose the terminal groups have their faces averted, as being unconscious of what is passing in the heavens above. Thus, Pluto is represented as being ignorant of the events transacting in Olympus (*Iliad*, xx. 61). Iris, however, is dispatched to the earth, and particularly to Attica, to announce the joyful event; while Mercury, on the other side, is commissioned by Jupiter to proclaim the news to the sad inhabitants of the realms below.

The representation, therefore, embraces the entire *Cosmos*: the scene takes place in the presence of the gods, but the event is immediately communicated to Gaia and Hades, to the living and the dead. Such an interpretation is, I conceive, both plain and evident; and one that, while it explains perfectly every requisite condition of the scene, completely answers every objection and difficulty that have been raised against the introduction and attitude of the several figures. The treatment seems at once simple and poetical, and, being so, it is essentially Greek. Had a Roman or a modern sculptor been called upon to indicate such a scene, he would probably have represented the city of Athens with a turreted crown, and a portion of the city, perhaps, on one side; and on the other he would have introduced grim Pluto and sad Proserpine, with the monster Cerberus. Instead of damaging the effect of his sculpture by the introduction of such objects of terror and aversion, the Greek artist, who loved everything that was beautiful, who represented even the Furies as of serene countenance, ⁽¹⁾ has here indicated that fearful place of abode, the Infernal Regions, by three quiet female figures, the graceful attitude of whose bodies is inimitable. The reclining or end figure, Clotho, the youngest of the sisters, is perfect loveliness!

“Nocturnal Fates! mild, gentle, gracious-fram’d,
Atropos, Lachesis, and Clotho nam’d.” ⁽²⁾

¹ PAUS. i. 28, sec. 6.

² Ἄλλα μοι νυκτέριοι μαλακοφρονες ἡπιόθυμοι

Ἄτροπε, καὶ Λάχεσι, Κλωθω.—ORPHEUS, *Hymn*. lviii. 14.

It remains now to offer a few additional observations on the statue of Minerva, this being the point on which the whole of the present theory depends.

It fortunately happens, that portions of the head and bust of the Minerva of the western pediment have been preserved to us. These fragments are sufficient to show that the eyes were filled in with precious stones, that the helmet was of bronze, and that the ægis also was decorated with brazen serpents ⁽¹⁾.

This toreutic decoration, this application of colour and metal, may serve as an evidence of the general application of polychromy to these sculptures; but care must be taken in the manner of adopting it. In the Æginetan and earlier sculpture, the whole figure was more or less painted, a custom derived from the practice of using wood, or terra-cotta, in early buildings. In the works of pure Greek art, colour must have been employed generally, or used with extreme caution.⁽²⁾ Either the whole building, its sculpture with its architecture, was

¹ Maintenant le fragment colossal de statue de Minèrve a décidé la question : on ne peut y méconnoître l'égide, chaque point des angles est percé d'un trou, pour y pouvoir rapporter en bronze doré les glands précieux qui faisoient l'ornement. On a trouvé sur le plan inférieur du même fronton le demi-masque de la déesse ; ses yeux sont creusés pour y encastrer les globes d'une matière plus précieuse, ainsi que Phidias lui-même l'avoit pratiqué dans le colosse de la déesse placé dans le temple : un sillon, faisant le contour de son front, indique jusqu'où descendoit le casque de bronze doré qui le couronnoit.—VISCONTI, *Mémoire sur les Ouvrages de Sculpture qui appartenoient au Parthénon*. 8vo. Lond. 1816, p. 23-25.

² In referring to the sculptured pediment of the British Museum, it is due to the eminent artist who executed it to acknowledge its great superiority over other similar works in the metropolis : at the same time, a slight want of balance, a want of delicacy in the drapery, a preponderance of straight lines, the Atlas-like position of one figure of the pediment, and the doubtful authority of introducing sculpture *en ronde-bosse* to an Ionic building, prevent my considering it as wholly satisfactory : added to which, the manner in which gilding is applied to so many parts of the composition is, to my mind, like a painting in which too many lights are introduced. Had it been considered necessary to represent the figure of Astronomy, it might have been sufficiently indicated without the introduction of an armillary sphere ; and, having this, it would not have been necessary to gild it. I must confess, when I first saw it, I thought the workmen had forgotten a portion of their centering, or a cradle for some work they had left unfinished. Connected with this subject, it has been well remarked by Colonel Leake, "that the gods were dis-

equally coloured, or those parts only were heightened in effect by colour, which were intended to be the most prominent, and to produce the greatest effect upon the eye.

With the exception of the parts just described, and of the spear and trident, which may have belonged to the two principal actors, the remaining figures exhibit no evidence of metal decoration or gilding, and it is probable that they were not profusely ornamented with coloured pigments: ⁽¹⁾ for not only do we find indications of few accessorial ornaments connected with the other figures of the pediments, the delicate forms of which would require application of metal and gilding, but in no other head but that of Minerva, in the western pediment, were the eye-sockets filled in with precious stones. This circumstance is remarkable, as it shows that the effect was intended to be concentrated in the principal figure.

Now, if we find that the statue of Minerva in the western pediment was so conspicuously decorated, in a composition in

tinguished from one another, among the Athenians, more by countenance, attitude and form, than by symbols ;” and this remark will apply to their sculpture in general :

“Sua quemque Deorum
Inscribit facies.”—OVID. *Met.* vi. 1.

At the same time it must be remembered, that if other colours had been applied, so as to carry out the blue and gilding, all connexion would have been destroyed between the pediment and the rest of the architecture, the contrast between which is already too violent; and it was doubtless this circumstance which induced Sir Richard Westmacott to hesitate in adopting a complete polychromatic decoration. The blue colour, however, is exceedingly effective :* and altogether, notwithstanding the few objections just noted, the pediment enables us to form some idea of the glorious nature of the Parthenon-compositions in their pristine grandeur.

¹ From an examination of the Parthenon friezes, we learn that many parts of the sculptures were worked out in metal, painted to imitate marble: and it is probable that the minor accessories, as the hatchet of Vulcan, the sword of Mars, and the lyre of Apollo, were either of marble, or in imitation of that material; that the sceptres of Jupiter and Juno, being more important accessories, were of ivory; and that the arms of Minerva alone were gilt.—See *Desc. Ant. Marb. Brit. Mus.* viii. 38, 46, &c.

* The tympanum of the Parthenon appears to have been coloured *red*; and if we may judge from M. Hittorff's restoration, its effect must have been equally beautiful with the blue colour employed in the Æginetan pediment.

which she held little more than equal honour with her great rival, it is probable that, in the eastern pediment, her statue would be distinguished by even greater splendour. Her figure would be the principal object in the composition, and her arms and accoutrements would glitter with gold and colour. (1) Not only would this be required by the laws of art, but the character and attributes of the divinity would demand such treatment at the hands of the sculptor.

In the hymn to this divinity, attributed to Homer, she is described as—

“ having warlike arms,
Golden, splendid.”(2)

And in the *Iliad* we read—

Among them was Minerva, blue-eyed maid !
Bearing the Ægis of immortal aid.
Round the bright rim a hundred serpents roll'd,(3)
Form'd the dread fringe, and seem'd to burn in gold :
Each finely wrought, as in a weaver's loom,
Each of pure gold, and each a hecatomb.(4)

In the description of Cleanthes' painting, Philostratus says—

“ It was difficult to perceive the nature of her armour, for as various as are the colours of the rainbow, so, sparkling by turns with changing light, appeared the armour of the goddess.(5)

¹ In the Cospiano Mirror of Bologna (see figure, page 356), we perceive Vulcan shading his eyes with his hand from the dazzling splendour of Minerva's appearance.—*Annali*, 1851. p. 143.

² Πολεμήϊα τεύχε' ἔχουσιν,
κρύσεα, παμφανόωντα.

³ Θώρακ' ἐχίδνης περιβόλοις ὠπλισμένον.—EUR. *Ion*, 993.

⁴ μετὰ δέ, γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη,
Αἰγίδ' ἔχουσ' ἐρίτιμον, ἀγήραον, ἀθανάτην τε·
Τῆς ἑκατὸν θύσανοι παγχρύσειοι ἠέρεθονται,
Πάντες ἐϋπλεκέες, ἑκατόμβειοις δὲ ἕκαστος.—*Il.* ii. 446-449.

⁵ Τὴν δὲ ὕλην τῆς πανοπλίας οὐχ ἂν συμβάλοι τις. “Ὅσα γὰρ τὰ Ἰριδος χρώματα, παραλλαττόνσης ἐς ἄλλοτε ἄλλο φῶς, τοσαῦτα καὶ τῶν ὄπλων.—PHILOST. *Imag.* ii. 27.

The splendour of Minerva's arms appears to have been the reason of selecting as the emblem of that divinity a bird, the sparkling nature of whose eyes seems to be alluded to in its name, γλαυξ.—EUSTATH. *Comment. in Iliad.* p. 87. Rome.

Thus, her image was one easily to be distinguished—

εἰκὼν ὦς ὁρᾶν.⁽¹⁾

Above her gorgeous,⁽²⁾ golden casque,

χρυσεοπήληξ,⁽³⁾

waved a lofty crest,

ὑπὸ λόφῳ κάρα,⁽⁴⁾

capite se totum tegit,⁽⁵⁾

radiant with gold—

χρυσόλοφος,⁽⁶⁾

Her face was characterized by extreme beauty—

καλὴ πᾶνν,⁽⁷⁾

ἀεὶ καλὸν ὄμμα τὸ τήνας,⁽⁸⁾

Tresses of beautiful golden hair adorned her brows—

Ἀθηναίη ἐπὶ λόκαμος,⁽⁹⁾

λιπαροπλόκαμος.⁽¹⁰⁾

Flava Minerva.⁽¹¹⁾

Her bright blue eyes sparkled with liquid fire⁽¹²⁾—

oculos splendidos.⁽¹³⁾

The rosy blush of dawn suffused her cheeks—

τὸ δ' ἔρευθος ἀνέδραμε πρόϊον, οἶαν ἢ ῥόδον.⁽¹⁴⁾

Golden wings appeared behind her shoulders—

χρυσᾶν πτερυγῶν,⁽¹⁵⁾

Beautiful, ambrosial, golden wings hung upon her feet—

καλὰ πέδιλα, ἀμβρόσια, χρύσεια,⁽¹⁶⁾

Gold, purple, and blue were the colours of her vesture—

Triplíce colore pallium indubat, distinctum aureo, purpureo et cælesti.⁽¹⁷⁾

On her broad breast reposed

εὐρύστερνον Ἀθάναν⁽¹⁸⁾

The golden-fringed Ægis.⁽¹⁹⁾

¹ EURIP. *Herc. fur.* 998.

² LUCIAN. *Dial. Deor.* viii. See also the Sicilian coins of this divinity.

³ CALLIM. *Hym. in Lavac. Pall.* 43.

⁴ EURIP. *Herc. fur.* 997.

⁵ FULGENTIUS, *Myth.* ii. 3.

⁶ ARISTOPH. *Lysis.* 344.

⁷ LUCIAN. *Deor. Dial.* viii.

⁸ CALLIM. *Hymn. in Lavac. Pall.* 17.

⁹ HOM. *Il.* vi. 380; *Od.* viii. 40.

¹⁰ CALLIM. *Hymn. in Lav. Pall.* 32.

¹¹ OVID. *Amor.* i. 1, sec. 7, 8; *Fast.* vi. 652; *Trist.* i. 10, sec. 1. That her

hair was golden, would appear from the colour of her eyes.

¹² The terrible nature of her blue eyes was supposed by many poets to have reference to the eyes of lions or other beasts of prey.—EUSTATH. *Comment. in Iliad.* A, 85, 86, *Rome*; PHURNUTUS, xx.

¹³ ALBRIC. *De Deor. Imag.* viii.; THEOCR. *Idyl.* xx. 25; ANAC. xxviii.

¹⁴ CALLIM. *Hym. in Lav. Pall.* 27, 28. Compare ANACR. liii. 33, *de Rosa.*

¹⁵ *Ut supra*, pp. 376, 377.

¹⁶ *Ut supra*, p. 376.

¹⁷ ALBRIC. *De Deor. Imag.* viii. Compare ATHENÆUS, v. 197, d. "triplices tunicas." ARNOB. *adv. Gent.* 112, lib. iii.

¹⁸ THEOCR. *Idyl.* xviii. 36.

¹⁹ *Ut supra*, p. 399.

She wielded a golden spear—

χρυσολόγχος παλλάδος,⁽¹⁾

And on her golden shield

Παλλάδος χρυσάσπιδος⁽²⁾

a golden Gorgon glittered.

χρυσῆν ἔχουσα Γοργόν'.⁽³⁾

These several particulars of the attributes and appearance of Minerva were regarded by the ancients as of distinct moral import. They signify that *Wisdom* is concealed, and has to be sought for; but that when she is exposed she becomes evident to all men. They show us the beauty of wisdom, its variety and richness, its adorning grace, its elevating character, its velocity of conception, its persuasive eloquence, its constant watchfulness, its invincible strength, its powerful protection, its acute penetration, its resistless force, its confusion of error, and its universal supremacy.

The question of the true front of the Parthenon is now definitively settled, but the subject affords us this consideration: the western portico being that nearest to the Piræus and the Propylæa, and therefore that first seen, would, with the magnificent arrangement of its pyramidal sculpture, naturally excite the admiration of the stranger visiting the city for the first time; after viewing which with suitable attention and delight we may imagine the pleasure the citizens would experience in leading him up to what he might have considered the Opisthodomus, and witnessing the wonder and ecstasy with which he would behold this transcendently superior composition.⁽⁴⁾ At the western extremity of the temple they would explain to him the importance and power of their protecting deity, and the zealous care and protection she constantly manifested to their favoured land; at the eastern they would point out the higher advantages they received from the spiritual character of the goddess,—her

¹ EURIP. *Ion*, 9; ARISTOPH. *Thesmoph.* 325.

² EURIP. *Phoen.* 1387; *crystal shield*, GYRALD. *Hist. Deor. Syntag.* 339, F; ALBRIC. *De Deor. Imag.* viii.

³ EURIP. *Fragm.* 354, *Erechth.* v.

⁴ Of whatever nature it might have been, as designed by Phidias.

ethereal as contrasted with her physical nature,—and assert the pre-eminence in wisdom of the Athenians over the other Greeks, by reason of the power and attributes of the virgin goddess.

This soaring attitude of Minerva, raised from the ground and rising upwards with extended arms, is in perfect analogy with the subject of this pediment as distinguished from the western. In the one all is conflict and contention; in the other a divine tranquillity pervades the whole. There the attention is confined to the land of Attica; Neptune is vainly contending against Minerva for the ground,—but in the eastern pediment we behold the spiritual dominion of the goddess; the mind is absorbed by the excellency of wisdom. The daughter of *Metis*, endued with the sovereignty of omnipotence, despises mundane enjoyment, and fixes her regard on spiritual excellence—

“Unconscious of base earth’s control.”⁽¹⁾



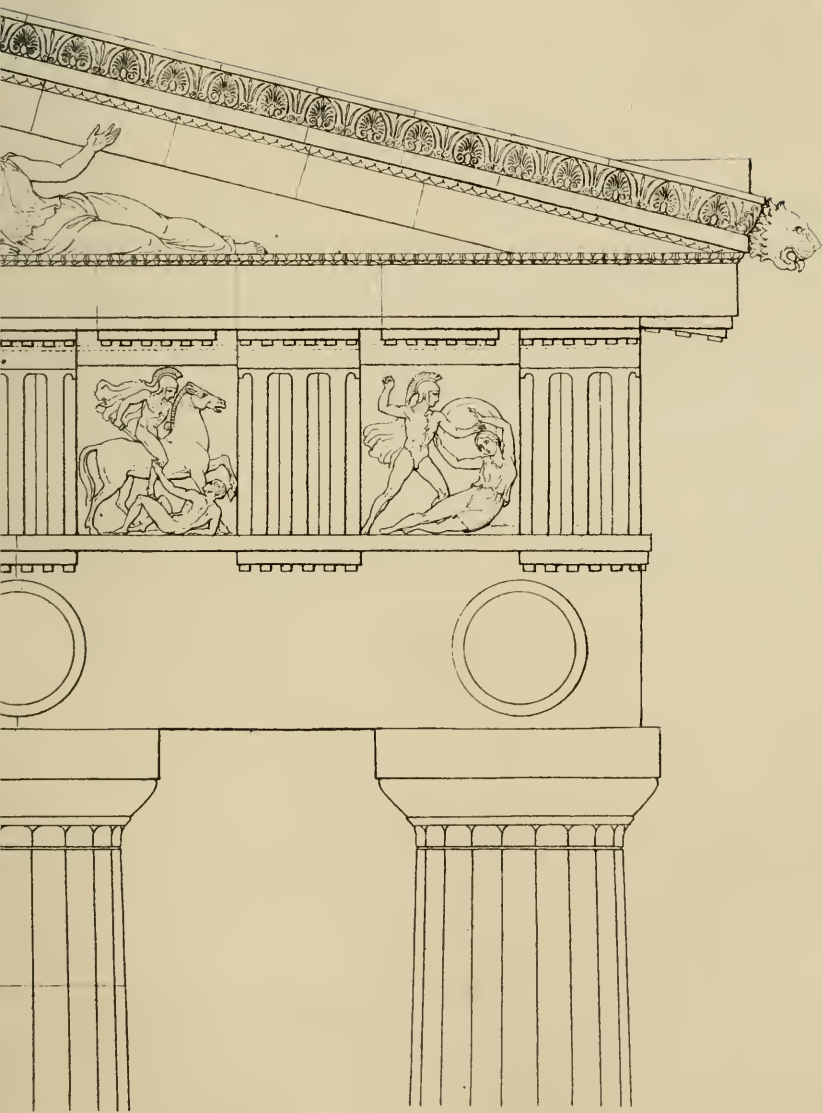
ὦ μέγα σεμνὰ Νίκα, τὸν ἐμὸν
βίον κατέχεις,
καὶ μὴ λήγεις στεφανοῦσα.

(151)

EDWARD FALKENER.

¹ TAYLOR'S *Proclus, Hymn to Minerva*.

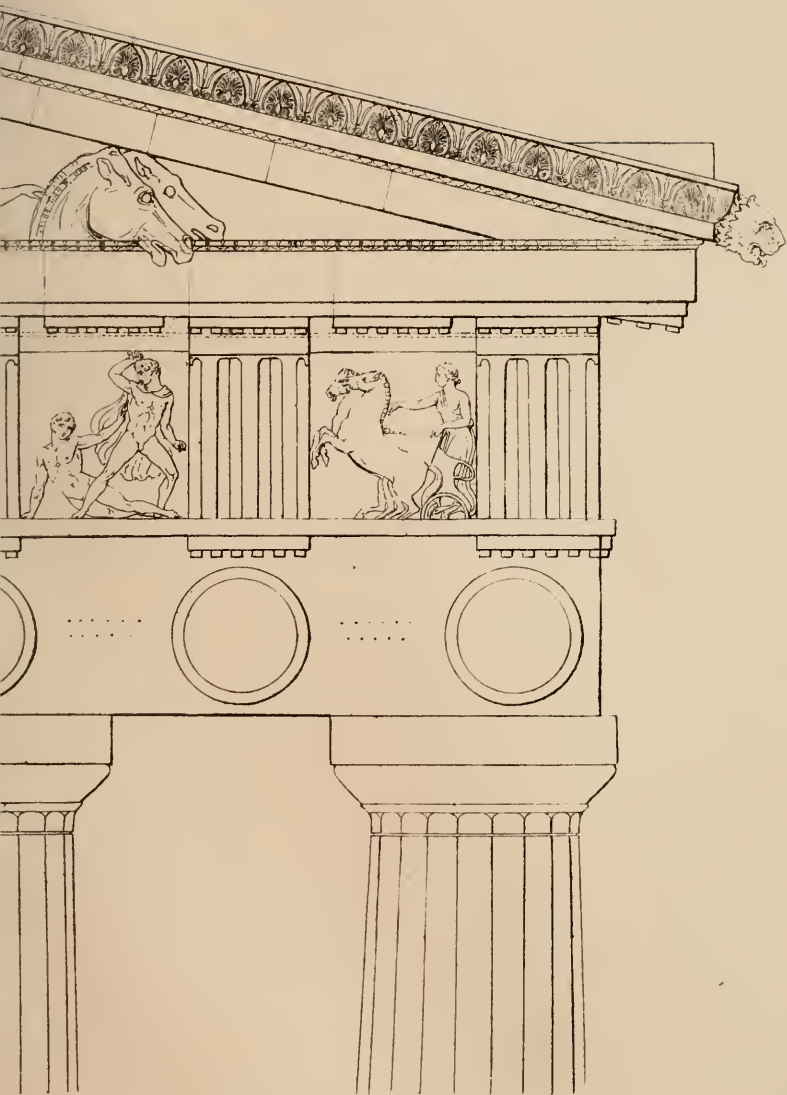
The last-piece of this essay exhibits a first design for the centre of this composition, by which Minerva would appear above the head of Jupiter, and in which the latter would assume the form of an acroterial ornament. The reader can select which he pleases.



DAY & SON, LITH^{RS} TO THE QUEEN



THE WESTERN PEDIMENT
PARTHENON.





THE EASTERN PEDIMENT
 OF THE PARATHENON

AS A RECONSTRUCTION

DESIGNED BY J. H. WILSON

XXVII.

EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT OF THE SELECT
COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON
THE EARL OF ELGIN'S COLLECTION OF SCULP-
TURED MARBLES.*March 25th, 1816.*

YOUR Committee cannot dismiss this interesting subject, without submitting to the attentive reflection of the House, how highly the cultivation of the Fine Arts has contributed to the respect, character, and dignity of every government by which they have been encouraged, and how intimately they are connected with the advancement of everything valuable in science, literature, and philosophy. In contemplating the importance and splendour to which so small a republic as Athens rose, by the genius and energy of her citizens, exerted in the path of such studies, it is impossible to overlook how transient the memory and fame of extended empires and of mighty conquerors are, in comparison of those who have rendered considerable States eminent, and who have immortalized their own names by these pursuits. But if it be true, as we learn from history and experience, that free governments afford a soil most suitable to the production of native talent, to the maturing of the powers of the human mind, and to the growth of every species of excellence, by opening to merit the prospect of reward and distinction, no country can be better adapted than our own to afford an honourable asylum to these monuments of the school of Phidias, and of the administration of Pericles; where, secure from further injury and degradation, they may receive that admiration and homage to which they are entitled, and serve in return as models and examples to those who, by knowing how to revere and appreciate them, may learn first to imitate, and ultimately to rival them.

LONDON :
SAVILL AND EDWARDS, PRINTERS, CHANDOS STREET,
COVENT GARDEN.

THE
MUSEUM OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES.

No. V.—MARCH 1852.

I.

ON THE PROGRESS AND DECAY OF ART; AND ON THE
ARRANGEMENT OF A NATIONAL MUSEUM.*

THE education of the people is a question of the most vital consequence to our age; indeed, its importance is acknowledged both by political and religious thinkers. But, when we speak of education, we too commonly understand the term as implying merely the training of the understanding and the development of the moral feelings; and we bestow too little attention on the improvement of taste, and on the guidance and direction of the imagination. The sentiment of the Beautiful, therefore, remains undeveloped in the mind of the public; but it cannot be doubted that purity of imagination, bent on the noble and the beautiful, is the best support of the moral feelings. History and experience teach us that the greatest crimes against nations and against individuals, have been generally perpetrated by those whose imagination had been accustomed to dwell upon the coarse, the horrible, and the depraved. The influence of the drama on the æsthetical education of the people is not to be denied, nor can we complain, in the present day, of its want of encouragement;

* Being a lecture delivered at University Hall, London. The lecture was illustrated by an extensive series of admirably executed drawings, taken from select objects in the collection of antiquities which Mr. Fejerváry, the uncle of Mr. Pulszky, formed, during the course of forty years, upon the comprehensive plan of illustration explained in the Lecture. This valuable collection has recently been purchased by Raikes Currie, Esq., M.P.

but the state of our modern theatre shews too clearly what little effect it has had in the development of taste. Here we see the artificial calling itself by the name of art, brilliancy superseding beauty, and extravagance seeking to outvie nature. The imitative arts of painting and sculpture, acting on our taste by intuition, produce a more immediate influence on the development of the æsthetic feeling. This they effect in two ways. Sculpture is displayed in the present day in sepulchral monuments and in galleries. But the sepulchres of the dead betray such coldness and mannerism, that, in lieu of improving our taste, they do but familiarize us with a style of monumental ugliness. Even museums are far from answering the purposes for which they were erected. They are thrown open, it is true, to the people ; but their arrangement is defective : so far from assisting the student, they augment the difficulties he feels in understanding their contents.

We enter into spacious halls ornamented with bright colours and gilding ; we see statues of different peoples and different periods. Greek, Roman, Etruscan, and Egyptian monuments are placed together ; the different epochs are undistinguished ; the overcharged productions of declining art are arranged side by side with the undeveloped evidences of an earlier civilization. Their grouping and position are considered merely in an architectural and decorative point of view ; and thus it is, that though we see the monuments, we do not understand them. These inestimable heirlooms of antiquity, so immeasurably superior to all modern productions of art, do not give us that satisfaction we might expect ; for the mind is oppressed by the confusion which reigns, and wearied in finding neither connexion nor meaning in their arrangement.

Sculpture and painting are now become the slaves of luxury and ostentation ; the artist is no longer the inspired prophet, who acts upon the imagination of the people as the poet and philosopher work on their understanding and character. Art has ceased to be public and monumental ; creative

genius is trammelled and debased by ever-changing fashion, able to rouse us from our prevalent stupor only by some melodramatic effect, or by some strange and novel mode of execution. Works of art are considered as articles of furniture for our drawing-rooms; and it is with this sentiment that we search out two or three copies of ancient pictures, little landscapes in the Dutch style, family portraits, and pictures of our dogs and horses. A deeply-conceived and feelingly-executed work of art, hung up behind our tea-table, would act in a ghostly manner on our visitors; it would be too stern for our frivolous parties, and would suit the drawing-room as little as a sermon or a lecture. The great revolutions of our age have imbued our social life and our manners with much of selfishness and meanness. We do not like our feelings to be strongly moved; we are satisfied with being amused; we avoid the storm of passions, and seek the gentle breeze, which, softly rippling the surface of our daily life, is incapable of penetrating the inmost recesses of the soul.

The ancients considered art in a very different point of view. They felt that the origin of art was divine, as it was the offspring of religion. The first productions of the creative power of human imagination were dedicated to the worship of the Godhead; the first rhythmical expression of the sentiments was the hymn; the first notions of philosophy, theology, and poetry, were blended with the theogonies and cosmogonies of primitive nations: and as poetry began with the hymn in praise of God, going through the epic cycle of theophanies and myths of heroes, before it dealt with the occupations of common life,—so the artist formed at first images of the gods and representations of ceremonies in honour of the Godhead, then the struggles of heroes and kings, the terrestrial representatives and sons of the gods; and only in later times, when the rights of individuals were no longer absorbed by those of the state, the portrait and the record of domestic scenes became, in their turn, objects of study to the sculptor and the painter. With such views of

art, it is natural that the people of antiquity did not know those institutions which we designate by the name of museums and sculpture galleries. The temples and market-places, the theatres and circuses, the baths and porticoes, constituted their galleries. In these public places the works of art were displayed under the protection of religion, and by their perfection and beauty tended to confirm and realize the mystic fables which they glorified. Art maintained a divine and elevated character; far from pampering the luxury and ambition of private individuals, it became a monument of public grandeur and devotion. This was one of the results of republican institutions, which invariably viewed with jealousy any individual who rose above the many, whether by his riches, by his merits, or even by the brilliancy of his talents. Not only Periander and Tarquinius, the tyrants of Corinth and of Rome, but the Demos of Athens and the patrician senators of the Roman republic, observed the same rule,—that the existence of present things cannot be maintained but by cutting off the tallest wheat-ears, which would otherwise disturb the equality of the corn-field. These levelling views gave rise to the institution of ostracism, which imparted to the people power to banish all those whom public opinion deemed too dangerous for freedom. But this same reason, the jealousy felt by the many against the few prominent above them, filled the temples and market-places with the noblest productions of art. If the rich wished to satisfy his love of display, he was constrained, by fear of hatred and suspicion, to do it in such a way that the public should be pleased and satisfied. To keep in his private possession one of the gems of art would have aroused envy; and the only alternative that remained, was to dedicate it to the gods, and endeavour to satisfy his vanity by the honorary inscription on the votive offering. The much-talked of simplicity of the great men of antiquity in their households, was not always the result of republican virtue, but of the fear of exciting the suspicion of republican equality. Riches spent in selfish enjoy-

ment, costly furniture, an excess of ornament in the attire, were sufficient to be denounced as haughty insolence (*ὑβρις*), the frequent consequence of which was ruin. We behold this same principle manifested even in the religious fables of Greece, shewing how early and how deeply-rooted was this feature in the manners of the people. Whoever was distinguished from the majority in beauty, skill, or good fortune, and became conscious of it without humbling himself, and averting the wrath of the gods by greater modesty, was punished by Nemesis. The tales of Niobe, of Marsyas, of Arachne, are but the types of the fate of Aristides, of Camillus, and of Manlius, who were victims of popular revenge for having, by their great deeds, distinguished themselves above the level of mediocrity.

Religious feeling and political institutions having thus taken a direction which made the monuments of art exclusively public, we cannot be astonished at finding that even at the late period when Pausanias visited Greece, the temples, the market-places, and public buildings, were still filled with works of art, though the palaces and villas of Rome and its neighbourhood were even then crowded with the spoils of Greece. When the political freedom of the ancient states was suppressed, the civil rights of the individual were more respected; and not only the imperial palace, but private villas, were made repositories of the monuments of art. But in thus becoming subservient to increasing wealth and luxury, art itself began to sink; and it is at this period that we first meet with a collection which, though partly the result of lavish display, resembles more perfectly the object of our museums.

Hadrian, a man of learning, prepossessed by the remembrance of olden times, a friend of art, and who did not undervalue its influence on life, became, by adoption, lord of the Roman empire. He visited on foot all his provinces, in order to inquire into the state of the realm, and to judge of it by his own observation. His keen glance could not easily be deceived, and he soon felt that, in spite of the peace and the

apparent prosperity of the empire, the condition of the country was not a satisfactory one. He well knew that the supports of ancient society were undermined and tottering, and he thought that the increasing disbelief, and the neglect of that established religion upon which the Roman Empire had been founded, and under whose institutions it had attained such gigantic extension, were the main causes of the decline. These symptoms of approaching decay reminded the Roman sages that the dominion of the world was to escape their hands, and be assumed by more vigorous nations. The emperor felt the power of the old traditions, the links which rivet art to religion, and he believed that it was his calling to become the restorer of the realm, which was sinking slowly but uninterruptedly. He attempted, therefore, to regenerate the official creed of the empire, shaken by doubt and disbelief. Under his patronage, philosophy undertook to reinforce mythology, by seeking symbols of abstract truths in its fables, and by resolving the poetical beauties of Homeric imagination into prosaic personifications and realities. He restored everywhere the decaying temples, he brought forward from the storehouses of the sanctuaries the most antiquated statues, drawing attention to the old religion by splendid outlays and festivities. At Athens he founded a new city, the town of Hadrian, rising up beside the town of Theseus; perhaps in the belief this too would soon have its Phidias and its Pericles, its Æschylus and its Sophocles. When he returned to his native city, he caused a villa to be built at Tibur, which should contain copies of the most beautiful monuments he had seen throughout the world. The halls were decorated with Egyptian and Greek statues, and his artists were commanded to imitate every style of art to be met with in his realm. Being conversant with the history of art, he caused copies to be made of the colossal monuments of the Pharaohs, and of the hieratic wonders of Greece, especially those of the most flourishing epochs; for he believed—as king Louis of Bavaria has in our age—that by

these means he could bring back the era of splendour in religion and perfection in art. He desired to live surrounded by these records of the master-pieces of antiquity; for him, they were not only the pompous decorations of his imperial seat, they were monuments of his government, lasting evidences of his policy. His villa thus became a museum, but its influence proved unavailing. Hadrian added a brilliant page to the history of art, but he was unable to impart new life to the declining heathendom; the more so, because he himself was a sceptical philosopher, and did not believe in the gods whose altars he renewed. The restorer of the old creed died with words of sceptical philosophy upon his lips.

After the splendid epoch of revival under Hadrian, art, the ancient religion, and the Roman empire, declined rapidly. The Roman portrait-bust was the last resource of the decay of artistic genius. When art ceased to be religious, and had henceforth no other aim than to glorify imperial triumphs, it sank even more rapidly than the religion from which it sprang; the old monuments were soon forgotten, the temples were no more restored. When Constantine raised his triumphal arch, he adorned it with bassi-relievi plundered from the arch of Hadrian; his artists being unable to compete with those of former ages. Long before the senate had abolished the worship of the Capitoline Jupiter, the imagination of sculptors had become barren, and no artist was skilful enough to venture to pourtray the father of gods and men.

The apathy, which had caused the neglect of the ancient idols, was followed by a new excitement. Public attention was drawn once more to the monuments of ancient art,—but only for their destruction. The æsthetic feeling of the people being benumbed, works of art were regarded only as the witnesses and instruments of the idolatry now trodden down by the people. They were doomed to destruction: so much the more as the superstition of the vulgar, and the deceitful cunning of the priests of the old creed, attributed supernatural power to them.

The deep impression which their perfect forms produced, even upon those who rushed to the temple for the destruction of idols, the awe which sometimes held back the hands upraised to strike, were regarded as proofs of this magical power.

But this short hesitation inflamed fanaticism the more, and the masterpieces of human genius were shattered in pieces as productions of the demon. A characteristic feature of this epoch of destruction is evinced by the fact, that it was principally the heads of the statues which were destroyed by the fury of these pious iconoclasts. The noble grandeur of expression in the features of the idols excited the mob; the passions of the people, let loose, could not bear the Olympic serenity which resided on the lofty brows of the statues; the stamp of genius doomed the idols to destruction. The veneration felt by those who could not forsake at once that creed of their forefathers which had originated these most noble productions of the human mind, excited the blind rage of fanatical monks, who selected the most beautiful monuments for destruction. The touching entreaties of Libanius, asking mercy for the temples and idols on account of their artistic value, died away without effect. A few of the celebrated statues of antiquity found shelter in the imperial abodes of Constantinople; and the Lausus Palace obtained the aspect of a modern gallery of arts, until an accidental fire destroyed at once the palace and the treasures it contained.

But the germ of a new art was soon developed by the sentiments of new doctrine, and by the more masculine mould of those nations who had adopted Christianity. At first, the Christian ideas were clad in symbols understood only by the initiated: Orpheus and Aristæus represented the good shepherd; the thirsty stag was the symbol of the believer seeking divine truth; the vine and the fish designated the Saviour,—the first, because Christ had said, “I am the vine, ye are the branches”; the second, because the initial letters of *Ιησους Χριστος*, *Θεου Υιος*, *Σωτηρ*, formed the well-known monogram of *ΙΧΘΥς*. At

this period Christian art has no peculiar style ; it was but a branch of ancient art. But the tie which bound them together was dissolved, when the objects which chiefly engaged the mind of the artists were scenes of the life and crucifixion of the Saviour. Art then reappeared as an inspiration, and the legends of the early artists are full of dreams and visions typical of the productions of those days. Though the vanity of individuals was not altogether excluded from the sphere of art, the individual was brought into connexion with the principal representation only by the act of adoration. The holy Virgin seated on a throne, holding in her lap the infant Saviour, and surrounded by the patron saints of the donor, and in the foreground the portraits of the donor and his family kneeling in pious devotion, were repeated a thousand times ; and the great mass of pictures, which treat of this subject, give the clearest evidence how popular was the idea thus imprinted in the mind. It was the triumph of the Incarnation, on which the donor founded his salvation through the mediation of his patron saint. The whole of the religious views of the Christendom of those times, the relation of the individual to eternity, is symbolized in these lovely paintings of the Madonna.

Christian art developed itself in the same way as ancient sculpture : the imperfect, but severe and powerful representations of primitive art became types, which later ages did not venture to alter ; they were copied and recopied until a great event, a new phase in the history of nations, aroused the intellectual powers and broke the fetters of control. Such an event was, in the olden times, the victory over the Persians, the triumph of Greek independence ; in the middle ages it was the great struggle between the pope and the emperor. Æschylus, and subsequently Phidias, mark that epoch in Greece ; Dante and Giotto, Wolfram von Eschenbach, and the masters of the Rhenish school, form the separation in Italy and Germany. Pure religious feeling still pervades these great men, the sense of divinity yet directs their hands ; but their perception is a

more comprehensive one ; it rises above the narrow horizon of their predecessors, for whom the church was not only the centre but also the periphery of their life. Dante and Giotto, and their contemporaries in Germany, stand before the world ; and with the power of their genius they survey the whole extent of what their age requires religiously and politically. They are inspired by the creed which they glorify, and they take part in its struggles by their writings and their paintings. They extend the boundaries of the realm of art ; the religious representations become richer and broader ; the composition is dramatical, the drawing and colouring natural ; but the predominant feature with them is still a severe and truth-like religiousness : art at this period is both public and monumental.

Whilst art was thus revived in western Europe, with so much beauty and grace, from the principles and requirements of Christianity, it became, about this time, further developed by the discovery of monuments of the old civilization, which had been buried and forgotten for centuries. Constantinople, where some traditions of ancient art, and many valuable remains of Greek science, existed in a mummified state, could no longer withstand the attack of the south-eastern barbarians. It fell like an over-ripe fruit ; but not before the soil of the western world was sufficiently prepared to receive the precious seed.

Through one of those providential concatenations of circumstances which have the greatest influence on the history of mankind, the art of typography, invented at that very period, afforded the ready means of disseminating amongst the people the treasures of Greek science brought from the capital of the eastern empire. Attention was now bestowed on relics of antiquity, which hitherto had been scarcely noticed. The monuments of ancient art were no longer looked upon as instruments of idolatry, and marked out for destruction ; they were honoured as the remains of a civilization, which was again highly esteemed, the more so as the present civiliza-

tion had sprung up, on an entirely different basis, to an equal height of glory. It seemed that the works of ancient art had waited for the moment when they could reappear with safety. When there was no longer danger of their being destroyed by fanaticism, they came to light in masses; and Rome, which, in the fourteenth century, did not know more than five antique statues, was now peopled again by the noblest productions of ancient sculpture, and palaces and gardens became decorated with them. The Belvedere of the Vatican, and the villas of the Medici and the Farnesi, became the shelter of masterpieces of art, which, fifteen hundred years before, had adorned the palaces of the emperors, the public baths, and the villas of ancient Rome, which existed nearly on the very same spots. As in Italy they became the objects of princely display, in Transalpine Europe they were considered as rarities, and found a place in the collections of the nobility, between sparkling crystals and stuffed animals, amongst monsters preserved in spirits, and historical relics of an apocryphal authenticity.

But when these monuments became more numerous, and were considered objects of more scientific research, they were placed in empty palaces, in the halls of the Vatican and of the Capitol at Rome, in the Japan palace at Dresden, in the Louvre at Paris, and in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg. In Naples, in Munich, in Berlin, and in London, great buildings have been erected as temples of art and antiquity. But in the *Studi* at Naples the monuments appear as in a storehouse, where the objects are heaped together without feeling; and even here in London, the noblest productions of human genius are placed under the same roof with objects of natural history. We go from the masterworks of the Parthenon straight up to the stuffed seal and buffalo; and two monster giraffes stand as sentinels before the gallery of vases. Moreover, in the arrangement of the several works of art, we see no leading idea, no system carried out continuously. The only arrange-

ment approaching to a system is a geographical one, where we find monuments of the same country placed together, but without any regard to chronology and style. The colossal figures of the Pharaohs are mixed with Greek works of the time of the Ptolomies, the monuments of the era of Hadrian with those of the time of Pericles. In the Glyptothek at Munich, and in the Museum at Berlin, the collections are formed on a more general, but not on a complete plan; for the predilection for architectural effect and for the display of royal grandeur, forbade gaps in the monumental history of art being filled up with plaster casts, though these would have transformed the museum into a school of arts and into an authentic archive of its history. They are noble proofs, therefore, of princely display, but they lack that civilizing influence on the people, which, if duly arranged, they might easily impart.

In the present state of knowledge, when we feel that there is a common link which connects the civilized nations of all ages, a museum cannot satisfy public expectation, which contains only some more or less important specimens of Greek, Etruscan, or Roman art. We see that Egyptian antiquities, excluded in the last century from the history of art, and considered only as curiosities, are now everywhere added to the public collections. Nay, the works of eastern nations, as the Persians, the Assyrians, and the Hindoos, even the productions of the yellow race of China and Japan, excite attention, though despised by some artists from their unconformity with the Greek ideal. All these monuments of former civilization now claim a place worthier of them, than where they are at present, displayed side by side with the curiosities and instruments of the barbarous races of Africa and Oceania. Since the permanent place held by oriental civilization in the history of mankind is no longer questioned, we must bestow on its monuments also some attention.

A museum should give a perfect view of the history of art

in every civilized nation. It should be a collection of all those monuments on which the artistical instinct of bygone centuries has exerted itself. It should contain all the important documents of the plastic power of mankind. In raising such national institutions, the first point of view should be, not the rarity of the monuments, but the completeness of the series; it should be provided that no monuments should be omitted which might characterize the various epochs of art among different nations; and when we cannot attain this object by marble and brass, we should make up the deficiency by casts. A walk through the halls of such a museum would then offer to us an acquaintance with thirty centuries, each of which would display some work of art as a monument of its civilization, forming a mile-stone on the way of human development, and marking every stage of progress and decline. In this manner it would tend to teach and to warn the present generation. It must be admitted, that but few understand the teaching of these monuments, few listen to the lessons revealed to us by the continuous series of works of art, for the noise of busy life renders the ear incapable of listening to the instructive voice proceeding from ages which are past. The passions which have whirled around those monuments are stilled; the dynasties and nations which raised them have disappeared; the gods to whom they were dedicated are forgotten; but whatever bore the stamp of genius is still the object of veneration; and what was grand or beautiful in centuries past, will continue to be so in ages to come. Precisely similar is the effect produced by great and noble actions, whether in nations or in individuals; however they may be concealed and disregarded by contemporaries, they will be appreciated and extolled by a more just posterity; and it is the feeling of this consideration, which causes us at all times and under all circumstances, to view with interest and sympathy the grand and sublime monuments of former ages.

This influence of works of art is felt by every one who

devotes himself to the study of antiquity ; and it is one of the reasons why so many eminent men have loved to be surrounded by antique objects. According to the popular tradition of Rome, every foreigner who once has quenched his thirst at the *Fontana Trevi*, imbibes, with the pure water of the spring, an irresistible longing, which always brings him back to the eternal city : so there dwells a mystical charm in the monuments of antiquity which always attracts us back to them, though they may long have been disregarded in the more busy struggle of our present interests.

The human mind requires not only to live like a child for the enjoyment of the present ; it desires at once to act upon the future, and to see into the past. A nation, which is not conscious of its position in the order of the world, remains but a subordinate member of the great human society, and will be overwhelmed sooner or later by races of a more powerful organization. If a civilized people become lifeless and decayed, and if a system of social relations begin to decline, the most certain evidence of their approaching decay is their increasing selfishness, when it cares only for the peace and prosperity of the present moment, closing its eyes to the future and forgetting the admonitions of the past.

The moral order of the world can as ill support lifeless corpses as the physical ; if the spirit be gone, the body is resolved into its original elements. Now, the main pillars of our social order are, the doctrines of religion, the principles of jurisprudence, and the universal culture of taste, bequeathed to us by thousands of years, the result of the labours of wise men of all ages and of all nations. The ideas of ages and nations are embodied not only in words, but also in forms ; the treasures of Roman and Greek genius are preserved in the monuments as well as in the codices ; and, indeed, the leading impression of Egypt, Assyria, and Persia, those countries which witnessed the first development and the history of the youth of mankind, can in no way be ascertained but by the study of

the contemporaneous monuments of their architecture, painting, and sculpture.

In a museum arranged according to the wants and researches of our age, the works of art of all civilized nations should be placed in chronological order. The productions of the untutored imagination of India, struggling against the overwhelming power of sub-tropical nature; the more sober monuments of Buddhism; the fanciful works of Chinese skill; the awe-inspiring sculptures of hierarchical Egypt; the elaborate reliefs of Persia and Assyria; those most beautiful productions of human genius, the master-pieces of youthful Greece; the remains of the skilful manufacturing Etruria, and the monuments of imperial Rome; all these monuments, chronologically arranged, would give us a faithful picture of the development of the artistic imagination of mankind. It would be an incarnation of the Spirit of History.

Such a collection would be the most convincing proof of the affinity of all civilized peoples, of the unity of mankind. We should see that the first beginning of art is the same with all nations; and though, from the peculiar circumstances of each, its development was carried out in different ways and under different forms towards perfection, yet we should be able to detect a close affinity and connexion between the masterpieces of every national art, clearly showing that the feeling of the beautiful is the same in all ages and in all countries, and that the imitative arts of all nations, so soon as they break the thralldom of conventionality, which protected them in their infancy, but hindered their further development, are the most noble offspring of human genius, whether in Japan or Athens, whether on the Nile or the Arno, on the Euphrates or the Tiber.

FRANCIS PULSZKY.

II.

ON THE MARBLE STATUE OF AN ATHLETE,
AND ON A BRONZE HORSE

DISCOVERED IN THE TRASTEVERE:

AND ON THE FRESCOES OF AN ANCIENT HOUSE

IN THE VIA GRAZIOSA,

AT ROME.*

OUR readers are doubtless aware that Mr. Benjamin Gibson, the writer of this and of a former article, is, alas! no more. We feel that it is due to the deceased to publish, without delay, this last production of his pen.

Revolutions are, in general, inimical to the progress of art; the late revolution in Rome, however, was an exception. So soon as the triumvirate was established, excavations were ordered to be made in various sites for the purposes of antiquarian research; and simultaneously with these, improvements were carried on in different quarters of the town, by enlarging the piazzas and removing obstructions. Among the places selected for excavation were the Forum Romanum and the Forum of Trajan, at both of which the excavations have been subsequently continued by the papal government. The former discovery we have referred to originated in the accidental digging of a sewer. The latter was very remarkable. On pulling down a house in the Via Graziosa, near Sta. Maria Maggiore, in order to reconstruct it, the workmen found it to be built upon the lower portion of a house of the time of the Roman

* Being a letter, by the late Mr. Benjamin Gibson, dated 12th December 1849, directed to C. Roach Smith, Esq., and forwarded to the British Archaeological Association.

empire, which existed in such perfect preservation, that not only very considerable traces of ten important paintings were brought to light, some of which were uninjured, but a row of semicircular-headed windows on the floor above, together with a portion of wall supporting a beautiful composite base of good period, of about twenty inches diameter, on the level of the *second floor* of the ancient house, and at a considerable height above the present level of the street, were also discovered.

The frescoes are ten in number, and measure 4ft. 11½in. by 4ft. 2½in. respectively. They are separated from each other by red pilasters, the colours of which are as perfect as when first executed. The paintings display great power; the drawing is skilful, and the grouping good, but the execution is sketchy; in short, they are decorative paintings, and intended to have been seen from a moderate distance. The figures, though the most important part of the painting, have been considered as subordinate by the artist, who has exercised his greatest care and skill in the representation of the landscape; and it is therefore probable, that in the analogous paintings by Polygnotus in the Lesche at Delphi, the landscapes occupied a much more important feature in the composition than has hitherto been supposed. A circumstance of great interest connected with these frescoes, is, that each figure has its name inscribed over it in Greek characters. From the names being scratched on the stucco instead of painted, it is possible that they were so engraved by some classical Roman, who wished to show his acquaintance with the Homeric poem.

Ed.

I. ON A BRONZE HORSE DISCOVERED IN THE TRASTEVERE.

During the time of the Roman republic, an excavation was commenced in that portion of the city called Trastevere, which was carried on despite the tumult of the siege, till the workmen were at length driven away by the cannon-balls and shells,

but not until several interesting objects were brought to light, among which was a bronze horse of the size of nature. It was found perfect, with the exception of a hole in the back, and that one of the fore legs was much bent.

It is a fine work of art, and it is supposed by some that it formed part of the decoration of an arch, which is said to have existed on this spot, but there are some indications which would lead us rather to suppose that it formed part of an equestrian statue. The hole in its back corresponds perfectly with the position a rider would have occupied. The finished execution of the detail also is so different to that of the horses at Venice, that there is every reason to believe that it was intended to have been placed near to the eye, and not in a situation where such detail would be unappreciable.* The head is remarkably fine, and the mane is cut in the peculiar Greek manner. It is now placed in the Museum of the Capitol.

II. STATUE OF AN ATHLETE, IN THE TRASTEVERE, AT ROME.

The excavation commenced some time ago in the Vicolo delle Palme in Trastevere, has been continued, within the last few days, by direction of his Excellency Camillus Jacobini, Minister of Commerce and the Fine Arts. In the middle of this street, very near the place where the bronze horse was lately discovered, a naked statue has been disinterred, wrought in the marble of Mount Hymettus, and of semi-

* The Cav. Canina suggests that it may have formed one of the equestrian statues, by Lysippus, which Alexander caused to be executed of those of his captains who perished at the Granicus, and which were transported to Rome by Q. Metellus, and placed in front of the two temples afterwards enclosed by the Portico of Octavia; a situation which, he says, corresponds very nearly with the spot where this horse was found.—*Bull. dell. Inst. di Corr. Archeol.* 1849, p. 162.

colossal size. It is considered by most connoisseurs and judges to be a work of such beauty and grace, as to be worthy of being placed beside the chief works of Grecian art. Signor Tinerani, the sculptor to whom was entrusted the rejoining the broken fragments, which, fortunately, were all perfect, found that it represented an athlete in the act of scraping his arm with the strigil. The Cavaliere Canina, who directed the excavation, esteems it to be the work of Polyclethus the Sycionian, or of Lysippus, both of whom sculptured similar subjects, as related by Pliny in the thirty-fourth book of his *Natural History*; or it may be a copy of one by the latter-named artist; for Pliny seems not to have extended his catalogue to works in marble. This statue, then, possesses the interest of being one of the few mentioned by Pliny. Such figures of athletes or youths holding a strigil, are frequently seen painted on vases; but a statue of a youth so represented, scraping his skin with a strigil, has never been found before. The athlete is erect, and uses the strigil with his left hand, scraping his right arm, which is slightly elevated; the head is ideal, and is rather small; the neck is somewhat thick; the shoulders express vigour and force; and the legs are a little longer than they would be in nature. Here we may observe, that the sculptor, having to represent a wrestler, and one accustomed to the course, has expressed force by the breadth of the shoulders, by the short neck and the small head, as in the statue of Hercules; and he has endeavoured to give an idea of nimbleness and speed in the course, by the lower limbs, which are long and nervous. From the smallness of the head, the elegant disposition of the hair, and the slender proportions of the body, so as to make him appear of an agreeable height, we perceive another confirmation of the conjecture that this statue may be that same one by Lysippus which, as Pliny tells us, was so much admired by Tiberius, that he removed it from the Baths of Agrippa to his own chamber, but which he subsequently replaced, at the earnest and reiterated requests of the people:

and this opinion will not be considered extravagant, when we consider the marvellous workmanship of this fine and perfect figure, so well pourtraying the exercises of the palæstra and the stadium, at the same time that it exhibits that light and elegant proportion invented by Lysippus. We may therefore conclude that, of the many works which issued from his hands, this is the first which has come down to us of that great sculptor, who used to say that he represented men, not as they are, but as they *ought to be*.^{*} The exact meaning, however, of this saying of Lysippus has been subject to much conjecture. M. Lenormant is of opinion that the passage should run—"but as they *seem to be*".

"Ab illis factos quales essent homines, a se quales viderentur esse."

M. Ernest Vinet contends for the former rendering.[†]

The Cavaliere Canina believes the statue to be by Lysippus, rather than by Polyclethus: but it is remarkable that Pliny describes a statue by this sculptor, who was also of Sicyon, and anterior to Lysippus, which represented an athlete scraping himself with a strigil with one hand, while with the other he invites his companions to a game with dice. (Plin. *II. N.* xxxiv, 19.) The statue, he considers, corresponds in every respect with this description, and seems admirably to express the double action attempted by Lysippus. The two forefingers, which may have held the dice, are wanting; but from the rivet holes, it is evident that they must have been extended precisely in the action here described. In accordance with this opinion, the sculptor Tenerani, of Rome, has restored the fingers with a dice.

^{*} This athlete is now in the Vatican, placed by the side of one of the most famous statues in the museum,—the Mercury, formerly known as the Antinous; the statue from which Nicholas Poussin took the proportions of the human figure.

[†] See this subject discussed in the *Revue Archéologique*, Dec. 1850; Janv. et Fev. 1851. Ed.

III. FREScoes IN THE VIA GRAZIOSA, REPRESENTING
THE ADVENTURES OF ULYSSES.

Considering the ravages inflicted on works of art, whether of marble or of bronze, by wars, barbarism, cupidity, and other causes, not to say by the mere lapse of time, it is not to be wondered at that so few paintings of the ancients, which in themselves are fragile and perishable, have been preserved to our age: for, with the exception of the Aldobrandini Marriage, the frescoes of the Baths of Titus, and of the Columbaria on the Via Appia, and a few other fragments, there has not existed hitherto in Rome any notable specimens of this art. But the discovery now made on the Esquiline Hill, of seven pictures, painted in colours, with figures about one palm in height, (nine inches English), have furnished not only new monuments of this rare description, but similar ones are not to be met with, except among the paintings of Herculaneum and Pompeii.

At the beginning of the year, while some workmen were engaged in pulling down a house in the Via Graziosa, and belonging to the commune of Rome, for the purposes of rebuilding, they came upon a wall of reticulated work, similar to those used by the Romans in the time of Pompey the Great, or in the later period of the republic; the wall, which was covered with frescoes, extended from the Casa del Comune di Roma to the house of Signor Filippo Bennicelli. The house had evidently been one of the ancient habitations of the Esquiline hill, and it must have been of some magnificence, and adorned with colonnades, as appears by a marble base still remaining in its position.

The usual notice being given to the Minister of Fine Arts, the whole length of the wall was soon freed from the superincumbent soil, and the paintings on the plaster were found to be composed of several compartments, of the height of six palms each. They were surmounted by a frieze, with a band of light-coloured arabesques on a dark ground. Each picture

was divided by a red pilaster, about one palm in breadth, ornamented with arabesques of a slightly different tint, and surmounted by a yellow capital. The first and second pictures were almost completely destroyed, but the third and fourth are well preserved, and exhibit to us the voyages of Ulysses, as described by Homer in the *Odyssey*.

The names of the persons represented are written over them, as we are told they were on the rare picture of Alexander the Athenian, and thus a conclusion as to the epoch of their execution may be arrived at, particularly from the forms of the letters $\Upsilon\Theta\Theta$, which will carry us back to the reign of Augustus and the commencement of the Roman empire.

The third picture pourtrays the events narrated in the 10th book of the *Odyssey*. Here are represented the high rocks of the land of the Læstrygonians, which occupy the left-hand side of the picture, behind which are seen the sea, and the port in which are moored the Grecian vessels, the sails of which are furled in fancied security. In the upper part of the picture, we behold the winds released from the bags in which they had been confined by Æolus, and by the fury of which the Grecian fleet had been driven to these adverse regions. In front, and beneath the rocks, is a path which leads to the city, where the herald and the two companions of Ulysses meet the daughter of Antiphates, with an urn in her right hand, descending to the fountain Artacia to draw water. The fountain is personified by a figure extended on the ground, with one arm leaning on a large amphora, in accordance with the usual type; the figure which stands before and is interrogating the girl, has written over his head the name ANTIAOXOC ; and the other two, who are standing in an attitude of surprise and wonder at her gigantic form, have the names ANXIAAOC , EYPYBATHC . Eurybates, according to the Greek scholiast and Pausanias, was the name of the herald of Ulysses. The Greeks are dressed in a white tunic, covered with a chlamys, and with a cap on the head; Eurybates holds two spears in his hand. On

the spectator's right are some sheep, and a little farther up the mountain, are cattle running away. There are various opinions concerning the country of the Læstrygonians, some placing them in Sicily, others in Campania near ancient Formia; and this seems to coincide with Homer and Ovid, as also with Cicero, who, in his letter to Atticus from his villa at Formia, calls it Læstrygonia. Poinset de Sivry, in a note to the 3rd book of Pliny, *N. H.*, conjectures that these ancient people of Italy passed over to Sicily.

The fourth picture represents, on the left-hand side, the mountainous abode of these people, their proximity to the sea, their pastoral, ferocious, and savage life, in accordance with the anthropophagous character given of them by Homer. Beneath the city is a group of shepherds, sitting and attending their flocks on the green meadow which surrounds the mountain, near whom are some rustic dwellings, over which is the epigraph ΝΟΜΑΙ; and on the other side stands their king, whose name ΑΝΤΙΦΑΘΗC is written over, in the act of exciting his fierce giants to destroy the ships, together with those Greeks who had landed on their inhospitable shores. The Læstrygonians are hastening at his cry; some seize branches of trees, some massive stones, and many wade into the sea to give chase to the Greeks, who are seen on the right hand of the picture. The energy of one who is trying to pull a branch from a tree, and of another throwing a large mass of rock, are particularly admired. The composition possesses much grace and vivacity, and considerable merit in the foreshortening is exhibited in the figures of the men and animals. Owing to the humidity of the situation where these two pictures were discovered, they have been detached from the wall and transferred to canvas, and are now safely placed in the Capitol.

The fifth and remaining paintings are under the house of Signor Bennicelli, who having obtained permission of the minister of fine arts and commerce, undertook to excavate them in the month of October last. The first of these represents the

port, with the ships of the Greeks, at the instant they are assaulted by the barbarians, who, with a marvellous force, launch forth enormous stones to break the triremes. Some of the vessels are sinking; some of the Greeks are swimming in the water, while others endeavour to protect themselves by holding their shields above their heads. The ship of Ulysses, as he himself relates to Alcinous in the *Odyssey*, is separated from the rest. His companions appear to be stretching out their oars with all their might, to escape from the destruction of the other vessels, which, according to Hyginus, were eleven in number.

The sixth picture represents the galley of Ulysses, with sails and oars, sailing in the distance; over which is written ΟΔΥΚΚΕΥΚ, showing it to be the same vessel which has escaped from danger. In front, between the rocks, are seen the remains of the destroyed Greeks: a Læstrygonian has thrown down the last Greek, and is dashing a large stone on him. At some distance on the sea is seen an island, on which appears a group of females, and the epigraph placed near which seems to indicate the name ΑΙΑΗ, *Ææea*, the island of Circe, near which the ship of Ulysses is about to land.

In the seventh picture we see, on the left hand, the rich palace of the enchantress; in front of which is what appears to be a terminal statue of *Hermes*, a circumstance which illustrates the passages in *Thucydides* and *Diodorus* relative to the custom of decorating palaces. The objects represented are in exact conformity with the description of *Homer*. The entrance to the palace being open, the prince of *Ithaca* stands before the threshold to make his demands of the enchantress, who advances towards him to receive him courteously: behind the palace is a maid attentively watching his arrival. In another part is the interior of the palace, where we behold *Circe*, overcome by the wrath of Ulysses, prostrating herself before him in tears, to calm his anger; the prince of *Ithaca* stands erect, distinguished by his petasus-shaped cap and a white *chlamys*. *Circe's*

head is ornamented with a kind of turban, surmounted by a crown; her dress is long and rich. Above their heads are the epigraphs ΟΔΥΣΣΕΥΣ and ΚΙΡΚΗ. On one side is a table, with vessels prepared for the fatal feast, near which is a female attendant.

The next picture is entirely destroyed: but that which follows is especially interesting. The story delineated is described in the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*, and in several parts of the picture there is a striking resemblance to the picture painted by Polygnotus at Delphi, and described by Pausanias. A dense mist involves both land and rocks, thereby indicating it to be the abode of the deceased. We perceive in the foreground, amid black rocks, the fatal river, and on the distant sea may be descried the Grecian ships. Ulysses being about to consult the shade of the prophet Tiresias, Perimedes and Eurylochus lead the victim, which, as directed by Circe, is a black ram, to sacrifice; then Ulysses, having the trench already dug, the blood spread and the libation performed, and everything which had been suggested by the enchantress completed, so as to render the shades propitious to him, is portrayed with his sword drawn, leaning over the trench, his knee slightly bent, and one foot poised on a stone. The scene is indicated in a somewhat similar manner on a bas-relief in the villa Albani, and affords a good elucidation of Pausanias' description of the painting by Polygnotus. Opposite to Ulysses, on the edge of the trench, is Tiresias, with his name inscribed, ΤΙΡΕΣΙΑΣ. He is represented as blind and old, leaning on a sceptre of a dark colour, as described by Apollodorus. He seems to be ordering Ulysses to sheath his sword, that he may drink the blood, and then predict to him his future fate. The scene is similar to that of the Νέκυια engraved on the bronze patera in the *Museo Gregoriano*. Other shades come in crowds from the woods, and gather round the trench. Among the multitude of female shades are two, ΦΑΙΔΡΑ and ΑΡΙΑΔΝΗ, who are also enumerated by Homer amongst those who appeared

to Ulysses. There is also another name, which seems that of ΑΗΔΑ, but the picture being injured the word is uncertain. On one of the most elevated ridges sits, in a very doleful posture, the shade of ΕΑΠΗΝΩΡ; he seems to be lamenting his death, and that he still lies unburied. To describe all the figures, with their names, etc., would make this notice too long. One other figure, however, may be mentioned, who is naked and separated from the rest, and whose bulk exceeds the ordinary stature. There can be no difficulty in determining this figure, when we reflect that Ajax kept himself aloof, still retaining his hatred, on account of his defeat by Ulysses in their conflict for the armour of Achilles.

The last part of the picture seems to represent the punishment of the condemned shades: the figure which runs on the hill, with a snare in his hand, would appear to be Orion; another, a little lower, who in his attempt to reach the summit has fallen down with fatigue upon a large stone, is Sisyphus, as is indeed indicated by his name—CICYΦOC. The giant Tityus lies agonized with pain on the declivity of the hill, with a vulture gnawing his entrails. Under the hill are the Danaides, endeavouring in vain to fill a broken dolium with water.

I have thus endeavoured to give a slight description of these paintings, which, from the beauty of their colouring, the variety of their composition, their illustrative character of Homeric incident, and from their exhibiting specimens of Augustan art, no less than from the rarity of such paintings, must be considered as amongst the most interesting and valuable discoveries in recent times.

BENJAMIN GIBSON.

Rome, 14th November, 1849.

P L A N

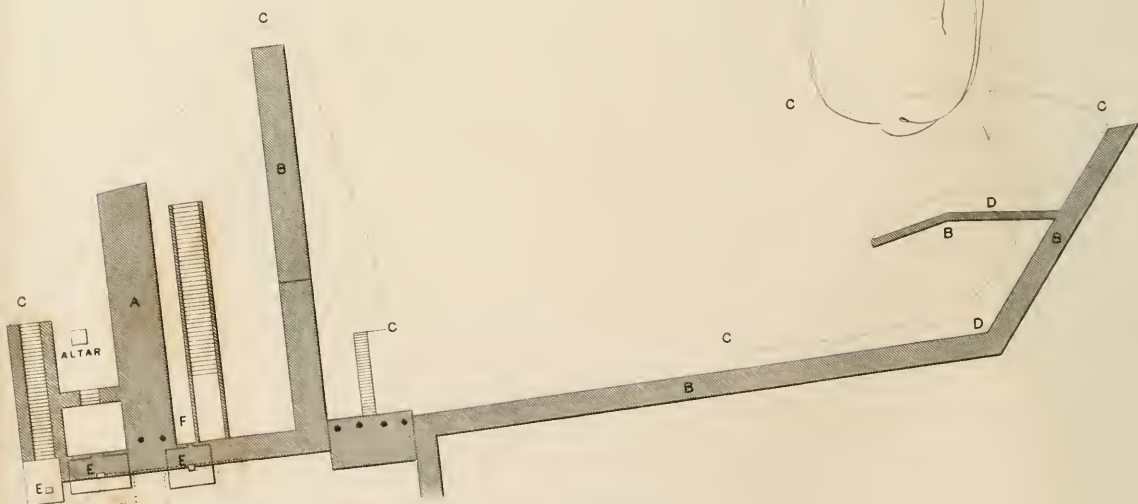
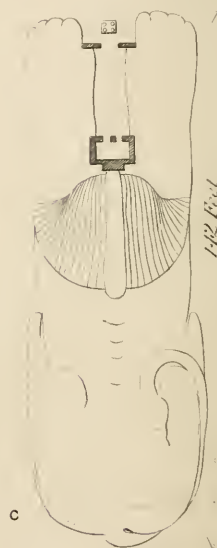
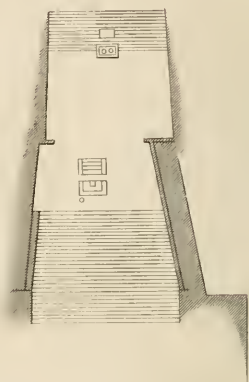
OF

DISCOVERIES BY CAPT^N CAVIGLIA,

BEHIND AND IN THE NEIGHOURHOOD OF

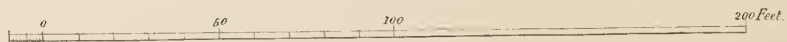
THE GREAT SPHINX.

- A Wall of loose stone.
 B B Walls of unburnt brick.
 C C Line of Excavation by Capt. Caviglia.
 D D Bank on which wall is built.
 E E Wells or Shafts descending from
 three upper chambers to five
 lower chambers.
 F Entrance to a small room, the facade
 of which is covered
 with hieroglyphics.



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III.

ON EXCAVATIONS BY CAPT. CAVIGLIA,
IN 1816, BEHIND, AND IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF,
THE GREAT SPHINX.

IN the autumn of last year, when looking over a portfolio of unpublished papers in the Egyptian room of the Santa Caterina Museum at Florence, Mr. Cottrell discovered the accompanying plan of an excavation made by Capt. Caviglia immediately around the Sphinx, probably in 1816 ; but there is no date or memorandum attached to it. He was assisted in this operation by Dr. Ricci, by whom the original of this plan was made. It came into the possession of the Tuscan government, with that gentleman's other papers on Egyptian subjects, after his decease, and has been buried ever since, with many other valuable documents, in that little-visited and much undervalued museum. Thanks to Professor Migliarini's friendship, Mr. Cottrell was enabled to make the accurate copy now published. Carefully as the original was executed in every other respect, it is singular that Ricci should not have copied the hieroglyphics with which the façade of one of the rooms is covered. These, however, are probably still in the same condition in which he found them, as no other Egyptologue seems to be aware of their existence, and they have long since been hidden from view (perhaps protected) by the sand of the desert. The whole, however, might be reopened with little trouble and expence ; and it is to be hoped that somebody may be found sufficiently interested in Egyptian science to undertake such a labour, by which, perhaps, the enigma of so many thousand years may at length be solved.

As, however, it is not my intention in the present notice to retrace minutely the history of this work of ancient Egypt through the Greek and Latin writers, I shall chiefly consider it in relation to the older hieratic sources of the hieroglyphic legends.

Throughout the Egyptian religion the deity was represented either as purely human, with indications of his nature by the addition of appropriate attire and emblems, or by the union of a human and animal type. In this last case the head was generally animal, the form human; but though this is the rule, there are some exceptions to it. Animals and birds with human or animal heads, and even limbs, or tablets with heads affixed, which aided to complete the Pantheon, are occasionally met with. As a terminology the word Sphinx has been applied to such figures when the body is leonine; andro-sphinx meaning a Sphinx with a human head; criosphinx to those with rams' heads; and hieracosphinxes to such as were hawk-headed. When complete, wings were added to their forms, an idea which appears now to be of Aramaic rather than of Egyptian origin. Throughout the monuments the androsphinx seems to personify the monarch; the criosphinx Chnumis or Ammon; and the hieracosphinx Mentu or Mars. For the ram's head represented the soul of the universe, symbolized by Ammon; the hawk's, the solar God Mentu; the human, the king. The connexion of the lion with the solar myths is proved by the two lions,* the gods *Reh* or *Leh*, which supported the disk of the sun upon the horizon, or under the throne of the god Horus,† or even as the individual personification of the sun itself,‡ while in Nubia the Sun god is represented with a lion's head.§ Hence

* For the two lions supporting the Horizon, cf. Lepsius Todtenbuch, pl. vii-viii; cf. c. 17, 9, 25.

† Birch, Gallery, pl. 19, fig. 63.

‡ A lion as the sun is found. Champollion, *Mon.*, tom. i, li. 3.

§ Cailliaud, *Voy. à Meroë*, pl. xvii, xviii; Champollion, *ibid.*, lxxiii, 5; BIRCH, *Gallery*, p. 29.]

arises the uncertainty why the lion was connected with solar ideas. Following Egyptian indications, indeed, it would appear that the similarity of its name *mau* with *mau*, light, or that of *reh* with *ruha*, "evening"* may be the inherent cause. Physical reasons were probably added at a later period, when philosophical ideas supervened on the originally simple and hieratical notions. The meaning of the Sphinx in the hieroglyphic legends indeed was apparently *neb*, "lord", or *akar*,† "victory",‡ which seems to render it probable that this monster was employed in a trophæic sense. At all periods the monarch of the country was represented by this animal, sometimes in a quiescent or couchant attitude, wearing upon his head a disk and tall plumes, the *chepersh* or helmet, or even the *tesher*, the red cap, or lower crown; while at others the king thus personified tramples upon fallen negroes or Asiatics. In this case the garment or tunic, the *shent*, is suspended from the neck in front, or a rich collar, the *usch*, is placed round the neck. The connexion of the sphinx with the leonine nature of the king (for the monarchs of Egypt were compared to lions and bulls), probably suggested the idea, and these modes of dressing the monster are important for considering the architectural details in front of this gigantic work, as they are not all explained by the beard, which undoubtedly formed part of them. On the forehead was the usual uræus.

Although this colossal work has no inscription attached to it§ explanatory of its object, or even of the name of the monarch

* Puerile as these reasons may appear, they are those of the genius of the language itself.

† So it occurs in the name of Necht, NEB-F (Nectanebo), a name meaning "the power of his lord". (Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* tom. ii; pl. xiv, 156, h. c.; cf. Rosellini, M. R. cliv.)

‡ With the eagle as an initial, (Champollion, *Gr. Eg.* p. 463,) and not that of *akar*, with the reed, which is the Coptic *goore*, "acute, sharp, clever".

§ First in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. xix, p. 412; then in Col. How. Vyse, *Pyramids. (Appendix to Operations carried on at the Pyramids of Gizeh; roy. 8vo., 1842, p. 107.)*

by whom it was made, yet some information is conveyed by the structure in front of the paws, which was uncovered with great labour by M. Caviglia in 1816. An account of his excavations was drawn up by Mr. Salt, and these are illustrated more fully than has hitherto been done, by the accompanying sketch of Dr. Ricci's, which completes the plans and drawings published by Colonel Howard Vyse from Mr. Salt's papers. Some clue, indeed, might have been afforded by the figure of the monarch kneeling and offering, which is sculptured at the side of the beard, but the royal name is unfortunately wanting, and nothing certain can be predicated from the attire and features of the king. There was, however, found immediately in front of the breast, placed upon a platform of masonry, a small naos or chapel, formed of three hieroglyphical tablets,* one of granite, 14ft. high, and 17ft. wide, and 2ft. thick, placed against the breast; another, of which the material is not mentioned, is placed against the right leg; and a third against the left leg, said to have been removed to the British Museum. The fourth side of this naos was formed by two walls, on each of which was a couchant lion. In the centre was a door.

The oldest of these tablets was the first. The upper part is divided into two scenes, in each of which Thothmes IV adores the Sphinx seated upon a very tall pedestal or pylon, on three steps or bases, with a gate ornamented like the doorways of the oldest style of the pyramids. The Sphinx—here called Har-em Acha,† “the sun in the horizon”, or solar hill—says, in reply to the adoration, that he gives to the king power, and health, and to be crowned on the throne of Seb, or Saturn, and in the splendour of Tum, or Heron. Although the inscription on this tablet has been twice published, yet from its being

* A plan of their position is given in the *Quarterly*, vol. xix, p. 416; Young, *Hieroglyphics*, pl. 80; Vyse, pl. B.

† Wilkinson (Sir G.), *Modern Egypt*, t. i, p. 353. M. Lepsius, *Einleitung*, s. 294. The proof of this will be found in the variation of the usual title of the god *Hut*, “emanating from the Horizon”. (Champollion, *Mon.*, cxcv.)

ill copied, and taken from a granite tablet, the text is in so bad a condition that it is scarcely legible. It is dated on the 19th of the month Athyr, of the first year of the king's reign.* As mention is repeatedly made of the king being crowned, it would seem to have been set up on the occasion of the coronation; yet the condition of the text, and the mutilation of the lower part of the monument are such, that it is almost impossible to know what was intended. In one passage, indeed, the Sphinx replies to the king: "That great god spoke to him (the king)", the text says, "with his (the sun's) own mouth like the words of a father to a son." He identifies himself with the sun, as "I am thy father Horus in the horizon, I give thee my dominions . . . dwelling among the living." Here it is evident that the Sphinx was identified with the sun in its strictest sense. But in two passages of this inscription, the king is called the prince, as in line 8; when speaking of the offerings made, it says, "when came the prince Thothmes"; and again, in line 12. In the next line is part of a name of a monarch, apparently Ra-shaf; but in what connexion or meaning it is impossible to determine. The other tablet on the left paw represented an adoration by Rameses II to the Sphinx, who is called, as before, the Har-em Ach, or Ἀρ'εμᾶχ'ις. The monarch offers incense and water; and the god gives him in return a prosperous life. The third tablet is said to have been sent to the British Museum, but it never having been copied, it is impossible to decide which it is. It may be a rectangular slab, dated in the first year of Rameses II. The date of the first year is again remarkable, and tends to show that this statue was consulted or worshipped by the monarch at the time of the coronation. Many, indeed, of the responses of the Egyptian gods appear of an oracular nature, and it is possible that the Sphinx was consulted as an oracle. From this period to that of the Romans, no constructions are known, from which it would seem

* Young, *Hier.* pl. 80; Vyse, *Col. H.*, l. c.

that they reconstructed the whole edifice, and probably placed the tablets against the paws and breast. The small monument, indeed, in front of the Sphinx, has been supposed to be an hypæthral temple, the three walls of which were formed by the tablets.* A small lion was found upon the pavement facing the Sphinx; and an altar between the two claws, probably for sacrifices to it in Roman times. To this old temple were subsequently added many other appendices. Before it was a paved esplanade, forming a kind of dromos, leading to a staircase of thirty steps, between two side walls, which were repaired in the 15th of Pachons, in the sixth year of the reign of M. Aurelius and Lucius Verus, 10th May, A.D. 166, during the prefecture of Fl. Titianus, L. Ophellianus, being Epistrategos, and Theon Strategos, of the Busirite Nome.† This staircase was followed by a second dromos, which was also repaired in the Roman period, placed in the axis of the staircase; then a staircase of twelve steps, and another in the same direction as the first. On the face of this was found a Greek inscription, dated in the eighth year of the joint reigns of Severus, his wife, and two sons, 29 Aug. A.D. 199-200, recording the repair of the pavement. An honorary inscription‡ to Tib. Claud. Balbillus, who was prefect in the second year of Nero, was found inserted in the wall on the right between the two staircases.§ It is in this inscription that the Sphinx is called Harmachis (ΑΡΜΑΧΙΣ)|| Several votive inscriptions were discovered in the walls and about the constructions, all in Greek, and of the Roman period. One bore the name of Nechphorites, or Nechphoreus, a foot, a branch, and a serpent; others bore the names of Heraclatus, Arius, Hermius, Harpocratio, M. Aurelius Apollonius of Alexandria, Colluthion, and of

* Letronne, *Inscr. Gr.*, ii, 460, 461; i, 261.

† *Ibid.*, p. 465.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 405; Vyse, vol. iii, pl. H, 2.

§ Letronne, p. 446; *Quart. Rev.*, xxix, p. 413; *Egypt. Ant.* ii, p. 377, 378.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 470.

Lucas—the last probably a Christian.* On the second digit of the left claw of the monster is engraved the celebrated metrical inscription of Arrian,† probably in the age of Severus; another epigram occurs on the side of the road.‡ Neither shew great poetical talent or much knowledge. A third prosaic one also seems to have treated of the Sphinx.§

There can be no doubt of its worship in the time of the Romans. The new edition of Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, lib. xxxvi, c. xii, 77), which gives the only correct and intelligible reading of the hitherto obscure passage relative to the colossus, shews that it was worshipped:—"Ante has est sphinx vel magis narranda, de quâ siluere, numen adcolentium. Harmais regem putant in ea conditum et volunt invectam videri. Rubrica facies monstri colitur, capitis per frontem ambitus centum duos pedes colligit, longitudo pedum cccxliii est, altitudo a ventre ad summam aspidem in capite lxi, s."

The name Harmais, which some MSS. read Amasis, resembles sufficiently that of Harmachis, the name upon the stele. This tradition of Pliny's may have been a later invention, which is by no means improbable, as royal personages were occasionally interred in sarcophagi of remarkable shape. Arrian seems to have considered the bearded Sphinx "the chaste follower of Diana", and the keeper of "the excellent Osiris". The second author supposes it to refer to the lion as the king of the beasts, an Æsopian idea. According to the third fragment, which might be a portion of the honorary inscription of the inhabitants of the Busirite Nome, the scribe seems to allude to the Sphinx in connexion with the Nile, and as the symbol of the inundation.

With respect to the results of Capt. Caviglia's excavation,

* *Ibid.*, p. 471, and foll.; Vyse, *Journal*, tom. iii, pl. f.

† *Quarterly*, t. xix, p. 412; Vyse, tom. iii, pl. ii.; Letronne, p. 480. This inscription was removed by Drovetti, and is now in the Louvre.

‡ Vyse, tom. iii, pl. f. No. 2; Letronne, p. 483, 484.

§ Letronne, p. 476, No. dxxx.

they demonstrate the existence of a peribolos of crude brick, a terrace whence the Sphinx could be seen, and the existence of another road, with a staircase leading to a portico of four columns, two other staircases and façades, and an altar for religious rites. The age and purport of these constructions would probably have been determined by the hieroglyphics on the façade, unfortunately not copied; and the subterranean chambers, which were entered by the wells at A A A, do not appear from the plan necessarily connected with the buildings. Their object, indeed, is unintelligible without the inscriptions which were found in them. The wall *en potence*, as well as the ramp, and even the wall behind, were probably intended to prevent the sand from ever encroaching in very large quantities upon the Sphinx, which, after all, must have been raised upon a platform more or less elevated; and on the two tablets, in which it is depicted, it is thus shewn—couchant, on a base, decorated with architectural details resembling the doors and portcullises of the pyramids, having a doorway under it. If this were the case, the whole was connected with the second pyramid, by means of a dromos placed before the propylon, which was erected probably at the time the fourth dynasty existed, and to which a dromos must subsequently have been added.

S. BIRCH.

IV.

REPORT ON A HOUSE AT POMPEII,

EXCAVATED UNDER PERSONAL SUPERINTENDENCE IN 1847.

La casa può a buon dritto contarsi fralle più importanti di essa città, tanto pel numero de' quadretti che decorano le diverse stanze, quanto per le buone sculture di marmo che vi si rinvennero.—*Bull. dell' Inst. di Corr. Archeol.* 1847, p. 129.

THE house which I am about to describe may be considered as, amongst the most interesting in Pompeii. It is true that it is not so large, nor so regular, as some others; but it exhibits many important peculiarities; it contains several most extraordinary paintings; its decorative arabesques are of the most elegant character; and, lastly, there is no house in Pompeii which affords such sure data to determine the character, if not the name and occupation, of its owner.

Another circumstance which will, no doubt, cause it to be viewed with peculiar interest, is that it is the only house in which the objects found have been allowed to remain in the situation in which they were discovered. It is, consequently, the only house in which the casual visitor to Pompeii will be able to form something like a correct idea of the original appearance of these dwellings. The house, indeed, is roofless; its upper floor has fallen in; its walls are more or less destroyed; its furniture in chief part gone. The reader who desires to realize to himself all these portions of an ancient house, must pay a visit to Aschaffenburg, and see 'the Roman villa' so splendidly designed and executed by king Louis of Bavaria. But though deficient in these advantages, we have at Pompeii the soft and exquisite Bay of Naples, the richly-clad Vesuvius, the luxuriant vineyards; but, above all,

there is still the same genial clime which rendered it so pleasant a retreat to the wealthy Roman. Let but the fountains resume their play ; let but the grateful vine be trailed over the rude pergula, hanging in rich clusters over our heads, and we might even now spend hours in a state of dreamy bliss, beholding the sunny exhalation rising from the parched ground, or the unbroken reflection on the distant sea, while listening to the gentle ripple of the murmuring fountains.

Many a passing visitor of Pompeii returns full of disappointment, complaining of the smallness of the apartments and the unimportant character of the ruins. Many an artist comes back with equal disappointment, inveighing against the corrupt taste of the architecture and the barbarous modes of decoration. With such visitors, a few hours is all that is given to this wonderful city ; and the former return with the self-satisfaction of having performed a duty ; and the latter, with the regret of having lost a day. Had they taken up their abode in the city, and visited it carefully each succeeding day, the former would have found that, like the pyramids in the desert, which at first offer to the eye the simple form of a triangle, and, even as one advances, scarcely appear to increase in size, but which, on close examination and reflection, fill us with wonder and astonishment,—so they would have found the different buildings grow before them, till what at first appeared to be but a very small room, would be found to be a portion of a very large one ; and what appeared to be an open area, would be found to be a spacious saloon : while the latter would soon lose sight of what appeared the obtrusive barbarism of the decadence of taste, and become absorbed in the contemplation of pure Greek art. It is true the city is occasionally visited by a poetic mind, that loves to walk the ‘ city of the silent dead’, unmindful of the objects of sense around him : but, however congenial such meditations may be with those which frequently occupied my own mind as I passed through the city day by day, I must on this occasion be equally unmindful of poetry,

in remembering that the object I have before me is to give a plain and simple *Report* of the house under consideration.

During my residence at Pompeii for six months, from the beginning of September 1846, while occupied in investigating the general principles and details of the Domestic Architecture of the Ancients, the excavations were being directed to the widening of streets, and clearing away the earth abutting against weak walls: but observing how difficult it was to form deductions from ruins which had been stripped of all that was found in them at the time of excavation, and reflecting how important it was to examine the minutest evidences brought to light at every operation of the pick-axe or the shovel—an examination by which alone an insight can be afforded to the existence and nature of the upper floors, the ruins of which would be buried in those of the lower floor—I made an application to his Excellency the Marchese Santangelo, minister of the interior, for permission to have a house excavated during my residence at Pompeii. This application was not only graciously accorded, but permission was given me to select any house I pleased for excavation; for which, and other favours bestowed upon me, both by his Excellency, and by his brother, the Cavaliere Don Michele Santangelo, I now return my most grateful thanks.*

I selected the house on the east side of the street leading from the Fountain of Silenus, in the Street of Fortune, towards the theatres, and about four-and-thirty paces north of the Syphon Pier. The excavations were begun on the 17th of March, and terminated at the end of June; during the whole of which time I attended the excavations several times a day, watching nearly every morsel of stone, stucco, or charcoal that was turned up. From this period, the excavations were carried on in the adjoining portions of the house, marked (A) (B)

* I have also to return thanks to Sigr. Bonucci, the then director of the antiquities, for the kindness and assistance afforded me during the period of my investigations; and to the Cav. Alloc, Secretary of the Museo Borbonico.

and (c,) on plan, till the 6th of September; after which time the works were set aside, owing to the unsettled state of the country.

The house has been left, at my entreaties, *in the same state as when excavated*; and it is, therefore, the only instance in which the investigator of antiquity can view a Roman house embellished with those appendages which cause it to look habitable. Some of these have since been removed, from the danger they incurred by exposure to the air and the wanton injury of the thoughtless visitor; but the marble statues, and other objects which will bear exposure, yet remain.

I shall now confine my attention to the description of this house, avoiding, as much as possible, all general remarks on the architecture of Pompeii.*

EXTERIOR.

The *front of the house* is of brickwork, formed of bricks $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, with $\frac{3}{4}$ inch interstices of mortar. The bricks

* The government of Naples do not allow drawings or measurements to be taken of inedited works, and I felt the greater delicacy in asking permission of the minister to do so, as he had already favoured me on more than one occasion. Accordingly I took no sketch during the whole time of the excavation; but on my return to Naples, two years afterwards, I found the ministry changed, and I then made application to the secretary, Sigr. Rossi, for permission to make a sketch, and to write the following description, which he kindly granted; but he said it was not in his power to allow me to take a plan, or to copy the frescoes. Considering, however, that the Neapolitan Government are but *trustees* of these monuments for the benefit of society, I did not scruple to take a plan with "compasses in my eyes", and occasionally also, when not perceived, with a two-foot rule in my hand; and I can vouch for the plan being as perfect as the circumstances would admit. At the same time it must be admitted that a prohibition of this description is unworthy of a free country, and, it is hoped, will shortly be abolished. But it is probable that the inhibition is to be attributed, not to the government, but to the private interests of the *letterati*, who, unable to attach their names to the various objects so profusely offered to them by these quarries of antiquity, cause them to be locked up till they excite no further interest.

are of various sizes, averaging from 9 to 11 inches in length, and from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 inches in breadth. The walls rise to the height of about 15 feet, and are quite plain, without any pilaster or architectural decoration. The wall on left of the doorway is 6 ft. 4 ins. in width, exclusive of the part belonging to the adjoining shop, and has a relieving arch on level of ground, apparently for protecting a drain running from the interior of the house, and passing under this wall. The pier has three different inscriptions, in red letters on a white ground, which, although nearly obliterated, are doubtless of a like honorary description to those so universally found on the houses of Pompeii. The pier on right of doorway is only 5 ft. 2 ins. in width. On each side of these piers is a shop, the property of the owner of the house. The *doorway* recesses back 2 ft. $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins., and has a stone sill. The aperture of the doorway nearly corresponds with the width of the prothyrum, and measures 7 ft. 7 ins., with a pier on one side, of $15\frac{1}{2}$ ins. The door opens inwards, and by the bolt holes, which are three in number, must have been quadrivalve. The hinges were of bronze, and cylindrical, turning in a socket let into a bronze plate about 7 ins. square. A small portion of the walls of the prothyrum, of a bright blue colour, were exposed previous to commencing the excavations.

Such were the indications which led me to select this house, as being likely to present a fair specimen of the ordinary houses of Pompeii.

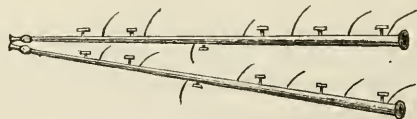
PROTHYRUM.

The entrance passage, called *Prothyrum*, is paved with a mosaic of white tesserae, laid diagonally from each side towards the centre, with a black margin in front of about 2 ft. 6 ins., and 9 ins. at the sides, with two black lines of $1\frac{3}{4}$ ins., with intervals of $3\frac{1}{2}$ and $2\frac{1}{4}$ ins. round the wall. In centre of the pavement adjoining the sill of doorway is a red tile, with a small sink-hole, to allow the water to run off that might

enter the prothyrum, either from the compluvium, or from the front doorway. Adjoining this is a marble drain-cover, about 2 ft. 6 ins., by 1 ft. 6 ins. The pavement is flat for a space of about 4 ft., to enable the doors to open, after which it slopes upwards towards the Atrium, with a rise of about 8 ins.

The walls of the prothyrum are stuccoed over, and have a plinth, the height of the difference of level, which is painted in imitation of grey marble ; but where the stucco has peeled off, the ground appears of a blue colour, thereby proving that the dado was at one time differently ornamented. Above this is painted another dado, of about 2 ft. 6 ins., representing circles, lozenges and spandrils, of porphyry, sienite, and black marble. The wall above this consists of three panels on right side, and two on left, of a bright ultramarine colour, divided by pilasters which appear to have been black, but their colour has much changed by the action of fire ; in some places being black, and in others purple and red. These pilasters, which are 11 ins. wide, are ornamented with a scroll-work candelabrum, supporting a Cupid.

The central panel on each side has a square painting, of about 2 ft. 3 ins., by 2 ft. ; each of which have been transported from some other place, unless, indeed, they are easel productions ; and what gives peculiar interest to this house is, that all the principal paintings are of this description. That on the right is perfect, and represents* a female figure, crowned with a chaplet of ivy, and playing on the tibiæ,† two different pipes of this form.



A male figure is behind, clothed in a white mantle partly

* *The bridegroom with Hymenæus.* (Panofka.) *Atys and Sangaris.* (Avellino.)

† For a description of these instruments, see the following Article, by Mr. Davies, p. 90.

covering the head,* and rests both his arms on the shoulders of the player. A youthful daduchus precedes the figures, carrying a torch.

The painting on the left wall has the upper portion destroyed, but the part remaining is sufficient to show that it represented a female holding a torch reversed in each hand, with two female figures before her.† Though we may not be able satisfactorily to explain these and the other paintings of this house, and though the learned do not agree in their interpretation, yet we may be sure that the selection of particular paintings was regulated, as much as possible, by the position in which they were to be placed. Thus these paintings in the prothyrum, exposed constantly to the view of the passer-by, may have been intended to express, perhaps by a double signification, the happiness and good fortune of the owner of the house. Whatever the subjects really indicated, the passing observer might consider them as representing the return home from a banquet, accompanied by flute-players and torch-bearers. In confirmation of this idea, we find on the right hand side of right wall, the figure of Abundance, with a cornucopia on her shoulder; and Fortune on the left side, bearing a cornucopia reversed in her left hand, and holding a globe in her right. The right hand panel on left wall has a Bacchante, with thyrsus and tambourine. All these figures are floating in the air, and not separated from the panel by any border.

Immediately on the left of entrance is a doorway, occupying the space of left panel, and giving access to the staircase to the upper apartments. This doorway may be considered as the *Parapyllion*. A double doorway is very common in Pompeii. Sometimes the house was provided with two atria, sometimes with a double doorway, and generally, where the situation

* Which Avellino considers the Pileus Phrygius.

† *The bridesmaid opposite the bride and bridegroom.* (Panofka.) *Ceres in search of Proserpine, and meeting Hecate.* (Avellino.)

permitted it, with a posticum, or back doorway. In the present instance, there was originally no outlet at the back; and it is probable, therefore, that the females and servants of the house entered and left by this staircase, in order to avoid passing through the atrium.

The panels already described are about eight feet from the ground, and are crowned by a narrow fascia, above which the decoration is destroyed.

At the further extremity of prothyrum are two dwarf pilasters, without bases, and supporting a stucco moulded panel at height of about five feet; the inside of these panels is rough-keyed, for the purpose of securing some painting. The left pilaster has a relief from wall of about four inches; but the right hand pilaster is flush. The angle of wall has a sinking on each face, showing that other pilasters, seven inches square, occupied this position. These were evidently of wood, the pilasters in such situations being frequently of this material, that the arris might be protected from injury.*

ATRIUM.

The pavement of this apartment corresponds with that of Prothyrum,† but having the addition of a handsome guilloche

* The following objects were discovered in the Prothyrum. *Terra-cotta*.—A small vase for ointment, two small cups. *Bronze*.—Small handle of vase, half a hinge, a lock. A *glass* cup. It is clear that these objects must have fallen from the upper floors.

† One might imagine that a pavement of this description, where the principal part consists of a white ground, would, from its simplicity, be very inferior to the handsome Roman mosaic pavements discovered in England; but one has only to see a simple Pompeian pavement, to be convinced that it is as superior in elegance and taste to the Roman pavements of this country, as Greek architecture or sculpture are to Roman. Like the works of those sister-arts, the Greek mosaic pavements of Pompeii are characterized by chasteness of general tone, relieved in the more important parts by a sparkling brilliancy; and one scarcely knows whether to admire more the beauty of the ornament, or the purity of the more simple groundwork.

border round the *impluvium* ; from the lines of which it is evident that a *puteal* existed in front, and a *fountain* and *table* at back. The *puteal* was about 2 ft. 6 ins. in diameter ; the fountain, 8 by 18 inches ; and the table, 11 ins. by 2 ft. 8 ins.

It will be remarked, that the ornaments of the *impluvium* have disappeared, neither the table nor the fountain are remaining ; even the *impluvium* is without its pavement. It is probable that this part of the house was excavated by its former owner, after the destruction of the city, and that these and other objects, including the *arx* or money chest, the position of which would be near the *ala*, were removed. The pavement of the *impluvium* probably consisted of slabs of precious marble, as in the *Casa del Fauno*. A marble statue, 2 feet 7 inches high, the head, right hand, and right foot of which were missing, might have served as the ornament of the fountain, as it holds a wine-skin on its left thigh, and might have been cast aside on account of its dilapidated condition when found. Evidences were moreover clearly observable of holes having been pierced by the owner of the house through the walls of the first cubiculum on right, the first cubiculum on left, and of the closet under the stairs : the first-mentioned room has two such holes.

On left of entrance is a door giving access to a closet under stairs. In corresponding position, immediately on the right, is a handsome altar or *lararium*, about 4 ft. by 2 ft. 6 ins., composed of a base about 3 feet high, painted to imitate *giallo antico*, crowned with an elaborate stucco cornice of lotus flowers, resembling the *fleurs-de-lis*, eagles, and men ; above which was the tabernacle shrine, consisting of stucco columns, adorned with figures and animals in relief, arranged in different zones, and on grounds of different colours.* Between these is a shallow sinking, painted red, and of circular form behind, in order to contain the sacrifice ; at the back of which is a recess

* Now deposited in the vaults of the museum.

the whole width of altar, and intended for the reception of the Lar or Lares. No statue was found here; and we may therefore reasonably conjecture that the inhabitants bore off their household gods on the destruction of the city, or that they were of wood, or other combustible material, and so consumed. The back wall exhibits vestiges of a decoration, which was no doubt of a suitable description, and probably represented the sacred serpents feeding from an altar.

The atrium has two cubicula and an ala on each side, and a tablinum at the further end. On each side of this last apartment is a door: that on left giving access to a flight of eight steps, leading to the level of garden and the back part of house: that on right being the entrance to an exedra. The cubicula are raised $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. from pavement of atrium; the other apartments about 7 inches.

The walls of atrium consist of a dado about 3 ft. high, painted in imitation of square and circular pannels of various coloured marbles, as porphyry, serpentine, sienite, giallo antico, and black marble: but from the inequality of surface, and from occasional cracks, it appears to have been executed, like that of the prothyrum, at a subsequent period to that of the upper decoration. Above this the decoration—which remains perfect to about the height of nine feet—represents open tabernacle work of great beauty, of red, yellow, and green architecture, painted on an ultramarine ground, which colour naturally takes the predominant tone. These arabesque decorations are so beautiful, both in design and execution, that they may rank among the finest yet discovered in Pompeii.

* This position of the lararium, which we find so generally selected in Pompeian houses, affords another example of the many customs of antiquity adopted by the Roman church. The picture of the Madonna is invariably seen on entering Roman Catholic houses on the continent. The motive of thinking upon God every time one enters or leaves the house, is no doubt good, and to be imitated, though the act of crossing has too frequently degenerated into mere formality.

I have stated that this house is not so large as many others in Pompeii; yet the dimensions of the ground on which it stands may excite surprise, when compared with the size of most of our London houses. It measures 110 feet from front to back, by about 50 feet in width; and the distribution of one of these houses is such, that the various rooms and portions of the mansion may be said to form one vast saloon, in which a person speaking might be heard throughout its whole extent. The apparent size of the rooms was further increased, by the mode of decoration just described. The panels were filled with landscapes and buildings in perspective, with a profusion of open sky, and with figures in the distance; all painted with such exquisite skill and judgment, that the mind is deceived in spite even of the senses.*

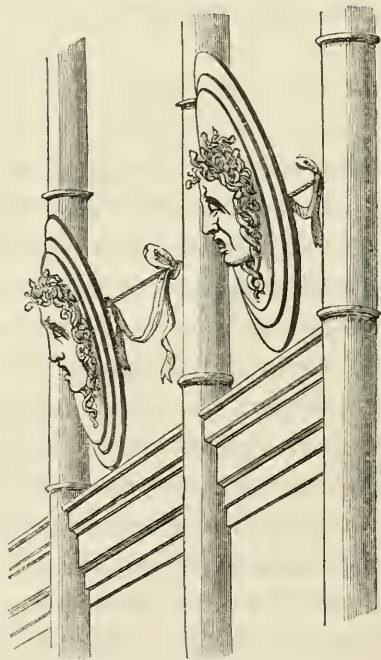
CUBICULA.

The four *cubicula* are ornamented with open tabernacle work, of ordinary execution, three panels in width, and two stories high, painted on a white ground, and resting on a dado of similar design on a yellow ground. All these rooms had segmental vaults in a line transverse to the axis of the house. They have a small horizontal moulding at top, running all round as a cornice or impost moulding, and another moulding or archivolt following the line of vault. The ceilings appear—from portions of that found in the first cubiculum on left—to have assimilated in colour, though not in elaborateness, to that of tablinum. The architraves of all the doors have been of wood: the doors were bi-valve, and opened inwards. The pavements are of stucco, with differently shaped pieces of

* Among the objects found here were the bases of two candelabra, three bronze coins, three door-hinges, three folding-door hinges, ten pieces of cylindrical bone, perforated; a lachrymatory, the upper part of a skull, an ear-pick, part of a cup, an iron hammer, several oxidized nails, an ointment vase, a broken lamp, and the handle of a patera.

marble inserted at equal distances. None of the cubacula have windows: they were lit by transom lights over the doors, in the manner represented so frequently in paintings, an instance of which is seen in the decorations of the tablinum, as exhibited in a perspective view of the interior of this house, preparing for publication.

Inclined shields are represented as an ornament in the second cubiculum on left. They are described in the *Bull. Archæol. Nap.* as existing in all the cubacula, but I recollect them only in the instance I have stated. Suspended ornaments of this description are of frequent occurrence on the walls of Pompeii, but it would take too long to enter into further particulars respecting them.



From the number and variety of objects found in the cubacula, it would appear that though these rooms were appropriated as bed-rooms when required by the arrival of guests, on other occasions they were used as store-rooms or for other domestic purposes.

SACRARIUM.

The *first Cubiculum on left* has in centre of further wall a pornographic painting of a Satyr discovering a sleeping Bacchante, or Hermaphrodite, whose tambourine lies idly by her side. This painting may shock the modesty of the beholder, and be deemed unsuitable to the sanctity of the place, but the ancients appear to have occasionally inculcated virtue by the exhibition of the effects of the contrary vice. It is perhaps with this euphemismic sentiment that we are presented in the adjoining picture with a symbolical representation of the extinction of impure desire, and the innocence and bliss of chaste affection. On the right-hand wall, Venus is seen standing by the side of a stream, in which a Cupid appears drowning the hermal statue of a satyr, while another Cupid is swimming towards her.

On the left hand wall, is Narcissus, with two javelins, regarding in a stream the image which Cupid is revealing to him by his torch. These paintings are sixteen by fourteen inches. This subject might be introduced to signify the folly of self-love. On the right and left of further wall, and on right and left of doorway, are four Cupids standing on consoles, bearing a petasus, caduceus and garland;* a rhyton and thyrsus; a lyre; a club and lion's skin, and a sprig of oak; emblematical of Mercury, Bacchus, Apollo, and Hercules.

The right and left of side walls are occupied by open architectural decorations, representing reed-like columns, like the celebrated examples described by Vitruvius, (vii, 7,) supporting entablatures, over which is placed a statue. These at first sight appear mere capricious decorations, but after investigating the character of the other paintings of this room, it is easy to perceive that the figure on the right of left wall represents Leucophryne, with her two torches; that on the left, the Egyptian Mercury (Anubis), with the head of a dog, and hold-

* a purse. (Avell.)

ing the winged cap of Mercury in his left hand, and a wand in his right. On right of right wall, is Isis, with a cestrum and patera; and on left, is apparently Hercules, with a lion's skin thrown over his right arm, and a wand or spear in his left. In front of each of these is a long vase resting on a table, and above is a suspended shield, ornamented with ribands, only one half of the orb of which is visible below the cornice.

It should be remarked, that the panel on right of end wall is recessed back sixteen inches, forming a niche fifteen inches from the ground, and six feet seven inches high in the clear. Lastly, while the dado of the other three rooms is ornamented with canthari, winged lions and horses, sphinxes, swans, masks, and pendant ornaments, the dado of this room is adorned with ox-skulls. In the upper compartment of the further end is Apollo with his lyre, and under him is a small landscape. On right hand wall is a genius carrying a huge brazen shield, emblematical of Hercules; and beneath is a small panel, the painting of which, though well preserved, is undistinguishable from dust and neglect, but which appears to represent a couple of serpents coiled up in front of a cista, the lid of which is partly raised. The corresponding panel on opposite side is fortunately perfect, though the divinity above, and the subjects of the two side paintings, are destroyed. It represents a large serpent feeding from a patera. On right of end wall is a genius, with the lyre of Apollo; and on left, is another, with the shield and spear of Mars. Two others occupied the sides of doorway, but only their lower portions remain. On right of right-hand wall is a figure pouring wine from a patera on a lighted altar; and on left is another, putting incense on a perfume-burner (*acerra*). These subjects would appear to be selected as indicating the qualities held up for imitation. The devotee was hereby directed to be virtuous as Hercules, learned as Apollo, valiant as Mars, etc.

A consideration of these paintings will evidently show, notwithstanding the amatory and pornographic nature of some of

them, that this room was the *Sacrarium*. I had already perceived, that independently of the *lararium*, which is found in every Roman house, it was customary among the ancients to set apart one of the rooms of the atrium for the purposes of a *sacrarium*, or private chapel, whenever the owners had the means of so doing. This room was always near the door; and I had already noticed several instances of this practice on more self-evident authority: but it was not till after I had carefully examined the several pictures, that I perceived that this room had been consecrated to a similar purpose. The niche served for the statue or statues of the divinities. From the circumstance of finding a *sacrarium* in this house, together with a very richly ornamented and elegant *lararium*, we may presume that the owner of the house was not only in affluent circumstances, but was, or wished to be considered, what would be now called a religious man. He probably, however, made use of his chapel only on great occasions, and at other times converted it into a mere store-room, perhaps from feelings of greater security. Thus, it was found to contain two large glass bottles, of about ten inches and a foot diameter, surrounded by the matrices of wicker baskets, a portion of which I cast in plaster of Paris; a blue cup; two glass vessels, of the beautiful *oca* form; a glass plate, with a leaf scroll round the rim; a lantern, with talc lights; ten nail-head ornaments of door, and a small steelyard, the weight attached to which represented the head of Mercury.

The *Second Cubiculum on left* has on end wall a painting, 1 foot 8 inches by 1 foot 6 inches, representing Venus fishing; her success is shown by a Victory at her side, holding a branch. The left portion of the picture is destroyed. On right-hand wall is Polyphemus receiving a letter from Galathea, which is presented to him by a Cupid seated on the opposite side of the river. On the left wall are Phryxus and Helle. The former is riding on the ram, and stretches out his hand to his sinking sister, who endeavours in vain to clasp the extended arm. On

right and left of end wall, and on right and left of door, are four heads in circles of $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter, representing four divinities, Venus and Cupid, Mars, and two others.* On right and left of side walls are genii, standing on brackets, each with a spear and shield.

On end wall of upper compartment is a Victory in a biga, holding a crown in her right hand, and a laurel branch in her left. Underneath is a small landscape. On right and left walls are Bacchantes standing on globes, and symbolical of the universal power of the Dionysian deity. On each side of these is a peacock. One Bacchante holds a thyrsus, the other a tambourine: under the one is a spirited sketch of two dogs attacking a wild boar; under the other are a lion and lioness stalking across the desert.

On right and left of end wall, and probably on right and left of doorway—the paintings of which are destroyed—are Psyches on fanciful candelabra: and on right and left of side walls are floating Cupids bearing provisions for the table.

The side jambs of these two cubiculi have fanciful candelabra supporting Cupids, carrying other candelabra on their shoulders. Those of the cubiculi on the other side of atrium are destroyed.†

The *first cubiculum on right* has square paintings, 14 by 13 inches, in centre of each wall, with paintings of winged genii standing on corbels in the middle of each side panel. In that of the further wall, is represented Chiron instructing Achilles

* Said to be Jupiter and Juno (*Bull. Archeol.* 1847, p. 129).

† Among the objects found here were a candelabrum in one angle of room, and a culinary vessel in another, as well as several glass vessels. In the *Bull. Archeol.* of Naples some fragments of terra-cotta and bones of birds are said to have been found here. It is possible that these rooms might have been distinguished by various names, in the same manner that Lucullus distinguished his Triclinia, and as we now speak of the "Green Room", the "Yellow Room", the "Tapestried Room", the "Painted Chamber", etc. This room, therefore, might be called the "Room of Victory".

on the lyre. On the right hand wall is Endymion, seated, with two spears; his dog, at his side, is looking up, and barking at the moon. On the left wall is Thetis, or one of the Nereids, riding on a sea-horse. The winged genii bear the symbols of Mars, as shields, spears, swords, and helmets. In the upper compartments, a square niche is represented in centre of each wall, containing the figure of an actor, with his pedum and mask. That of the further wall is destroyed. Below these is a line of small panels, containing two masks. The side panels are filled with arabesques.*

The *second cubiculum on right* is adorned with paintings 14 by 12½ inches. That on further wall, represents Cyparissus seated beside the wounded hind: the hind has long horns, like the stag, and a golden collar. That on left hand wall has a figure, apparently female, standing, and a male figure fallen in front.† Both these have suffered much by neglect, since excavation, and are already nearly effaced. That on right wall represents Venus on a dolphin, holding a large fan-like ivy leaf. On right and left of end panel are Fauns floating in the air, one of whom bears a dish of fruit on his head, and holds a hare in his hand; the other has the pedum, and carries a large can-

* March 23rd and 24th. On these days was finished the excavation of this cubiculum and the closet under stairs, and the following objects were found.

Gold.—A ring with the ornament of a cockle-shell, and a blue stone. *Bronze*.—A small bottle, nine inches diameter; a cullender with handle, four escutcheons of locks, five door-hinges, four hasps of locks, four cylinder hinges with corresponding plates, a small steelyard with weight and cup, a small vase-handle, a small ornament of furniture, ten nail-heads, five rings, a coin, and a lantern. *Terra Cotta*.—A square money-box, two small pots, a small tazza covered with red varnish, two larger ditto, one of which contained barley calcinized. *Bone*.—A knife-handle, a horn. *Iron*.—A hatchet, two knives, a woodman's bill. *Glass*.—Four small jars, two very small vases, the bowl of a spoon, a drinking-cup; another of *rosso antico*. Three small pieces of *blue colour* for painting.

This room might have been called the "Room of Mars".

† Or sitting on the ground.

tharus on his shoulders. On right and left panels of each side wall are small paintings, $6\frac{1}{2}$ by 13 inches long, of graceful design and execution, representing the power of Love. On right hand side of left wall is a Cupid, with pedom over his shoulder, and leading a goat. On the left side is a Psyche conducting a panther. On right of right hand wall is a Cupid, with pedom in one hand, and a cista in the other, leading a bear up to an altar at the foot of a tree. The remaining panel, on left hand side, exhibits a Psyche offering food to a lion seated on his haunches, before an altar on which stands a priapus. In the upper compartment of end wall is a figure seated, holding a patera in one hand, and something, now indiscernible, in the other; below which is what appears to be a shell-fish. On left hand wall is Mercury, with a long wand.* On opposite wall is a Bacchante, holding a hare in one hand, and a dish of fruit in the other. These three paintings are probably the emblems of power or dignity, health, and abundance.

Below the last two paintings, are small landscapes; and on right and left of all these, are Cupids and Psyches floating in the air, and carrying canthari, garlands, pateræ, baskets, and the pedom. On each door-jamb is a floating Cupid; one holding a lyre, the other a patera and a bunch of grapes. In this room were found a silver case or instrument sheath, 5 inches long, a number of bronze surgical instruments, consisting of two small forceps, six probes, two other instruments, with a slight projection at end, and six boxes, one of which contained several

* A male figure, clothed from the waist downwards, the head adorned with short subtil rays, and covered with two large elephant's tusks. He holds a chlamys in his right and a spear in his left hand, terminating in a three-leaved flower. His left arm leans on a pilaster, and his left foot is raised, in the act of treading upon an elephant's head. (Avellino, in the *Bull. Archeol. Nap.*, in No. 91, p. 17, who subsequently gives a more particular description of this painting, in which he refers to a coin of Niceæ, in Bithynia, published by Fiorelli, and representing Bacchus in female vesture, with one foot placed on an elephant's head, and holding a vase in right hand, and a spear or thyrsus in his left.)

small iron instruments.* There were also found an inkstand, and a candelabrum, 3 feet 4 inches high,† remarkable from being terminated with an Ionic capital, and from having a hook instead of a patera, whereon to place the lamp.

ALÆ.

The left ala has a red plinth, ornamented with arabesques, 2 feet 1 inch high, above which the wall is painted yellow, six feet clear in height; above this the walls are white. The middle compartment of further wall has an actor in his robes; the head is wanting. He is followed by another in a mask, and carrying the pedum. On the left of this is an open architectural composition, with a figure in front. The right side is occupied by the door leading to the kitchen. On the left wall is a spare female figure masked, with two children in front, as if receiving instruction.‡ In the centre of right hand wall is the door of room on left of tablinum. On right and left of these side walls are open architectural compositions with caryatides. The upper compartments exhibit, on end wall, a female holding a patera, with a floating panther on each side; and an oblong tablet on extreme right and left, representing fruit. On left hand wall the subjects are nearly effaced; and on right the stucco is entirely destroyed.

The pavement of this ala is of stucco, with irregular-shaped pieces of marble ranged in nine rows, and having a white marble sill in front, eleven inches wide. In this ala were found two cylinder-and-socket hinges, three valve hinges, two of which were very small, and a bronze patera with a head

* These objects are about to be published by Signori Quaranta and Vulpes. *Arch. Zeit.*, 1847, p. 204. This room might be called the "Room of Venus".

† Also two cylinder hinges; a small *φάλλος*, apparently an appendage to a fountain; two escutcheons of locks, and a hasp.

‡ This picture may possibly represent Medea and her children.

of Medusa in the centre, surrounded by a silver ring, both detached.

The right ala has a white dado, plain but panelled, 2 ft. 3½ ins. high, above which is another dado, 1 ft. 4 ins., which serves as a podium to the principal compartment. This is yellow, and divided in three panels on each side by slender Ionic columns supporting a small entablature. Above this the arabesques are on a white ground, and finish with a small stucco moulding, as in cubicoli, only a small fragment of which, however, remains. The ceiling was flat, and proportionately higher than those of cubicoli. The plain plinth round this chamber may be considered as indicative of the existence of cabinets for the reception and exhibition of the ancestral images. This destination of the ala may, at least, be clearly shown by other examples.

The end wall represents a poet, crowned and seated, holding a mask in his left hand, and about to take a roll from a circular box of papyri on his right. Before him is an actress, also seated and taking her part; she appears to be listening with great attention, with both hands resting on the seat. On right wall is another painting, 1 ft. 7 ins. by 1 ft. 5 ins., representing the poet, still seated, with his box of papyri (scrinium) at his side, holding a roll in one hand, and stretching out the other, as if in conversation with an actor clothed in a yellow peplus and red tunic and with mask raised on his brow, who is bending towards him, and holding the pedum in his left hand.

On right and left of these paintings are circles, nine inches diameter, with Cupids and Psyches bearing various objects, as a garland, a club, flowers, baskets, the pedum, and a hare. Below each of these paintings are small panels, containing Bacchic emblems, as a cantharus and basket covered with a napkin, a thyrsus, a tambourine, and a goat, on end wall; and a cantharus, napkin, thyrsus, cymbals, tambourine, patera, and a mask, on right hand wall. Both these panels are on a white ground, while the side panels are red, and exhibit sea monsters, painted in a light colour. Above the centre com-

partment of end wall is a window, separated from painting below by an oblong picture, representing a crawfish. Half-length figures appear on either side, as if looking from a balcony. In centre of right hand wall is a floating figure; and on each side half-length figures, under which are small landscapes. These paintings are separated by architectural compositions containing figures, two of whom have boxes of *volumines* at their side, as the choragi below. This ala has a handsome mosaic pavement, of nine squares at front and end, and seven at the sides.

The alæ were constantly open, and never enclosed by folding doors.

The upper portions of these walls bear evidence of the action of heat, as in the walls of prothyrum; the yellow and black colours having changed to a dark red, while the white is wholly unaffected. In this right ala were found some fragments of a small terra-cotta statue, representing a bicipital monkey of a green bronze-coloured patina. A human skeleton was also found, in the mouth of which was still remaining a piece of bread.*

TABLINUM.

This apartment has a pluteus, or podium wall, at back, the opening above which, looking towards the peristylum, affords a view of one of the most singular scenes yet discovered in Pompeii. A number of statues, some of which are of the most grotesque description, are ranged around a circular basin, and, by their number and variety, produce the effect of a dramatic representation. Viewing it from the shade of the tablinum, with the pluteus in front, like a raised stage, the scene resembles that of a Marionette theatre more than anything else which

* There were also found,—an ornament of furniture, with carbonized wood inside. *Bronze*.—Two hinges for folding-doors; a plate with raised border, ten inches diameter; a fireshovel, a small vase, and a ring.

can be described. The *pluteus* is 3 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in height, and is covered with a marble slab; the front of which, and the side walls to within 4 ins. of the same height, are painted green, and divided into five panels each, corresponding with the subjects over. The height of the principal decoration is about 7 ft., and consists of a central compartment, separated by columns from the side panels, which are filled with open architectural scenes, as in Atrium, of equal execution, but less striking, being painted on a black ground instead of a bright blue. This black ground has changed its colour, as in walls of the adjoining Exhedra and Prothyrum, some parts being bright red, and others bright yellow. In the central panel of each side wall is a recess, measuring 3 ft. 10 ins. by 4 ft. 9 ins. high, and setting back 2 inches. Each has a couple of chasings worked in the wall behind, as if for receiving clamps to stiffen the picture intended for insertion. They measure 3 ins. by 2 ins., and are disposed horizontally.

Several different suppositions present themselves, from the appearance of these recesses. The paintings may have been of wood or stucco; they may, or not, have been inserted; and they may, or not, have been removed.

If we suppose that the paintings were on stucco, and removed by the ancients, we must regard the two chasings as effected in order to remove them with greater safety. This supposition is disproved by the circumstance that these recesses are cut out of the solid stone-work of the wall, and not from the thickness of the mortar. They are cut out with regularity, and the stucco is not at all damaged at the sides. That the chasings were not formed as a key to a stucco painting is evident, from a much better key being obtainable by a general rough facing. That no paintings on wood remained at the time of destruction is certain, from the fact that not the slightest morsel of charcoal was found at the period of excavation,*

* This is confirmed by the periodical report of the director-general of the

although I searched for it most carefully; and, from the indestructible nature of this material, it is impossible that it could have disappeared. We have no alternative, therefore, but that of acknowledging that the paintings were on wood. That they were inserted is evident, from the nails remaining at each extremity of the chases, and from the margins of both recesses preserving some slight vestiges of a *splay*, a mode of setting which we nowhere see employed in the fresco decorations of Pompeii, and which would not have been executed till after the pictures had been inserted. The wooden tablets would be secured to the wall by a coat of stucco, which, being scraped away preparatory to refixing other pictures, will account for no impression remaining of a wooden surface. We will endeavour to divine a reason for the removal of these pictures, after we have examined the remainder of the house.

The floor of the tablinum is covered with a beautiful mosaic pavement, the ornamental part of which occupies the principal portion, leaving plain margins at sides and back. The centre consists of slabs of marble disposed in squares, as in *Opus Alexandrinum*, round which is a mosaic border of scroll foliage. At back is a plug-hole, about 15 ins. square, with cover of white marble, and having a double line of black mosaic running round, as in the other parts of the tablinum. It was made for clearing the surface-drainage of garden, the water from which would otherwise flow into the tablinum. The front of tablinum has had wooden pilasters, 6 ins. square, at each angle, by side of which is a painted pilaster of a blue colour, seven inches wide, and resting on dado of atrium.

Two terra-cotta figures, $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high, were found in the tablinum, the heads, hands, and feet of which were wanting. It is

excavations. It is true that in report of the 4th of May, we find mention of two paintings on wood; but this merely signified *indications* of painting on wood, for in report of the 10th of April, he expressly states that these paintings were *not executed*.

possible that they might be ancestral portraits. A coin of the emperor Claudius was also discovered.

EXHEDRA.

I call by this name the room opening into right ala, which, from its situation, dimensions, and the character of some of its paintings, has been generally called the triclinium. That the room was not a triclinium is evident from its pavement, which exhibits no peculiarity in its plan, such as we invariably find in these rooms; and, secondly, there is another room of equal size immediately adjoining it at back, the pavement of which unhesitatingly shows it to have been a triclinium. I have called this room, therefore, an exhedra, or saloon, serving at all times for conversation, and occasionally as a triclinium.

It had double doors between it and the ala. One of the bronze hinge plates yet remains on the side of the exhedra; and the three others were discovered loose, and sent to the Museum at Naples.* There are no marks on the pavement, but the doors were doubtless quadrivalve. The small bivalve door from the atrium opened inwards. The room has two small windows in the upper part of the right hand wall; and one large one towards the garden, the sill of which is only 3 feet 5 inches high, and on level of pavement of adjoining garden. This window is 9 feet in height.

The room is of slightly irregular shape; but the mosaic pavement is laid square, having a white border all round, of irregular width.

The walls are ornamented with a yellow plinth, 2 ft. 7½ ins. high, enclosing panels of arabesque foliage on a black ground, divided by compartments of standing figures. The principal decoration is 7 ft. 3 ins. above this, and has three panels on each side, divided by perpendicular slips. The bottom or sill

* See Superintendents' Reports, 18th May.

of windows is about 16 inches above the principal decoration, the intervening space immediately below the windows being decorated with panels of fruit, etc. The other portions of the upper wall, or the whole upper wall with the exception of the windows, is left plain, as if intended to be covered with tapestry.

Each of the three walls has a large picture in the centre, which, like those of prothyrum, are *inserted*. These paintings, by their size, and by the character of their representation, may be reckoned among the most interesting examples of the *megalographia* of Pompeii.

That in the centre of the end wall is 5 ft. by 6 ft. 3 ins., representing Hercules and Omphale. Hercules is clothed in a red and gold peplus, lined with blue. He has exchanged his sandals with Omphale, and wears not only her elaborate white and gold shoes, but her necklace and bracelets. His left hand holds a spear, but it is decorated with ribands; while his right arm leans on the shoulder of a bearded slave*, (an eunuch,) whose head is covered with an oriental drapery of a pale yellow colour, with a blue border. He is clothed in a blue vestment, and has light hair and beard, and gold ear-rings. He carries in his lap what I had supposed to be fruit and flowers, but which the late Cavaliere Avellino, with great ingenuity, identified as almonds and pomegranates. On his right shoulder is a Cupid, playing into his ear through the tibia. Behind him are three attendants, one of whom, whose face is very skilfully fore-

* Professor Panofka considered this figure to be the *Bonus Eventus* of the Lydians. (*Arch. Zeit.*, 1847, p. 109.) Subsequently, he states,—this figure might be Tmolus, the husband of Omphale, were he not already dead; it is therefore more probably the dæmon Agathos, of Sardes. (*Ib.* p. 49*.) Cav. Avellino refutes this opinion, and considers the figure to be Atys. He argues that,—“Il destro piede (di Ate) con scarpa annodata da fettucce, mostrosi colla gamba scoperta per l'indiscreta curiosità di un Erote, che da quel lato elevando la tunica talare, è intento ad indagar cogli occhi le cose ch' ella asconde, e di cui mostra col gesto della destra mano far le meraviglie”. (*Bull. Archeol. Nap.*, 1847, p. 11, 12.)

shortened, is playing on the tambourine. Omphale stands before him, invested with the lion's skin; the lion's face covers her head, and the fore-paws are tied round her neck. She is clothed in a bright blue chiton, and a yellow peplus: she holds his club in her left hand, and is looking complacently on her captive. She is followed by three attendants. Three Cupids below are playing with the sword and quiver of Hercules, while another appears to be regarding himself in the reflection of the huge intoxicating *scyphus*.

On the right hand wall appears to be the *Triumph of Bacchus in India*,* measuring 5 ft. 3 ins. by 6 ft. 1 in. An aged figure,† crowned with ivy, and holding a thyrsus, is seated in a car, and supports the infant Bacchus on his knees, who grasps the thyrsus in his tiny fist. The car is drawn by two oxen, guided by a Faun. Two female figures are behind Bacchus in the car, one of whom‡ is receiving a large cantharus from another below. Silenus§ plays the tibiae before him, and another figure is seen behind. There appear to be one or more Cupids or genii below, but they are nearly effaced.

The picture on the left wall measures 5 ft. 3 in. by 6 ft. This extremely difficult picture has been variously explained.|| It

* *The education of Bacchus.* (Panofka.) *A scene in the youth of Bacchus.* (Avellino.)

† *Silenus.* (Panofka, Avellino.)

‡ Of noble mien, and wearing a diadem: perhaps Dione, but more probably Dione or Ceres. (*Arch. Zeit.* 1847, p. 111.) More probably Proserpine, the protecting deity of Sardes. (*Id.* p. 49.)

§ Pan. (*Id.* p. 111.)

|| The learned Professor Panofka thus described it on his first visit:—"The principal figure represents the youthful and beautiful *Bacchus* erecting a trophy. Behind him is his favourite *Ampelus*, and in front is a woman, whose head unfortunately is lost, holding in her left hand something like a roll or a pedom, and in her right the mask of the bearded, horned Pan. If what appear to be wings are so, this figure will be a Nike; otherwise, it is the personification of Spain, when Bacchus, after his triumphant passage, left Pan as governor." (*Archeol. Zeit.*, p. 111.) In another account he explains the principal figure as an ivy-crowned female carrying a shield towards the trophy, and considers

has been called, and generally supposed to be,—the Triumph of Bacchus. The principal figure, bearing a shield, is crowned with ivy or laurel(?), and clothed in a peculiar vestment, having angular lappets round the waist. In front is a trophy, consisting of cuirass, helmet, shield, etc. A captive warrior lies beneath, sitting on his shield, near whom is a winged Victory. Behind the principal figure is a Faun, carrying the thyrsus; and in the distance is a youth holding a shield, on which a Victory is inscribing something with a stylus.

these paintings as evidences that M. Lucretius had been employed in Lydia and Spain. (*Ib.*, p. 112.) Subsequently he considered the painting as illustrative of the “power of wine over physical force,” (*Ib.*, p. 49); and lastly, he states that “neither Bacchus, nor Silenus, nor Pan, is present; neither Mænads, nor satyrs, nor musical instruments. With the exception of the Faun and the Victory, there is no divinity, or dæmon, or mythic hero. The influence of Bacchic power, therefore, is more easy to suppose than to prove. The subject relates to civil life, showing conquerors and conquered, and having reference to historical events.”

He considers the picture as illustrative of a stratagem described by Polyænus (iv, 1): “Argeus was king of the Macedonians, and Galaurus king of the Taulantii. The Taulantii besiege the Macedonians. Argeus having but few troops, directed the Macedonian damsels to descend the mount Eriboia so soon as the enemy’s phalanxes should approach. The Taulantii advance; and immediately a great number of damsels descend from the mountain, brandishing thyrsi instead of spears, and having their faces concealed by masks. Galaurus, believing them to be men, became terror-stricken, and gave the signal for retreat. Argeus having thus conquered without a battle, erected a temple to Dionysus Pseudanor (Bacchus, supposed-a-man); and damsels, called hitherto in Macedonia, *clodoni*, henceforward obtained the name of *mimalloni* (men-imitators).” According to this explanation he now considers the principal figure to be a Macedonian damsel, and the man in the distance holding the shield, he takes for the king Argeus. (*Bullet. Inst. Archæol.*, 1847, p. 184.)

This difficult painting had engaged the attention of the Cav. Avellino, who expressed himself as being dissatisfied with the above explanation, and who stated his intention of offering another interpretation: an intention unhappily frustrated by his lamented decease. (*Bull. Archeol. Nap.*, No. 91.) We learn, however, by Gerhard’s *Archäolog. Anzeiger*, that it is about to be published by Signori Minervini, Quaranta and Garucci, in the Trans. of the *Accademia Ercolanese*.

The side panels of these pictures are occupied by *six beautiful little Dionysiac paintings*, representing Cupids and Psyches under canopies or awnings supported by poles, carousing, dancing, singing, and acting. When first discovered, they were sufficiently clear; but, in the short space of two years, they had already become nearly effaced, from the action of the salt.* They are all inserted paintings, and measure, on an average, 1 ft. 6 ins. by 1 ft. 4½ ins. Three are dramatic, and three symposiac.

The subject of left panel of tablinum wall represents a



Cupid as choragus of the theatre, holding a long rod to which a riband is attached, standing before a table, and holding a mask in his left hand. Two other masks lie on the table. One Cupid is tying on the cothurnus, and two others are standing behind.

* The decay of these pictures shews the evil consequences resulting from the continuance of the present prohibitory system. No one is allowed to draw an unedited monument until after the expiration of three years, at the end of which time the paintings are often so changed by the fading of the colours and the obliteration of the details, as to render any attempt at copying them hopeless. It is lamentable to consider the ravages of time on the frescoes which have been discovered since the first excavations at Pompeii.

Every fresco should be protected by a coating of liquid wax.

In that on right hand of opposite wall a Cupid is seen hold-



ing a lyre. In front of him is another, who is enwrapped in his mantle, and appears to be acting. A Psyche stands between them. Another Cupid is opening a box, and taking out some dresses for the stage; while another, beneath, is sitting down, and playing with a mask.

That on left of the same wall represents a Cupid in front,



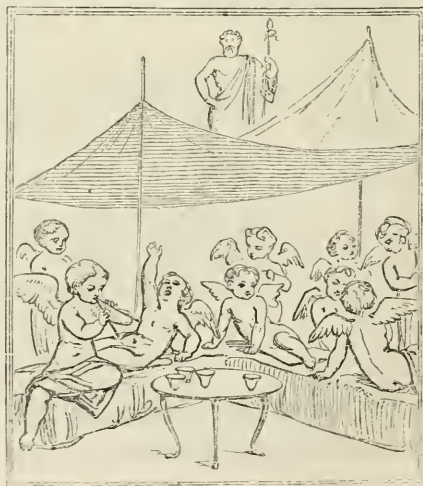
playing on the tibiae; another, behind, on the flageolet; while others stand about in different groups.

The other three paintings are symposiac scenes. That on



left panel of end wall has three figures reclining on the cushioned triclinium, two of whom are either speaking to, or kissing each other, and the third claps her hands, as if in keeping time ; a fourth is seated at the extreme end, and playing a lyre, while the principal figure is dancing in the middle, with an amphora or diota on his shoulder. Behind the canopy, which is curiously disposed so as to hide less of his figure, is the bearded Bacchus on a pedestal, holding his thyrsus in his left hand.

That on right of end wall represents nine Cupids and



Psyches—the classic number—in various attitudes, round a circular table, on which are numerous caps, rhytons, and a situlus. One is playing on short tibiæ; another is yawning, and stretching himself, with his arm extended upwards, and is admirably executed. Two others are embracing. Behind the velarium is Bacchus, as in last painting.

In the third, which is that on side of ala, various Cupids,



etc., are arranged on the couches, as before; but the table is removed. One Cupid, on the extreme left, is playing on a long flute, while the principal figure is dancing in the midst, and playing the castanets.

It must not be supposed that the preceding illustrations are fac-similes of these exquisite little gems. The memoranda from which they are taken, were all sketched within ten minutes, during the momentary absence of the *custode*.

The perpendicular divisions of the tablinum wall, and those of opposite wall, present square architectural compositions, in two orders, with a compluvium at the top. On the end wall circular temples are represented; and in the centre of each of them is a lofty but capricious tripod, some of which have triangular, and others circular bases. On these tripods are various

figures of the divinities, among whom may be recognized Diana and Isis; another is a female figure, but undistinguishable; and the others are destroyed. The walls of this apartment, as those of the ala adjoining, and of the prothyrum, show indications of the action of heat or fire: not only has the yellow changed, but also those parts which were painted black.

In this room was found a long bench (*lectisternium*), covered with silver plates, and resting on eight legs, but, unfortunately, in bad preservation. It had been covered with cushions. Among the ornaments belonging to it, were silver zones in the form of bracelets. A terra cotta tazza, and a dice, were also found here.

CEILINGS.

Among the most interesting results of this excavation are the particulars afforded relative to the upper floors and the ceilings of the Pompeian houses. The majority of the ceilings, of which any remains can now be traced, are composed, like those of the cubicula of this house, of segmental vaults, painted in fresco like the walls beneath, and having a small stucco cornice, highly enriched with colour, following the lines of the archivolt. In Diomedes' Villa we find some flat ceilings; and one or two other examples have been published by the Herculanean Academy. Doubtless many others, no record of which has been preserved, have been discovered and destroyed. In this house, however, we not only found fragments of ceilings, but these were of a richness and magnificence of which we could have formed no idea. The ceiling of the atrium was of wood; of this we could expect no traces: but the apartments opening on to it, as the tablinum, exhedra, and the ala, had stucco ceilings. All these were magnificently adorned. The most gorgeous, perhaps, was that of the tablinum. It consisted of a large circle in a square panel, boldly moulded, and enriched with stucco ornament, with ultramarine, vermil-

lion, and purple colouring, together with a profusion of gilding. I put the pieces together at the request of the government artist, Sigr. Abate, to enable him to make a restoration of it; and was promised, in return, a copy of the drawing, not being allowed to take one myself. But the drawing was never given me, and on my revisiting the city two years afterwards, the fragments were deposited in the magazine of the museum, where they will probably remain for the present generation; but should they again be brought to light, no one will know from what site they were originally procured.

Some fragments of a similarly-coloured ceiling were discovered, on 13th April, at the extremity of south ala, a position which would lead us to suppose that this apartment must have been covered with a ceiling like that of the tablinum. Fragments of equally elaborate ceilings were found, on 22nd April,* in the exhedra, but of two different styles; thus leading to the conviction, that not only was the exhedra so ornamented, but also the room above.

FAUCES.

This portion of the house is curious and of an unique form; for instead of being horizontal, and conducting to a peristyle, it consists of a broad flight of eight steps leading to the back part of house, which is considerably raised above the level of the atrium. The steps are of rough brickwork; but by the chases left in each side-wall, it is evident that they have been covered with $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch plank, and finished in front with stucco painted red. The walls are handsomely decorated, but as there is no ramp following the lines of steps, the decoration would appear to have been executed before the steps were laid.

* These objects were not recorded in the superintendents' reports, on account of their not being supposed to possess equal interest with works of bronze or terra-cotta. I have therefore affixed the dates from my private journal; lest the authenticity of the statement should be questioned.

The painting consists of a black plinth ornamented with green flowers, and is of nearly equal height with the dado of atrium. The wall above is red, and is divided, as usual, into three compartments. A simple architectural opening forms the centre, through which is seen a fanciful candelabrum-shaped plant shooting up into the upper part of wall, which is of a white ground slightly ornamented, where it is surmounted by a golden eagle, with wings extended, resting on a blue globe. The side-panels contain the emblems of various divinities. On the right hand wall are a peacock, and a head of Juno crowned with a diadem ; and a pig and patera, and a head of Hercules, whose temples are bound with a riband ; and on left wall are a globe and eagle, with the head of Jupiter crowned with laurel ; and a rhyton and cymbals attached to a riband, and the head of Bacchus crowned with ivy.

An $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch lead-pipe (outside measure), formed by bending sheet-lead round a wooden roll, and then beating down the



edges over a large pair of pincers, runs along the right side of steps, and supplied water to the fountains of garden.* It is furnished with two copper cocks, one of which regulates the supply of water to the fountain of Marsyas, the other to that of the piscina. The floor of fauces is of stucco.

It is remarkable that a skeleton was found here. It is well known that the houses of the ancients were divided into two parts,—the public and the private. Strangers, and the clients of the patrician, were admitted only to the atrium. Where there was no triclinium attached to the atrium, the guests were conducted to that which formed part of the interior of the house ; but at other times the access to this private portion of the mansion was strictly forbidden, and, indeed, especial

* Avellino mistook this for a rain-water pipe.

care was taken to preserve the inviolability by defending its approach by the long and narrow fauces. Here, as in the prothyrum, a slave was constantly in attendance, whose duty it was to allow no one to pass, unless by the express permission of the owner of the house; an infraction of which ordinance was punished with a hundred lashes. It is possible that the skeleton may have belonged to such a slave, who remained faithful to his charge, like the soldier whose skeleton was found adjoining the gate of the city. This second vestibule of the house seems alluded to by Cicero in his oration for A. Cæcina, (31,) where he says,—“*si e vestibulo, quam si ex interiore ædium parte dejectus sis*”.

UPPER FLOORS.

The staircase gives access to a small room with a window 3 ft. 11 ins. high from ground, looking on to the garden; and by a slightly projecting ramp of stucco, it is evident that a flight of steps, 3 ft. wide, ran backwards to level of first floor of house, forming a bulkhead in ceiling of room below.

The room on landing, just described, with that contiguous to it, are only 7 ft. 6 ins. high,—*the ceiling being of equal height with that of atrium*, and thus enabling the rooms above to be all on one level: a proof of the existence of rooms, not only over this portion of house, but also over atrium, and thereby forming a noble and continuous suite of apartments, as on ground floor.*

One of the especial objects of this excavation was the obtaining facts and evidences relative to the upper stories of ancient houses. It has been asserted by writers on Pompeii, and very generally believed, that the upper floor was a mere mezzanine, and appropriated to slaves. The house under consideration is

* * I may, on some future occasion, give a plan of the upper floor of one of the earliest excavated houses of Pompeii,—the evidences of which have been hitherto neglected.

far from being one of the largest of Pompeii, yet the following list of objects found during the course of excavation at considerable height above the level of ground, in addition to the evidence just adduced of the uniformity of level of ceiling-line of ground floor, clearly show that the upper floor must have been of equal grandeur and sumptuousness with the lower or ground floor. The city was buried to about the top of ground floor, or the middle of first floor. Above the line of ashes, we find about seven feet of ashes and mould, mixed with constructive remains, above which are other seven feet of vegetable mould and constructive remains. The vegetable mould, from its imbibing and retaining moisture, destroys the colours of the fresco paintings, which very frequently leave the stucco, and become stamped on the mould; so that not unfrequently the whole traces of the decoration of these upper walls are removed by the act of excavating.

That the first floor was nobly paved, appears from fragments of mosaic pavements found at various heights in the course of excavation; and I have already referred to the gorgeous character of the ceiling of room over *œcus*. A circular table was found April 7th, which had fallen from the same room; a marble trunk of a tree, which had served as support to some statue, was found in the atrium; the statue of a man with a bagpipe, and 2 ft. 8 in. in height, was found in front of *tablinum*. On 29th March, and about ten feet from pavement, two pieces of lead pipe, for supply of fountain on first floor, were found in the *tablinum*. An *antefixa*, and a portion of cornice-gutter, with lion's head, which had crowned the hypæthral walls over *compluvium* of atrium, were found in the same apartment, on the following day. Among other objects of less interest were found, on the 26th March, a large amphora, with obliterated inscription on level of ceiling of second *cubiculum* on left. Another amphora, broken, with the inscription—

MES

AM. XVIII

was found with it. The beam of a balance, and a bronze lamp, had also fallen from the upper part of this house; and a bronze strigil, eight inches long, a bronze bracelet, with a plate of silver representing the sun radiated, a glass vase, and a bronze cup, from the upper portion of adjoining house. The pan of a water-closet, or what appears to be such, is still observable on level of first floor, at letter (*h*), at back of shop on north side of prothyrum. In the description of the prothyrum is an account of several objects found there, which must evidently have fallen from the upper floors. The walls of mezzanine, just referred to, are perfect to about half their height, but are less elegantly decorated than room below.

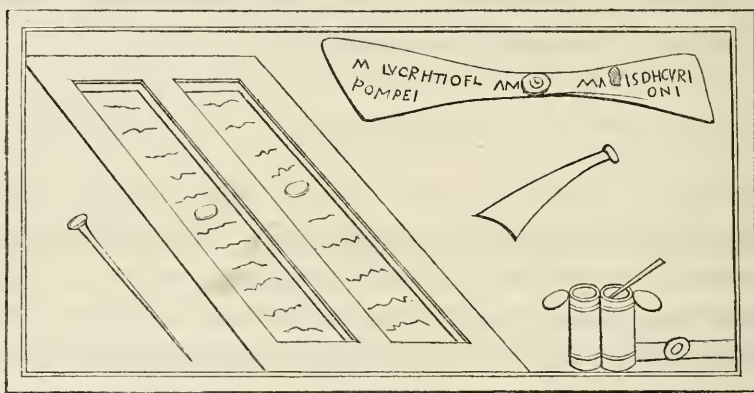
PERISTYLIUM.

On leaving the fauces, we have to pass through several rooms before coming to the peristylum. The first of these, immediately on the top of landing, has each of its side-walls divided into three panels by open architectural slips. The central panel on left side has a painting $15\frac{1}{2}$ ins. square, nearly destroyed, in which is just discernible a female figure seated by the side of a column, and perhaps a child or Cupid in front, and another figure standing behind. The centre of opposite wall is occupied by a window. The further wall has an open architectural scene, above which is the fragment of a small landscape; the part remaining of which shows what appears to be a villa on a rock, with a bridge connecting it with the mainland. On the left side of this, and on right and left of side walls, are genii on brackets, with a sword, shield, and helmet.

The walls are discoloured, as in other parts of the house; the line of heat or fire is as clearly defined as if the parts had been purposely contrasted by the caprice of the painter.

The second room, or compartment of passage,—for they have no doors between them,—has a pluteus wall towards

garden, 2 ft. 5 ins. high, and 9 ins. thick, and appears to have been enclosed in winter by a three-inch partition resting on it, and going across to opposite pier. The walls are ornamented with a yellow plinth charged with arabesques, above which the wall is white, with open tabernacle work. Reed candelabra support masks and garlands, and the central panel exhibits an interesting picture, representing a waxed diptych, with stylus, scraper, a folded and sealed paper, and an ink-bottle and pen. From the writing on the letter, it has been conjectured that this was the house of the Decurion.*



From the cabinet just mentioned, a walk runs round the garden, the left and further sides of which were protected by a projecting roof, beneath which is a wide gutter to receive the rain. The angle pier has on its left side a large cantharus, rudely painted on a white ground; the other side, and three sides of adjoining pier, have light arabesques on a white ground.

The lower part of piers, for five feet in height, is red; on which the angle pilaster has, on eastern side, a circular inserted painting, $10\frac{1}{4}$ ins. diameter, presenting to view four green glass vessels, a small stone bottle, a bunch of grapes, and a garland

* In these two rooms were found: *Bronze*,—a patera, a coin, parts of a lock and hinge. *Glass*.—Three vessels of different shapes, a circular tazza seven ins. diameter, of a green colour. *Terra-cotta*.—A tazza, a lamp, and two vases.

of flowers, on the angle of a square table. The corresponding side of adjoining pilaster has the representation of a wooden cupboard, inside which is seen a lemon, a small basket of comestibles, and two fruits or shells suspended from a nail.

Though rude piers occupied the place of columns, no accessories were omitted which might tend to decorate the place, and we accordingly find no fewer than four suspended discs for intercolumniations; one of a square form, broken, two resembling the Amazonian pelta, and the fourth circular, 15 ins. in diameter, with a sacrifice of a calf on one side, and on the other a bearded figure, presenting a cista full of gifts to an altar. A marble mask of the head of a Faun, with short hair, mustaches, long ears, and open mouth, probably formed one of these suspended decorations, if, indeed, it did not serve as the ornament of a fountain on the upper floor.

The podium wall, between, exhibits a large elliptical fish-pond, enclosed with a fence of trellis-work, and surrounded by a grove of trees. On each side is what appears to be a sphæristerium, or palæstra, in which are two figures wrestling, and a large mask. The whole is enclosed by another fence, outside of which are ostriches. The extremity of podium is painted red, and ornamented with green plants and a bird.

The inside of podium is also red; the upper part of piers, and the wall on left side, are blue; the whole painted as a *viridarium*, with trees and birds. The left wall has a low podium built against it, 2 ft. 6 ins. high, and 5 ins. thick, possibly to contain flower-beds, though no trough or hollow is now visible.

The garden is ornamented with two *fountains*. In the centre of garden is a circular basin, 2 ft. 8 ins. deep, and about 6 ft. 6 ins. diameter, in the midst of which rises a column supporting a jet of water. At back of this is a fountain of mosaic work, forming a niche 2 ft. 6 ins. diameter, the cove and front of which are formed of mosaic work, consisting of a yellow-covered canopy, scrolls, and foliage on a blue ground. The

arrises are lined with cockle-shells, and the sides with petrifications. The sides of niche are of stucco, and ornamented with dolphins. In the centre is a marble statue of Marsyas, 2 ft. 7 ins. high, holding a skin under his left arm, from which a jet of water flows down five steps in front, 3 ft. 8 ins. wide, and is conducted, by a marble channel 11 ins. wide, into the circular basin. The figure of Marsyas may have reference to the Phrygian character of many of the paintings in this house; or it may have been very appropriately introduced as a suitable ornament to a fountain, from the belief that the Phrygian river had its source from the cave of this being. On each side is a bicipital hermal statue, 4 ft. high including base, the heads of which exhibit a bearded Bacchus and Ariadne, on the left; and a male and female Faun on the right, both distinguished by short horns. Near these was found a head of Typhon, formed of stucco and covered with porcelain.

In front of garden are two other hermal statues of the same height, and each representing the Indian Bacchus and Ariadne.





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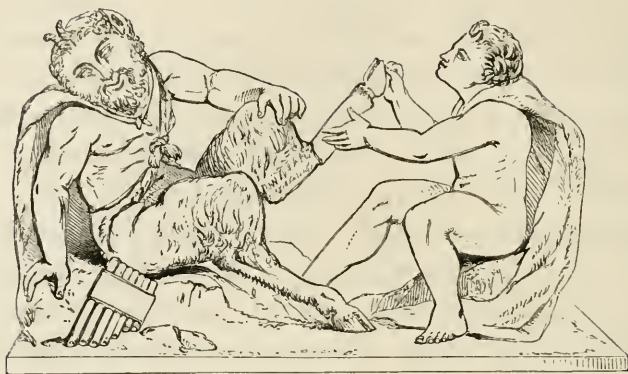
MOSAIC FOUNTAIN
IN PERISTYLIUM OF A HOUSE AT POMPEII

EXCAVATED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF M^r FALKENER

These were discovered perfect at the time of excavation ; but happening to be found when nobody of consequence was present, they were immediately covered up again, and the remainder of the day occupied in heaping ashes over them. The works were then discontinued till some illustrious foreigner should arrive at Naples, when an excavation was ordered to be made in his honour. At length the opportunity offered. Some much longed-for person visited Pompeii ; the excavation commenced ; and, after two or three ineffectual endeavours in other places, where they knew they would obtain nothing, the workmen were ordered, as if by accident, to try in the peristylum. The pick-axes are struck vigorously in, as if to break the ground ; the shovels cast aside the ashes for the second time ; and after some few minutes, these works of art are brought to light, to the great satisfaction of the beholders. But as the workmen were aiming blows at random, one of them unfortunately chipped off a piece of Bacchus' nose with a stroke of his pick-axe. The spectators thought nothing of the blow, believing it to be an accident ; the only other persons conscious of the outrage, being Bacchus and the manes of the departed owner. But though these held their peace, I could not refrain my indignation at witnessing the evil effects arising from this ridiculous and long-continued custom of the authorities at Pompeii.*

* There are about four carts and twelve men employed in the excavations of Pompeii. On Sundays, and festas, which are of no very rare occurrence, the works are suspended. The usual practice is to dig down to within two or three feet of the soil, and then to commence at another site. The completion of the excavation, *i.e.* the removal of these two or three feet, is reserved for occasions like the above mentioned ; but it sometimes happens that, in the interval, which is frequently of several weeks' continuance, the custodi find, in making their morning rounds, that thieves have been in the night before, tempted by the facilities thus afforded, have turned over the few inches of soil left undisturbed, and have removed the treasures they concealed. The objects thus acquired go to increase private collections, or are sold to the passing forrestiere.

In front of the piscina is a small group, 20 ins. long, of a



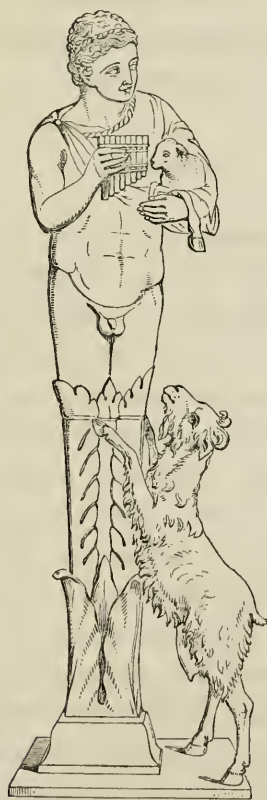
Faun endeavouring to extract a thorn from the foot of Pan.

On the left of piscina are two statues, each about 2 ft. 9 ins. high, the further of which represents a Faun with two short horns, but no tail, walking lightly along, and holding perhaps



a pedum in his left hand, and shielding his face from the sun with his right; but as there is the fragment of a pedestal behind, which must have supported something, it is possible that the Faun held a goat over his shoulders, and what appears to be a portion of a pedum may be the hind leg of an animal. In his right he may have held one of the fore legs, the other of which rested on his right shoulder, where a slight oxidation is visible, as if cramped with iron; and lastly, the other leg rested on the pedestal.

The other is a hermal statue of a shepherd with a Pandean



pipe, holding a kid in his left arm, while the dam is jumping up at his side endeavouring to lick its offspring.

Around the piscina are other fanciful devices serving as ornaments, as a panther eating grapes, in front of last group; on

each side of which are Cupids riding on dolphins, which are feeding on polypi; two toads (?) behind; then two birds; a cow and a hind on right, and a goose on the left; all of ordinary execution. The two statues on left of piscina are pretty in design; but the hermal statues only are of a good style of art. As the level of the garden rises rapidly, a gutter is practised in front next the tablinum. The side walks of garden are of opus signinum; the back walk is of black stucco, with fragments of white marble. We generally find a lararium in the garden or peristyle, as in the atrium; but though there is no altar or niche of construction, a small terra cotta altar, with a statue of Minerva, of the same material, were found here, and which served probably for the same purpose.*

TRICLINIUM.

The front of this apartment looks on to the side of garden. The pavement is formed of a handsome mosaic, the centre of which is wanting. The walls are white, ornamented with arabesques of light and graceful design. Each side has three panels, divided by open architectural scenes of fanciful character, in centre of which are genii and Bacchantes of great beauty, bearing different objects, as a sword, pateræ, garlands, tibiæ, wreaths of flowers, etc. Under each panel are landscapes or groups of figures: wild beasts are visible in one; Cupids gathering grapes occupy another; and children at play are seen in a third; one of whom holds a cord tied to a stake, and endeavours to catch his playmates, who flog him as he passes with their whips. In this room were found three small

* Other objects found in the garden, or adjacent members of the house, were: *Bronze*,—a small oval basin with two handles, two olcæria with two handles each, a saucepan, a lamp, several hinges, portions of furniture, a small brooch, fragments of locks, and a small bell. *Terra-cotta*.—A small jar, a lamp, and a circular money-box containing a large bronze medal of Vespasian, a smaller one of Galba, and another of Domitian.

amphoræ, two of which have painted on them, in black letters:

LIQUAMEN
OPTIMUM.

The other has:

TVSCOLA
ON
OFFICINA SCAV.

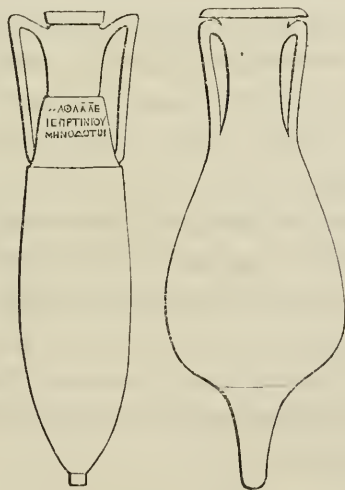
Another, larger one, bears the following inscription, in red paint; the dots represent letters which are now illegible:

.. AΘAΛ...
... P. I. I. I. ...
MHNOΔOTUI

and on the other side, in black paint:

KOR OPT.

the letters KOR being nearly effaced.



There were also found here several glass vessels, and a quantity of carbonized olives in a plate of terra cotta.

Adjoining the triclinium is the *apotheca triclinii*, the position of which is very convenient for stowing away and preparing the dishes for the table. The first chamber has a plain stucco floor; the decorations of its walls, if any existed, are destroyed. A terra cotta puteal covering was found in one corner of this room; and

a large round mass of greenish-black marble, flat on one side, as if used for polishing pavements. It weighs about $\frac{3}{4}$ cwt. At the extremity of this room is a small *latrina*. The second chamber has the lower part of its walls yellow, and the upper part white, both charged with arabesques nearly effaced. The pavement is of stucco, divided in squares and diamonds by lines of small white tesserae, in centre of each of which is a piece of white or coloured marble.

The *cella vinaria* is under the triclinium; it has not been excavated. It was approached by eight steps, at end of which the passage was vaulted to within a short distance of the end wall, in which an opening appears, answering as a *shoot-hole*. One vault, immediately on right, at foot of steps, has been bricked-up, and another, at further end, is much lower; but only the upper part of arch is visible. Near these steps was discovered a lean-to roof, in perfect preservation. Access to these apartments was afforded by the small side door of the triclinium, which enabled the attendants to go in and out without impeding the view of the garden, obtained through the wide opening in front.

Another accessory of the triclinium was the *cubiculum meridianum*, an apartment appropriated for the noon-day siesta: this chamber we see immediately on the left of the œcus; its purpose being indicated by the recess in the thickness of the wall, so frequently seen in the houses of Pompeii, where the rooms are of restricted dimensions. The pavement is similar to that of adjoining œcus.

ŒCUS.

The principal room at back of garden, which occupies the site usually appropriated to the œcus, was probably intended, notwithstanding its diminutive size, to serve such purpose. The œcus appears to have been used by the owner of the house to converse with his friends apart from the noise of the atrium; a

purpose, for which its position at the extremity of the peristylum, rendered it peculiarly fitting. It might also have been used whenever he wished to show greater distinction to his guest; in the same manner that, in the modern Roman houses, the innermost of a long suite of rooms is considered the most honourable. The expectant clients, confined to the atrium, would see their patron seated at his ease in the distant *œcus*; who, on his part, would take advantage of this central position, which enabled him to note the various persons entering, and to judge when it was convenient to show himself. -

The *œcus* of this house is small; but it would appear that it was originally smaller even than it is at present, the marks of an 8-inch wall being visible on the pavement, which was afterwards destroyed, and a thin partition placed a few inches further, and secured to the pavement by a line of small holes. The *œcus* was then newly stuccoed and decorated. The walls have a black plinth, yellow centre, and red side panels, over which the wall is white; the whole being charged with arabesques.

In centre of end wall is a painting, 15 by $16\frac{1}{2}$ ins., in which we see Narcissus in love with his reflection in the water. On right hand wall is Apollo and Daphne. The side panels have circular *inserted* paintings, $8\frac{3}{4}$ ins. diameter, and representing Bacchic heads.

The pavement of this and adjoining rooms consists of black stucco, dotted with small white rectangular pieces of marble; and the larger room has a few diamond-shaped pieces of striated glass of different colours, in the centre.

CULINA.

This portion of house is so entirely devoid of ornament, that the plan alone will afford a sufficient description. It consists of four portions:—a large passage; the kitchen, paved with tiles, with two dressers supported by arches, a small oven (an

unique specimen), and a wooden dresser; in front of which is a room, serving for what we might call a servants' hall; and at side of kitchen, as usual, is a large privy.* It is possible that these apartments were lit by a small skylight.

The room on left of tablinum, opening on to left ala, appears to have been connected with the kitchen department, the walls being entirely plain, and the pavement of opus signinum.†

ADJOINING HOUSE. (Letter A.)

This was the original extent of the house, to which has been subsequently added a small adjoining tenement on the left side of garden. It consists of a prothyrum, with a cubiculum on

* Two enormous *φάλλοι* appear on the rude plaster of kitchen wall.

† These rooms were excavated subsequently to my departure; but, by the superintendents' reports there were found here:—Several vases and vessels, 6 to 16 ins. diameter, one of which was ornamented with two dolphins; an iron grater, a key, and a bolt: a bronze strainer, a funnel, a mirror, 3 ins. in diameter, a candelabrum-top, two weights of balance, two keys, rings and ornaments of furniture, a lock, a hinge, a patera: a glass bottle, 4 ins. high, a long bottle with a short neck, a long-necked bottle, two cups: a terracotta statue of Venus Anadyomene, with a statue of Priapus near her left leg; a female enveloped in her mantle; another similar, 4 ins. high; a group of two slaves bearing a box, in which is a figure; another of a gladiator, another of a male figure,—all these are about 5 ins. high; three lamps, one of which has a horse at top; a fragment with two Bacchic heads; a fragment of female figure: a marble mortar and pestle; a stone weight, an altar, 4 ins. high: a bone tessera, bearing No. VIII; twenty-six pieces of circular bone, an ear-pick, and a small spoon-bowl.

The following inscription is said (*Arch. Zeit.*, 1847, p. 144) to have been found scratched upon a red wall in this house, together with the rude plan of a labyrinth. I did not see it:

LABYRINTHI
HIC HABITAT
MIN OTAUR.

Sigr. Minervini considers that this inscription may have reference to an arabesque figure, supposed to represent a Minotaur, which occurs at the top of an architectural scene on the walls of the tablinum; a connexion which, I must acknowledge, I consider as somewhat fanciful.

each side; an atrium, with a very small impluvium; two recesses for beds on right hand side, furnished with wooden fronts flush with wall, 3 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. wide, and raised about 2 ft. 6 ins. from the ground; a tablinum, with fauces on right, and a cubiculum on left. Beyond tablinum, is a large room, with steps to upper floors.

It is probable that this part of house was only recently added to the other, as no alterations have been effected, either in construction or decoration, to render it suitable for those purposes of magnificent display, to which it was doubtless intended to have been eventually appropriated by its new possessor. The wall dividing it from the larger mansion has been destroyed; and the large room separating the garden from the tablinum of the smaller house, although quite exposed to the garden and triclinium, has been left in its rough state, devoid of stucco. A heap of lime (*e*) lies under the stairs leading to upper floor, as if the order had already been given for the contemplated improvements.

Some frustra of two Ionic columns were also found here; one in the cubiculum (*e*) on right of prothyrum, the others in the large room (*f*) between tablinum and the garden of adjoining house. They seem to have been brought hither by the owner of the mansion, for the embellishment of a noble room he proposed to add on the left-hand side of the garden.*

GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

The reader of the foregoing account must have been struck with the great number of Bacchic representations contained in this house, and with the unusual number of *inserted* paintings.

In the first cubiculum on right is the figure of an actor with

* There were found in this house:—

In right hand cubiculum.—The iron portion of a grating, with marble cover; a weight, a ring.

In the left hand cubiculum.—Two glass vessels, a circular piece of blue glass,

his pedum and mask, and probably there was another on the opposite wall, but now destroyed; below these are panels containing two masks. In left ala are two theatrical paintings. All those of right ala and exhedra are so; and lastly, the garden œcus has circular Bacchic heads. With the exception of those of cubiculum and left ala, all are *inserted* paintings. Most of the statues in the garden also were Bacchic, there being four hermal statues of Bacchus, in addition to the figure of Marsyas. We cannot consider that all this is a matter of chance, but must rather regard them as bearing some reference to the pursuits of the owner of the house. I imagine, therefore, that the proprietor was a *poet*; and it is with this feeling that I would venture to offer a new interpretation of the painting on the left wall of the exhedra.

Undoubtedly, if a satisfactory mythological explanation can be given of any picture, we are not warranted in attributing to it any suppositional incident of ordinary life; but from the acknowledged difficulty and uncertainty which has attached to this monument, we may be permitted, till some more satisfactory explanation is discovered, to consider it in such light, especially if we find the hypothesis borne out by correlative facts.

1½ ins. diameter, having a head of Medusa in relief; a terra-cotta lamp, a vase-cover.

In atrium.—A hinge and lock, an iron key; a bronze patera, handles broken; a bronze vase; a lead-strainer, 4½ ins. diameter; a broken glass tazza; the bottom of a terra-cotta cup of red varnish, on which are the letters FORM, written backwards.

In cubiculum on left of tablinum.—A small vase, another with sulphur inside, a square mirror, top of a candelabrum, part of a lock, a cylindrical hinge-socket, a sewing-needle, twenty-four rings, nails, etc., four surgical instruments.

In first recess, or cubiculum of atrium.—Twenty-three coins, five unguentaria, a small spherical vase, part of a lock, a ring, parts of hinges.

In tablinum.—Sixty pieces of a bronze chariot, with four iron felloes.

In fauces.—A bronze lamp, with head of a goose, ten portions of hinges, a lock, a portion of an iron chariot-pole (?), nine terra-cotta rings.

The principal figure* I would regard, therefore, as the poet, or owner of the house. He is crowned with ivy or laurel, and robed in a peculiar vestment, with triangular lappets round the waist. Before him are various objects, which seem to indicate the subject of his poem. In front is a trophy, consisting of a cuirass, helmet, and shield, denoting the victory of his hero. Beneath is a captive slave with his hands tied behind him, and sitting on a shield, representing the subjection of the hero's adversaries. Above is a winged genius, or Victory, receiving the spoils of war from another figure. The Faun following behind, with a thyrsus, would denote that the poem was rehearsed or acted on the stage.†

But in considering this as *the house of a dramatic poet*, we must see how we shall be confirmed in our opinion by other evidence, and whether we can ascertain any more particulars respecting the individual himself.

It would appear that the poet had not been long in possession of the house, or that he had not long thought of rendering it suitable to his fame, for the mosaic pavement of the triclinium is still unfinished, as are also the two paintings of the tablinum. That the house was richly decorated before he acquired it, is evident from the superb paintings of the atrium, which have not been touched, and from the decorations of the prothyrum, which correspond to them in character, and which the last owner has only altered in inserting the two paintings. The ceiling of the tablinum, etc., we may conclude to have likewise formed part of the house in its original state. These decorations being so magnificent, we may conceive that it must have been

* This figure, I never doubted, was a male, and Prof. Panofka, in his first explanation, so describes it; but it has subsequently been regarded by archaeologists as a female.

† I exceedingly regret that I have not been able to obtain a drawing of this painting. I have written several times to Naples on the subject, but have not been able to obtain a copy, on account of its being an inedited monument.

equally adorned with a sufficiency of pictures, especially as we find even the cubicula enriched with them, and consequently there could have been no necessity for its subsequent owner to have inserted so many new paintings.

But regarding him as a poet, and calling to mind that all the *inserted* paintings, with the exception of those of prothyrium, are Bacchic, we see at once the reason for his so doing ; and we can now explain the formerly perplexing circumstance of the paintings on wood being removed from the tablinum. Were it not for the certainty that the paintings of the tablinum have been *removed*, we might suppose that all the inserted paintings of this house are easel-paintings, and therefore that the house was not quite completed at the time of the destruction of the city. This, however, is not probable. The paintings, though of admirable conception and execution, do not exhibit an extraordinary degree of finish ; on the contrary, the six exquisite little dramatic and symposiac scenes in the exhedra are remarkable for their playful and sketchy character, while the circular paintings of peristylum are by no means superior to the ordinary Pompeian paintings. Moreover, the large paintings in the exhedra must have been as difficult to execute in the atelier as on the wall. But judging from the splendid decorations of the house, and especially from the gorgeous ceiling of the tablinum, we must imagine that the pictures of that room were of a superior description, particularly as they were on wood, which Pliny tells us was always chosen for the finest paintings : but the poet was not satisfied in having a beautiful house, he wished to make it suitable to his taste, and he therefore caused these paintings to be removed, intending to insert others of a Bacchic nature, as he had already done in other parts of the house. It would appear to be with such feelings that the large room opening on to right-hand ala, was converted into a *rehearsing room*, or “green room”, in the vicinity of the atrium ; and this was placed, very conveniently, contiguous to the ala, but separated from it by *double* folding doors, in order

to render it more secluded. In this room, consequently, we find collected together the greatest number of Bacchic paintings, *all* of which have been inserted.

Two opinions may be offered for the pavement of triclinium not being completed; one, that it was intended to insert a Bacchic mosaic picture in the centre of the pavement; the other, that the triclinium might have been excavated by the owner of the house, subsequently to the destruction of the city. There is reason for believing that the pavement was not completed, for the large stone found in the room at back of this was doubtless employed for the finishing and polishing of pavements.

We can form no idea of the nature of the alterations proposed in the adjoining house, (A,) as with the exception of pulling down and destroying the party wall, and the bringing in of lime and the frustra of two columns, no works had been commenced. The tablinum (*d*) served as a temporary chariot-house;* and we may therefore feel assured that it was not intended to make this house an *atriolum* or smaller atrium to the principal house, this apartment being in every other instance attached to the large atrium. But besides the destruction of wall dividing this house from the garden of larger mansion, there was discovered at the time of excavation an aperture, (*a*,) forming a doorway, broken through party wall between this house and adjoining tenement, (*B*,) which has been lately filled up again by the workmen charged with the repairs; and this is one of the many instances where as much mischief is effected by injudicious "repairs", as by parsimony and neglect. There still exists, however, another opening (at *b*) in this same wall, and these works of destruction justify us in believing that this tenement likewise was the property of the poet, and that he intended to join it also to the larger mansion; and we are confirmed in this opinion by the circumstance that with the excep-

* See p. 84, *note*.

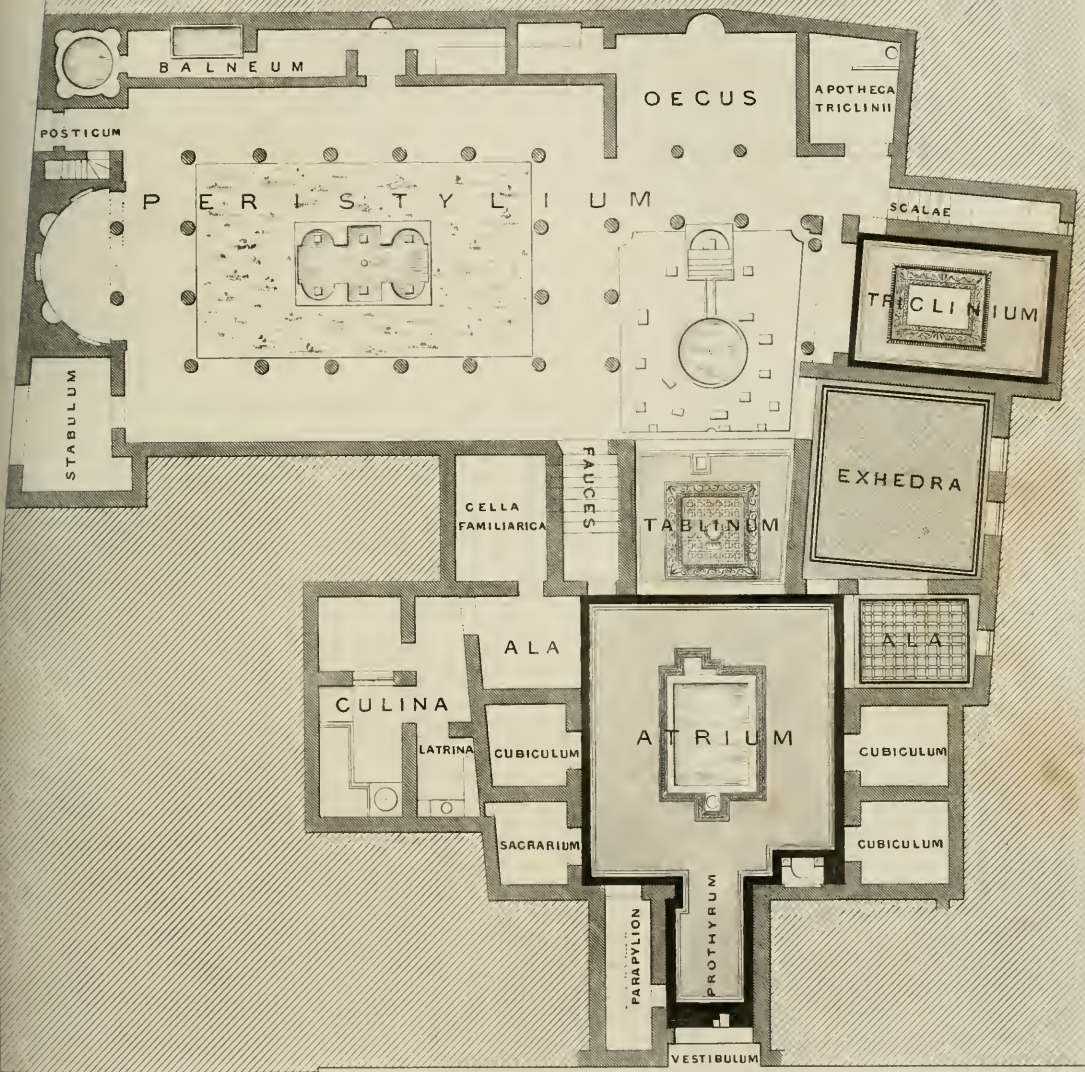
tion of a capital lying in prothyrum* (*g*) of this house, and belonging to the frustra of columns discovered in adjoining house, (*A*,) no objects whatever were found here; and consequently the house must have been uninhabited.

* I cannot *affirm* that it was found in prothyrum of this house, not having been present at the time of excavation of these tenements; but it was lying there on the occasion of my revisiting the city in 1849. These tenements having been excavated after my departure, I am dependent on the superintendents' reports for the particulars of the various objects discovered. From the vagueness of the titles in these reports, it is sometimes difficult to tell which house is referred to; but it would appear, by these reports, that nothing whatever was discovered in house. (*B*.)

In order to make the subject more complete, I append a statement, from the superintendents' reports, of the objects discovered in house, or manufactory, (*c*,) premising that the shops in front of the principal mansion were excavated several years ago.

In circular niche of lararium, in peristyle, were found five bronze statuettes, a figure of Fortune, or Abundance, veiled, with a patera in her right hand and a cornucopia in her left,— $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high, including base; Hercules, with a key in his right hand, and a lion's skin in his left hand, his head crowned with vine-leaves,—4 ins. high; Jupiter, bearded, and crowned with laurel, holding a thunderbolt in his right hand, his left hand resting on a spear,— $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins. high; a male figure, bearded, and crowned with laurel, the left arm is raised, and the right hand holds a patera,— $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high; Isis, or Fortune, holding a rudder in her right hand, and a cornucopia in left, on her head is a crescent and a lotus-flower,— $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins. high; the terra-cotta bust of a child, $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high, was also found here. At height of 5 ft. 6 ins., part of a hinge. At height of 4 ft. :—three silver coins, a hinge, a needle, three nails, three terra-cotta lamps, two fragments of circular tazza of red varnish, embellished with a quadriga guided by a Cupid, above whom is written BARCAE. At height of 3 ft. 4 ins. :—a terra-cotta lamp, a hinge, a boss, an iron candelabrum, with bronze feet, capital, and cup; three fragments of a chain, a key, a terra-cotta tazza with red varnish, well preserved; portion of a tazza representing two heads of hippogriffs, in relief.

The following were also found :—a silver coin, a bronze candelabrum, 3 ft. 4 ins. high; five saucepans, four vases, a pair of scales, a hinge, three little cups, five terra-cotta tazzas, three of which are glazed; a *secchia*, with a goose-head handle, a vase, two plate-covers, a circular vase with bas-relief, 12 ins. diameter, a hunch-backed dwarf, three pieces of coral, and a piece of pumice-stone.



7211.10.11

PLAN OF HOUSE

AS COMPLETED ACCORDING TO THE PRESUMED INTENTIONS
OF THE OWNER.

Scale of English Feet.
10 0 10 20 30 40 50

Having now terminated my report, it remains to return my thanks to the Poet for the interesting house he has left to us ; and feeling myself under considerable obligations to him on this account, I consider it my duty to give him the benefit of my professional assistance, gratuitously, and to present him with a plan for the completion of his mansion.

EDWARD FALKENER.

MARCO LUCRETIO

FAVENTI

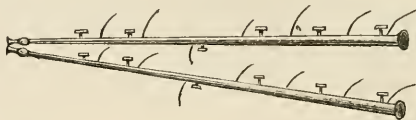
E . F . D . D .

V.

ON A LYDIAN DOUBLE PIPE (TIBIÆ PARES),

REPRESENTED IN A PAINTING OF A HOUSE AT POMPEII.

EXCAVATED BY MR. FALKENER.



THE picture is very remarkable for the two pipes in the hand of a female performer, and from their being of a description of which I have never met with an exact parallel. The only example similar is of a Phrygian and Lydian pipe, from a bas-relief in the Palazzo Farnese, given by Burney and



others. The pipes are evidently of a comparatively modern epoch, for we find from Horace and Ovid, and other authors (*Plut. de Mus.*), that the ancient pipes were very simple, and had few holes:

“Tibiæ non ut nunc orichaleo vineta tubæque
Æmula, sed tenuis, simplexque foramine pauco.”*
“ . . . rara foramina buxo.”†

The holes were originally four, if we may believe Julius Pollux, lib. iv, c. 10, tit. 3.

The Phrygian pipe is said to have had only *two* holes:

“ . . . biforem dat tibia cantum.”‡

And Varro says the right-hand pipe had only *one*:

“Tibi Phrygia dextra unum foramen habet.”§

* Hor., lib. i, *De Art. Poet.*

† Ovid, lib. *Fast.* 6.

‡ Virg., *Æn.* ix, 617-620.

§ *De Re Rust.*

So that to make the three principal modes, namely, the Dorian, Phrygian, and Lydian, there were three pipes. But in process of time, there were more holes made in the tibia. Thus, from the passage in Horace, above quoted, we learn that there were more holes in his time. Sidonius, lib. 1, *Epist.*, calls it "*septiforis tibia*", or the *seven-holed flute*. Avienus, quoted by Caspar Bartholini, attributes more to it. In Seneca's *Agamemnon*, we find it called "*multifora tibia*". And Ovid, in another place, says:

"Non multifori delectat tibia buxo."

And we are told by Pausanias (ix, 12, § 4) and Athenæus (xiii, 631), that (about 300 B.C.) one Pronomus, a Theban, invented certain adjustments to the flute, ἀρμονίαι; but we are not informed in what these consisted, only that the different modes could be obtained by them.

Again, Julius Pollux (lib. iv, c. 9, tit. 5) tells us (speaking of the various parts of pipes or flutes), that among other parts, besides the mouth-piece, etc., there were ὅλμοι καὶ ὑφολμία—ὅλμος, according to Hesychius and Stephens, was a *mortar*, sometimes the pestle; therefore, from similarity of form, there seem to have been certain "*stopples*", called ὅλμοι, *lat. paxilli*, and this explanation would answer very well for the larger stops on the flutes in question; similar to which are found in Gruter, *Ex Ædiculâ S. Michaelis Romæ in Vatican*, t. i, fig. 5.



But this does not seem to sufficiently account for the other peculiar kind of stopples like porcupine's quills; but here, I think, a passage from Arcadius, the grammarian, will come to our aid; from which it appears that besides the ὅλμοι, there were other stopples, called κέρατα, or horns: (Arcadius, apud Salmasium in *Plinianis exercitationibus*). The notes were not all open at once; but there were certain κέρατα, or horns, like the small lines we put over words to denote accents, etc.

From all these authorities, I conclude that the pipes in question are the more modern “*tibiæ pares Lydiæ*”, with *σάλμοι*, or stopples, for the modes, and *κέρατα*, or horns, for the minor adjustments of *scales*, as enharmonic, chromatic, etc.

“*Et stet solutio donec melior occurrat.*”

JAMES A. DAVIES.

VI.

COLLECTANEA OF 1851.

Africa. Mr. Hogg read a paper, at the Royal Society of Literature, on some Roman antiquities recently discovered, by Dr. Barth, at Ghareeah el Gharbeeah (the Western Gharbeeah), situate about 160 miles south of Tripoli. The principal remain is a Roman gateway, and, indeed, the entire bastion of a *castrum stativum*. A bas-relief over one of the side-arches represents two Victories holding a crown and an eagle over a personage beneath, riding in a chariot. One inscription exhibits Punic characters; and another, a dedication to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius.

Albano, Villa Doria. The vestiges of a theatre have been discovered here, among the ornaments of which are a youthful Centaur of various coloured marble: the human parts and the tail are of rosso-antico; the horse-termination of bigio. It appears to be a duplicate of the famous Borghese Centaur in the Louvre. Several terra-cotta fragments, and some fine bas-reliefs, have been also discovered. (*Bull. dell' Inst.*)

Alexandria. A marble foot has been discovered here, rather larger than the size of nature. It is now in the possession of Mr. Harris of Cairo, who supposes it to have belonged to the temple of Perseus at Chemnis, (see Herod.), where the sandal of Perseus was long preserved. It is surmounted by a small statue of Jupiter Olympius, on one side of which is a dolphin, and on the other, the serpent Uræus. On the sole is an inscription, probably recording the name of the donor of the *ex-voto*. (*Revue Archéologique.*)

Algeria, Aumale. A very handsome mosaic pavement has been discovered at this place, unfortunately in part destroyed, from having served as the floor of a stable. The part still preserved measures 17 ft. by 6 ft., and is divided into several compartments, enclosing mythological or other subjects. M. Berbrugger, the librarian of Algiers, superintended its removal to that city. One of the compartments represents a native female, with a panther's skin thrown over her, and holding in her hands a pick-axe and a couple of ducks, which M. Berbrugger regards as exemplifying a local custom peculiar to this portion of Algeria, where the women labour in the field, together with the men. Another compartment represents Thetis with two dolphins, and Apollo (?) conveying to her a lyre; a third exhibits the rape of Europa; and a fourth, Amphitrite and Neptune. Two others are much damaged. The compartment of Amphitrite and Neptune has been brought to Paris by M. de la Mare, and placed in the Algerine

collection of the Louvre. A rude plan of this pavement is given in the September Number of the *Revue Archéologique*. We would not, however, advise any of our more enthusiastic readers to undertake a journey in search of these or other remains, for the insalubrity of the country is such, that an inscription found here records it as an astonishing fact that a certain female

VIXIT SINE
FEBRIBUS ANNIS
XXVI.

——— *Antiquarian researches of Col. Carbuccia.* Col. Carbuccia, whose name is already known by his discoveries and researches in Algeria, has addressed a communication to the “Académie des Inscriptions” of Paris, giving an account of his recent investigations in the province of Batna. He has identified nearly all the Roman cities and stations by means of the indications to be obtained by the Antonine itinerary and the Theodosian table, and by the examination of inscriptions, the traces of the Roman ways, and by careful measurements. He has thus been enabled to construct a map of the country in its state under the Romans. The relative positions and communications between Tebessa (Theveste) and Cirta (Constantine), Lambese, Sitifis (Sétif), and Batenæ (Batna), are clearly laid down. Col. Carbuccia has also presented to the Academy a rich portfolio of plans and drawings, containing details of an immense stadium, a theatre, a magnificent temple of Æsculapius, preceded by an avenue of ædicula to other gods; a Christian basilica, with a most splendid pavement; a *schola* for the veterans of a legion; an immense column, on the base of which are eight large tablets containing an imperial proclamation, a kind of harangue to the troops; and six triumphal arches. (*Revue Archéologique.*)

——— *Antiquities at Bougie* (Boudjaiah). A description of these remains, comprising cisterns, a temple, stelæ, and other monuments, is contained in the December Number of the *Revue Archéologique*.

——— *The ruins of Tagumadi* (Bordj-Timiga) have been explored by M. le Commandant De la Mare, at a place seven leagues north-east of Lambese. He reports to have found a theatre, nine feet below the ground, and nearly entire; a temple of the Corinthian order, the columns of which are about two metres in diameter. It is surrounded by a peristyle. The finest monument in the city is a triumphal arch of three openings, enriched with Corinthian columns. Many mosaic pavements have been exposed, and many ruined buildings. (*Revue Archéologique* for March). A further account appears in the number for June.

——— *Diana and Sigus.* After the departure of M. De la Mare, M. L. Renier has explored the ruins of Zana (Diana), and of the ancient Sigus, and has obtained an interesting series of drawings. (*Revue Archéologique.*)

——— A “Société Algérienne des Beaux-Arts” has been founded at Algiers. (*Architect.*)

Archæology. An archæological journal has been established at Boulogne, entitled *Annales Boulonnaises*.

Asia Minor. M. De Souley, Membre de l'Institut, with M. l'Abbé Michon, of Angoulême, member of the Société Française, are at this moment in Asia Minor, forming a collection of the incited or inaccurately published inscriptions of that country.

—— M. Pigeorry, another member of the Société Française, is also travelling in the East. (*Bull. Mon.*, par M. De Caumont.)

Assyria. The commission appointed by the French government to explore Assyria, Mesopotamia, Babylon, Chaldea, and Media, will shortly commence its investigations. It consists of M. Fresnel, formerly French Consul in Syra; M. Affert (philologist), who is well studied in the Persepolitan and Median inscriptions; and M. Felix Thomas, architect. They are to remain there two years. Especial attention is to be directed to Ecbatana (Hamadan), the capital of Medea, and to Babylon; the mounds of tiles at which place will be thoroughly searched, till the foundations of the old buildings are discovered. (*Allgemeine Bauzeitung*.)

—— M. Victor Place, lately appointed consul at Mossoul, is now charged with the excavations about to be carried on at Nineveh. He will be assisted by M. Tranchant. (*Allgemeine Bauzeitung*.)

—— The Lords of the Treasury have granted the sum of £1,500 to Colonel Rawlinson, to enable him to prosecute further researches in Assyria.

—— On the 14th of April, Colonel Rawlinson read a paper at the Geographical Society, "On the Identification of the Biblical Cities of Assyria, and on the Geography of the Lower Tigris."

Athens. The important discovery of what is supposed to be the *Bouleuterion*, *Metreon*, and other buildings, has been effected at Athens, in a spot on the north-west of the Acropolis. At a depth of about nine feet below the ground have been discovered many Ionic columns of large dimensions, ornaments, statues, bas-reliefs, and about eighty inscriptions. They have been excavated by the Archæological College, who look up the objects found with extreme jealousy. (M. Rizo Rangabé and Dr. Pischon, in *Bull. dell' Inst.*) Lithographs of the inscriptions found are now said to be ready for publication, and will occasion some corrections in the topography of ancient Athens, and confirm, for instance, the opinion of some who assert that the Temple of Theseus, and that of Ares, are the same.

—— *Christian Church.* M. Rizo Rangabé describes the finding of a wall, and some fragments of Roman Corinthian columns, in digging the foundations of the eastern enclosure-wall of the palace gardens, some hundred paces north of the extended axis of the Stadium, in the situation which Colonel Leake ascribes to the Delphinium. He considers them to be the remains of a noble Christian church. (*Bull. dell' Inst.*)

—— *Propylea.* M. Desbuisson, one of the "pensionnaires" of the French Academy, has sent home a restoration of the Propylæa at Athens, in eight large drawings, and twenty-eight sheets of details.

Athens University. An article on the history and description of this newly endowed University appears in the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*. It has been translated in the *Architect*.

Aulium. Researches are being carried on on the banks of the ancient Aulium, where the walls of villas are still visible beneath the water. (*Literary Gazette*.)

Avenches. The foundations of an ancient building, with halls adorned with columns, have been discovered here by M. d'Oleyres. (*Gerhard, Archäol. Anzeiger*.)

Baden. An illustrated description of the Roman baths at Baden is given in the *Transactions of the Baden Antiquarian Society*.

Berlin. A Museum has been formed, by Prof. Zahn, of 8000 plaster casts from all the most remarkable sculptures in the Museo-Borbonico at Naples, derived from Pompeii, Herculaneum, Stabiae, etc.

Bordeaux. The Municipal Administration of Bordeaux have caused excavations to be made along the Rue Neuve de l'Intendance, occupying the line of the ancient wall of the city. In addition to many inscriptions, there have been discovered many fragments of architecture, together with bas-reliefs of good style. The various objects discovered have been placed in the museum. (*Revue Archéologique*.)

Cambridge University, Professorship of Archæology. A grace has been offered to the university of Cambridge to accept the proposal of John Disney, Esq., to give £1,000 for establishing a chair, to be called the Disney Professorship of Classical Antiquities, the lecturer to be an M.A., or higher degree, and to give not less than six lectures during the academical year, on antiquarian research and the fine arts, the office to be tenable for five years, with the privilege of re-election. Mr. Disney gave to the Fitzwilliam Museum the collection of ancient marbles which is named after him, and it is proposed that he shall be professor for his lifetime, the appointment afterwards to rest with the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges. (*Literary Gazette*.)

Carthage. A colossal head of Astarte, a Syrian deity, corresponding to Luna or Juno of the Romans, has been dug up from a considerable depth within the citadel of Tunis. It measures upwards of two metres (6 ft. 7 in.) It is now in the gardens of the church of St. Louis at Tunis, but it is intended to transport it to France.

Catania. In the digging up of some foundations at Catania, the foot of a statue has been found, composed of chalcedony. It forms part of the statue of a female, represented in a sitting position. Professor Camallaro is compiling a paper on the subject.

Champlieu, near Compiègne. (Oise). M. Edmond De Seroux has effected some important discoveries at Champlieu, at a place called *les Tournelles*, the remains of a military camp, (castrum stativum). Many statues of great beauty, a bacchante, Mercury, a young warrior with the Greek helmet, a group of Leda and the swan, Thetis and the infant Achilles, Hercules, Diana at the chace, a huntsman, bulls, various groups, fantastic animals,

Ionie and Corinthian columns, and other architectural remains, have been brought to light. The shape of the blocks of sculpture shews that they formed parts of piers sculptured on all sides. M. Thiollet was subsequently commissioned by the *Société Française* to conduct further researches, and 150 francs were placed at his disposal. The square piers measure 2 ft. 6 in., and are ornamented with the figures above described, which are enclosed by perpendicular panels. From the basreliefs exhibiting marine subjects, as nereids, cupids on dolphins, marine monsters with heads of a ram, a dog, an eagle, etc., M. Thiollet considers the building to have been baths or a temple to the nereids. The Minister of the Interior has consented to place 500 francs at the disposition of the Society, to enable M. Thiollet to prosecute further researches. (*Congrès archéologique de France*, published by the *Société Française pour la conservation des Mon. Hist.*) For further information on these remains, see *Polychromy*.

China, Great Wall of. A description and views of the Great Wall of China are given in the *Illustrated London News*, No. 449.

Cleopatra's Needle. Another attempt has been made to procure the celebrated obelisk, called "Cleopatra's Needle", for this country. At the end of the campaign of 1801, £5,000 were raised, and the work commenced, when owing to some unexplained counter-order, it was again stopped, and the money collected was returned to the subscribers. In 1820 Mehemet Ali gave it as a present to George IV, and Capt. Smyth endeavoured, ineffectually, to get government to remove it. In 1830 the French obtained the Luxor obelisk, and were anxious to have seized this: on which another proposition was made to government, offering to bring it to England at a cost of £15,000. It is to be hoped that the present attempt will be more successful than the preceding. (*Literary Gazette*.)

A long article, by Nathaniel Gould, Esq., on "the mode adopted by the ancient Egyptians in the removal of large masses; also by the French, of the column" (obelisk) "of Luxor; and a proposal to bring to England the column called Cleopatra's Needle", appears in the *Builder* of August 2.

A diagram of the obelisk, with a translation of the inscription, is given in the *Builder* of Sept. 6. A sketch of it is given in the *Illustrated London News* of June 21; and a description of its present state and condition in No. 518, Nov. 29.

Cæne. Eight statues of superior workmanship have been found in the Augustæum of this city. They are now in the Vatican. (*Builder*.)

Colchester. A paper on the Roman fortifications of this town was read before the Colchester Archæological Society, by Dr. Duncan, on October 10.

Constantinople. The Sultan has established an academy of Sciences and Literature, to be called an "Assembly of Knowledge". It consists of forty native members, and an unlimited number of foreign correspondents. (*Literary Gazette*.)

Constantinople, Library at. The Turkish government is forming a vast public library at Constantinople, collecting together all the manuscripts in the city and provinces, and enriching it with the most important scientific and art-books of western Europe. (*Literary Gazette.*)

Curved lines in Grecian architecture. A lecture on this subject has been read by M. de Radowitz at the Erfurt Society of Art Friends.

Egypt. M. Latten de Laval, a French savant, has lately visited Egypt and the Sinai peninsula, by order of the French government. He has made and collected 684 casts of basso-relievos and inscriptions for the Paris galleries of art.

Euphrates. A letter from Capt. H. B. Lynch was read, on the 1st of March, before the Asiatic Society, describing the remains of antiquity on the banks of the Euphrates from Ethdeheen to Asharah. Among the most interesting of these remains is a magnificent church at Resaphe (Sergio-polis). The nave is 150 ft. by 80 ft., and is divided from the aisles by marble columns. A gallery runs round the upper part of the church, the small columns of which supported the roof. The windows are filled with delicately-executed slabs, perforated in various patterns.

France. Budget of the Minister of the Interior for the Fine Arts, 1851.

Establishments of the fine arts	-	-	francs 454,500	£15,150
Personnel of the national museums	-	-	162,700	5,414
Matériel „ „ „	-	-	146,700	4,890
Works of art, and decoration of public buildings	-	-	900,000	30,000
Tomb of the Emperor Napoleon	-	-	500,000	16,666
Purchase of paintings and statues for the Louvre	-	-	100,000	3,333
Preservation of ancient historical monuments	-	-	745,000	24,833
Encouragement of the fine arts, and the drama	-	-	75,000	2,500
Subscription to works on the fine arts	-	-	454,500	15,150
Publication of "Rome Souterraine"	-	-	100,000	3,333
Relief to artists, actors, composers, or their widows	-	-	137,000	4,566
Subsidy to the national theatres	-	-	1,329,000	44,300
retiring fund of the Opera	-	-	200,000	6,666
Conservatoire of Music	-	-	10,000	333

Revue des Beaux Arts.

Greece. The French Academy have given the following subjects for the study of its "pensionnaires".

I. To investigate and describe minutely the Acropolis of Athens, exhibiting its actual state and recent discoveries, and comparing them with former restorations.

II. To visit the isle of Patmos, and form an exact and analysed catalogue of its manuscripts.

III. To investigate the topography of Delphi, Parnassus, and its environs; to write a history of the city, its monuments, and the temple and oracle of Apollo, combining other investigations of former authors with more recent knowledge obtained from inscriptions and later discoveries.

IV. To explore the mountains and environs of Ossa and Pelion, Thessaly,

the Vale of Tempe, etc.; to mark the situation of ancient cities; to collect inscriptions; and to describe such manuscripts, etc., as may be preserved in the various monasteries.

v. To make a geographical, historical, and archæological study of Magna Græcia.

Hadstock. A Roman villa has been discovered at Hadstock by the Hon. Richard Neville, who has sent some beautiful drawings, and a detailed report of the excavation, to the Archæological Institute of Great Britain.

Indian antiquities. The Bombay government have engaged the services of Mr. Fallon for a twelvemonth, at £40 a month, for the purpose of obtaining drawings of the cave temples of western India, in compliance with the wishes of the Court of Directors. They have allowed £840 for drawings of the ruined city of Beejapore, but have not as yet found an artist. A magnificent set of drawings of the caves of Ajanta, by Captain Gill, of the Madras army, got up under the Madras government, has recently been exhibited. (*Athenæum*.)

Jerusalem. Professor Robinson has left New York for another tour in the Holy Land. (*New York Literary World*.)

—— *Literary Society.* This Society was instituted in November 1849, under the patronage of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Jerusalem, and the Earl of Aberdeen. J. Finn, Esq., M.R.A.S., Her Majesty's consul at Jerusalem, is President. The names of subscribing members will be received by Messrs. Wertheim and Mackintosh, Paternoster-row.

It is the intention of the Society to publish, in London, a "Jerusalem Quarterly Magazine", to consist of:—

1. Original papers or inquiries on matters of fact, literature, or science, belonging to the Holy Land.

2. Answers to the above inquiries; such answers, if of sufficient importance, to be previously read at the literary meetings.

3. Reviews, and other miscellanies; with notices of the principal passing events in Palestine, and documents referring to the same.

4. Transactions of the "Jerusalem Literary Society", with illustrations taken from original drawings by members of the Society itself.

The general secretary for England is R. Sandford, Esq., Isle of Up-Rossal, near Shrewsbury.

Isernia. A work by R. Garucci, has recently been published by the Neapolitan government, on the "Storia d'Isernia, ricavata da' monumenti di architettura".

Kerteh. Two very fine statues have been found at the close of 1850. They are of marble. One represents an orator or philosopher, clothed in the himation, (pallium). The other is the figure of a female, clothed in a funereal peplus. The expression of this figure is extremely animated. They are described by Herr Aschik, the Director of the Museum, in the *Journal d'Odessa*.

Landunum. (Territoire de Vertaux, canton de Laignes, arrondissement de Châtillon-sur-Seine.) *Discovery of*— The city occupied a plateau of the

mountains, measuring two kilometres by 500. (6560 ft. by 1650). It was one of the most important of the Gaulish provinces, as would indeed appear by the various ancient roads which led up to it. It is supposed to have been destroyed about the third or fourth century. The site has been discovered by M. Lucien Coutant, the director of the excavations, who describes a temple, basilica, walls, caves, and about forty houses. Several of these have subsequently been filled up again. In a letter from M. Pothier, that gentleman mentions streets, edifices, temples, and baths, as being clearly recognizable, and in fine preservation; he also mentions two chambers of a bath, nine feet below the ground, one of which has a mosaic pavement, and has its walls lined with hollow tubes. Five or six houses, and a basilica, may still be seen. (*Revue Archéologique*.)

An inaccurate translation of the description of this discovery has been given in some of the English journals, copied one from the other, where we find no *end* of a description of the "Termæ"; and, curiously enough, the name of the place is there given as *Laudanum*. The circumstance recalls to the writer's memory an occasion when he was laid up with a fever and "coup de soleil" at Athens, and attended by a doctor whose modern Greek was interpreted by the landlord of the hôtel. On one of his visits he found his patient suffering from the additional evil of a severe sore throat, and he accordingly asked whether he had been taking any *calo-mel*. "Monsieur vous demande," explained mine host, "si vous avez pris du bon miel?"

The government is said to have granted a sum for the further exploration of this site.

Leicester. Discovery of mosaic pavements. Among the many Roman remains in and about Leicester, was a mosaic pavement, discovered in 1782, and published by Nichols in his *History of Leicestershire*, the exact site of which was subsequently forgotten, though it was known to exist in an orchard near the West Bridge. The proprietor of the orchard recently promised the pavement to the Literary Society of Leicester if they could succeed in finding it. The result has been that they have not only rediscovered the pavement known to Nichols, but they have also discovered several other pavements.

A long gallery gives access to three large rooms on one side, the first and second of which are separated from each other by a considerable distance, and there is also a large space beyond the third room. At the termination of the gallery, but on the other side, another gallery branches off on an inclined plane. The galleries appear to have surrounded a noble peristyle, but neither columns nor walls have been found in any part of the excavation. The handsomest pavement is that of the second room; it terminates in a semicircular form, and is radiated in the manner of a curtain; a mode of ornament which we frequently see in ancient frescoes. This pavement has given origin to a pamphlet containing a visionary hypothesis, wherein the author fancies he discerns "a glory", "the sun and earth", "the hours", "the difference between the visible and the true

horizon", "the law of refraction", etc. The guilloche he considers as "a mystic band of union between the sun and the earth", "the whole forming a mythological picture of surpassing interest." The mosaic has been removed with great care by Mr. Larkins Walker, and it is intended to form the pavement of a handsome saloon in the town museum, a well adapted design for which has been prepared by Mr. Walker.

Literary Gazette. It is proposed to raise a "Fund for the late Editor of the *Literary Gazette*." The *Gazette* was founded by Mr. Jerdan in 1817, and has been carried on by the same hand till the close of the year 1850. (*Builder*.)

Liverpool. A public museum and library are about to be erected in the neighbourhood of St. George's Hall. (*Literary Gazette*.)

London. An article on the extent of Roman London appears in the *Literary Gazette*, Dec. 27th, 1851.

Lymne, in Kent. A view and description of excavations carried out in this ancient city, by Mr. C. Roach Smith and Mr. Elliott, are given in the *Illustrated London News*, No. 449.

Malta. Three ancient caves have been opened at about three-quarters of a mile south-east of Citta Vecchia, by Mr. Winthrop, American Consul, and Mr. Lock. A plan and view, with an account of the discovery, are given in the *Illustrated London News*, No. 456.

Mausoleum. M. L. Leclère has discovered a tomb among the hills of Akbar, in Kabylia. It consists of four steps surmounted by a cube, above which is a pyramid. A view of it is given in the September number of the *Revue Archéologique*.

Memphis. M. Mariette is said to have discovered some vestiges of this renowned city. This gentleman, who is charged by the French government with a literary and scientific mission in Egypt, has stated to the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences at Paris, that he has made excavations in the site of ancient Memphis, and has discovered the Serapeum mentioned by Strabo, and other monuments of Egyptian and Greek architecture, comprising statues, bas-reliefs, and about five hundred bronze figures. In front of the Serapeum is a semicircular line of statues, representing the sphinx and other Egyptian subjects, together with those of Greece; all of great beauty. Drawings of his discoveries were also exhibited. In consequence of the interest created by these researches, the government have agreed to provide funds for continuing the excavation. £1,200 have already been paid. (*Literary Gazette*.)

Metz. Excavations have been made between Metz and St. Mihiel, in the territory of Creuil, which have led to the discovery of some mosaic pavements. (*Bulletin Monumental*, par M. De Caumont.)

Mines, Gold, of Æthiopia. A paper "Upon an Historical Tablet of Rameses II, relating to the Gold Mines of Æthiopia", by Mr. Birch, F.S.A., was read before the Antiquarian Society on January 22 and February 5, 1852, and will appear in the approaching number of the *Archæologia*.

——— *Emerald, in Egypt.* Mr. Robert Allan, C.E., who has been for some

time employed by the Pasha of Egypt in directing the works of the rich emerald mines of Mount Zabarrah, in one of the small oases of the Red Sea, has recently effected an important discovery. At the bottom of a deep shaft he has struck into a gallery, the appearance of which at once shewed itself to be antique. On continuing his researches, he found several Egyptian tools and implements, and a hieroglyphic inscription cut on a rock, which clearly indicated that the mine had been worked in the reign of Rhamses-Sesostris, (about 1600 B.C.) a monarch who was at once a conqueror, a lawgiver, and a patron of the arts of peace. From the peculiarities and general appearance of the whole, Mr. Allan is convinced that the Egyptians must have possessed great science and experience in the art of mining. (*Allgemeine Bauzeitung.*)

Mines, Roman Zinc. The discovery of what is believed to be a Roman zinc-mine has been made at Wislech, in Baden. The ancient chronicles of the place say that a mine existed here a thousand years ago. This is confirmed by the fact that a huge quantity of refuse brass-ore (carbonate of zinc) has been left behind, calculated at 50,000 tons; the Romans being accustomed only to silver and lead mining. (*Architect.*)

Montbouis, or Montbourg, near Châtillon-sur-Loire. Some Roman baths have been explored, in the month of August 1850, at Montbourg, (the ancient *Aquæ Segestæ.*) Although on the banks of the river, conduits have been discovered which supplied the baths with water of a softer or purer quality from a distance of one league. They are situated on the south-east of the amphitheatre of Chenevière, between the river Loing and the canal Briare, forming a kind of island between the two. The area measures about 60 by 50 metres, (196 by 164 feet.) Many of the walls exhibit traces of fresco decoration, both on the interior and exterior surfaces. A plan and description of them are published by the Société Française pour la Conservation des Monuments Historiques, in the account of the Congrès Archéologique de France.

Mosaic pavements. Messrs. Minton and Co.'s pavements are formed of tesserae of China clay, compressed dry in moulds by Prosser's patent process, and then baked. The colours are metallic oxides introduced previously to compression.

Mosaic-working. A school of mosaic has been established four years ago at St. Petersburg. Some of the finest works of ancient art have been copied; among which are four large scenic masks, and a copy of the celebrated pavement in the circular room of the Vatican, in the centre of which is a colossal head of Medusa. The copy of this latter pavement is valued at £5,200, and has occupied three years in its formation. Another specimen is a copy of a mosaic of Byzantine style. The school has been established under the Roman *Musaicista*, the Cav. Barberi. The modern specimens are said to be greatly superior to the ancient. (*Morning Post.*)

We should conclude that their superiority, like the specimens of modern mosaic in this country, consists in an excessive fineness of execution and gaudiness of colour.

Naples. The following works have recently been published by the Neapolitan government : *Napoli e i luoghi celebri delle sue vicinanze.*—*Monumenti del Regno delle Due Sicilie*,—and *Tesoro lapidario Napoletano*, by the Cav. Aloe.

Nervi. The Lake of Nervi, once surrounded by villas and temples, is being searched, and a rich harvest expected. (*Literary Gazette.*)

Nineveh marbles. Drawings of the Nineveh marbles recently brought to the British museum are given in the *Illustrated London News* of October 26, December 21 and 28, 1850 ; and those in Paris, in ditto, February 8, 1851.

Nismes. Excavations are being carried on at the back of the temple of Diana, under the direction of M. Revoil, architect, and M. Faure. The expense, which will amount to £350, will be defrayed conjointly by the department, and the city of Nismes. (*Revue Archéologique.*)

Oxford University Museum. A proposal was made to grant £30,000 from the press account, towards a fund for building a new University museum. The proposition has been negatived. (*Literary Gazette.*)

Parthenon. A fragment of the Parthenon frieze, discovered at Marburg Hall, near Northwich, by Mr. George Scharf, Jun., is represented in the *Illustrated London News*, No. 457.

St. Petersburg Museum. This building, erected by Von-Klenze, the architect of Munich, is now finished. It is covered with an iron roof lined with ornaments in copper, which produce a brilliant effect. The pavements are of mosaic, and the walls of marble. The central court is adorned with one hundred and eighty-two marble and granite columns of the Corinthian order.

———, *Museum of the Fine Arts.* A plan and view of this building, with a short description, is given in the *Builder*, July 12, 1851.

Philology. The National Institute of France offers, for the year 1852, a gold medal of the value of 1,200 francs (£40) for the best work, whether in manuscript, or printed subsequently to 1st January 1851, which shall be submitted to the Institute, on the subject of comparative philology. They must be delivered by the 1st August 1852. (*Journal des Savants.*)

Polychromy. An article on the discovery of Roman remains at Champlicu, near Orrouy, (Canton of Crespy-en-Valois), has appeared in the June number of the *Revue Archéologique*, by M. E. C. de l'Hervillier. The architectural remains exhibit well-preserved indications of polychromatic decoration, the principal colours of which are deep red and yellow. The larger masses have the addition of delicate ornaments, to give more lightness and elegance to the detail. "Chose digne de remarque, c'est qu'on avait ajouté à ces fonds des détails sur la surface des ornemens, pour leur donner de la légèreté, et diminuer la lourdeur de l'ensemble." According to the *Transactions of the Société Française*, the sculptures are covered with encaustic colouring. The projecting parts are white, on a ground of a yellowish red. The borders and profiles of the ornaments are distinguished by red lines.

Pompeii. A marble bas-relief, representing Alexander and Bucephalus, was dug up in presence of Pio IX, and published by the late Cav. Avellino; but the marble does not seem to justify the attribution of this date. (*Dr. Bruun.*) It is, however, of Greek style, and the composition is simple and full of grace. (*Bull. dell' Inst.*)

—— M. Normand, one of the pensionnaires of the French Academy, has sent home a finished restoration of the House of the Faun at Pompeii, besides other drawings from that city and Herculaneum.

Rome. Basilica Julia. By the recent excavations, this basilica is shewn to have stood lengthwise by the side of the Forum Romanum. (*Bull. dell' Inst. di Corr. Archeol.*)

—— *Catacombs.* M. Perret, assisted by an accomplished French artist, M. Savinien Petit, has spent five to six years in exploring these subterranean galleries. He has obtained three hundred and sixty folio drawings, among which are about one hundred inedited frescoes. The French government have purchased the collection for £7,500. (*Revue des Deux Mondes.*)

—— *House in the Via Graziosa.* Three fragments of an ancient calendar, painted in fresco, were found here :

.....MENTI IN C
CAPITOLIO
.....ST. N D...
....VESTAE AD
.....IANV E.

It has been explained by Sig. G. B. De Rossi, in the *Bull. dell' Inst. di Corr. Archeol.*

—— *Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.* Dr. Braun has recently brought to notice a bas-relief in the Palace of the Conservatory, at Rome, which he considers to be a representation of the pedimental arrangements of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. (*Gerhard, Archäolog. Anzeiger.*)

—— *Dredging the Tiber.* A project was made by M. Vansittart to explore the bed of the Tiber by means of the newly-invented breathing apparatus, and to divide the antiquities which might be discovered between the British Museum and the Papal government. The offer has been declined. (*Literary Gazette.*)

—— *Vicolo delle Palme.* Subsequently to the other objects already described, there have been found here : part of a colossal bull, in the action exhibited on the coins of Thurium; and a bronze foot. It is considered to have belonged to an equestrian statue, and possibly to that here discovered. The decorations are of extraordinary beauty of detail, and of very pure style. Thin pieces of leather are represented at back and sides, on which are sculptured the arabesque ornament already spoken of, and they are united together by a palmette. The sole of the sandal is in three thicknesses, elegantly sewn together, as in the Minerva of Antiochus in the Villa Ludovisi. (*Bull. dell' Inst. di Corr. Archeol.*)

Rome. Not far from the Vicolo delle Palme, where the *Apoxyomenos*, the horse, and a small bronze figure of Hercules were found, and near the *Ponte rotto*, have been exposed a portico of travertine columns, and two other columns of breccia corallina. The excavation has been filled in again. (*Gerhard, Archäol. Anzeiger.*)

— *Via Appia.* Excavations have been made along this ancient road to the extent of the fifth mile-stone. Among the objects discovered are a beautiful fragment of Roman architecture; a frieze, with festoons and children; heads of Medusa; a cippus, with bas-relief representing a soldier of the Urban cohorts; four statues, and several inscriptions. (*Giornale di Roma.*)

— An excavation along the line of this ancient road has been commenced at the distance of about three miles and a half from the Porta Sant' Sebastiano, and continued for nearly half a mile. Several tombs with mosaic pavements, and many fragments of architecture and sculpture have been brought to light. Drawings of three of these monuments have been sent to the *Gentleman's Magazine* by our late correspondent, Benjamin Gibson, Esq. They appear in the October number, 1851.

— Among the drawings sent home to the Académie des Beaux Arts, by the Pensionnaires at Rome, are: the temple of Jupiter Stator, and the temple of the god Rediculus, by M. Thomas; the Colosseum, the Trajan column, the arch of Septimus Severus, by M. Normand; the theatre of Marcellus, the temple of Juno Matuta, etc., by M. André. The Trajan column has been selected by M. Normand and by M. Garnier.

Salona. A description of the discoveries in this ancient city has been published under the title of *Topografia e Scavi di Salona*, by F. Carrara; 8vo. Trieste, 1850. The discoveries comprise a theatre, an amphitheatre, a temple of Concord, a private bath of great elegance, adorned with two Corinthian columns; a sarcophagus, busts, a comic mask, bas-reliefs, a cippus, etc., etc. (*Kais. Akad. der Wissen. in Wien, Archiv. für Kunde Oesterreichischer Geschichts-Quellen.*)

Sardinia. General La Marmora having resigned his office of Commandatore of the island of Sardinia, has presented his collection of antiquities to the museum at Cagliari. (*Gerhard, Archäolog. Anzeiger.*)

— *Nuraghe.* These singular monuments are at length likely to receive some elucidation relative to their origin. Nearly three thousand of them were examined by Count Della Marmora, without his being able to form any conjecture with respect to their age or origin. M. Martini, the librarian of the city of Cagliari, has lately found some MSS., one of which was written in the eighth century, and a metrical history of the island; all of which he proposes to publish, and which will tend to set at rest the question of the antiquity of these monuments.

Sculpture. The "Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres" have offered their medal, in 1853, for the best essay on the following subject:—"Quelles notions nouvelles ont apportées dans l'histoire de la sculpture

chez les Grecs, depuis les temps des plus anciens jusqu'aux successeurs d'Alexandre, les monuments de tous genres, d'une date certaine ou appréciable, principalement ceux qui, depuis le commencement de ce siècle, ont été placés dans les musées de l'Europe." The subject was proposed for the medal of 1851; but no essay having been received, it has been postponed till 1st of April 1853.

Seleucia Pieria, in the Bay of Antioch. A paper on the remains of this city and port, was read by Dr. Holt Yates, at the Syro-Egyptian Society, on 9th December. It described an upper and lower city; its walls, gates, temples, theatres, sepulchral grottoes, sarcophagi, etc.; but the most remarkable object of the city is the immense tunnel cut through the solid rock, and which has been the admiration of all travellers. The port is 2,000 feet by 1,200, and covers forty-seven acres.

Stühlingen. A large mosaic pavement has been discovered here. (*Transactions of the Baden Antiquarian Society*.)

Tivoli. M. Normand, one of the Pensionnaires of the French Academy, has sent home a restoration of the villa of Mæcenas.

Valence. A mosaic pavement has been discovered near Valence, measuring forty metres by four metres. The design consists of arabesque ornaments and leaves.

Volterra. *Villa of Albinus Cæcina, at the mouth of the river Cæcina*. At a place called Fitto di Cecina, on the left bank of the river, and about a mile from the mouth, are the foundations of a considerable villa. It stood on a sufficient elevation to justify the expression of Rutilius Numatianus:

"In Volaterranum vero Vada nomine traectum
Ingressus dubii tramitis alta tego.

* * * * *

Vix tuti domibus sævos toleravimus imbres,
Albini patuit proxima villa mei."

One room has a mosaic pavement, another is circular. A large cistern is thirty feet deep. A narrow gallery, six feet high, and the walls of which are formed of flints laid in cement, and which is divided in different branches, appears to have supplied water to various parts of the villa. The principal gallery is blocked up by a wall of two bricks in thickness, perforated with small holes, for the purpose of filtering the water before it passed further. The reservoir measures 45 feet by 24 feet. The land being marshy, it was requisite to supply the water from a higher level. (*Gerhard, Arch. Anzeiger*.)

Winterton. Some Roman foundations and magnificent tessellated pavements have been laid bare at Winterton, on the estate of Mr. W. H. Drifill. The floors are of the richest and most elaborate description. They contain representations of Orpheus charming the beasts of the forest, among which we see the lion, the stag, the bear, the boar, Pegasus, the dog, the elephant, and the fox; of Ceres, with emblematic ears of corn, and of another nymph with the cornucopia. The other parts and borders are filled in with arabesque ornaments. (*Builder*.)

VII.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

- 1.—FRIEDRICH THIERSCH. *Ueber das Erechtheum auf der Akropolis zu Athen.* Erste abhandlung. 4to. Munich, 1849. With five plates.
- 2.—CARL BOETTICHER. *Der Poliastempel als Wohnhaus des Koenigs Erechtheus nach der annahme von Fr. Thiersch.* With a plan. 8vo. Berlin, 1851.

It is difficult to say anything in favour of either of these essays without speaking in disparagement of the other. Professor Thiersch imagines the Erechtheum to be the domestic palace of King Erechtheus, and supports his theory with considerable learning and ingenuity. But it is with satisfaction that we find Prof. Bötticher vindicates the old opinion, in the expression of which, it is to be regretted, that gentleman does not always observe that courtesy to his opponent which we think is due to him. Another Essay on the same temple, has been written by M. Tetaz, and published in the April and May numbers of the *Revue Archéologique*. We may, on a future occasion, enter more at large upon the consideration of this subject.

- 3.—JAMES FERGUSSON, F.R.A.S. *An Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem.* Sup. roy. London, 1847. John Weale, 59, High Holborn.

MR. FERGUSSON is already known to the public by his works on the rock-cut temples and other monuments of India; by his *Inquiry into the Principles of Taste*, his *Essay on Fortification*, and other writings; of all which the book before us, is, from its subject, one of the most interesting. Mr. Fergusson has never visited the Holy City; yet, by his acute penetration, and diligent study of the materials afforded him by other travellers, he has produced a volume which not only exhibits the features of the city in a new and striking point of view, but it discloses arguments, the validity of which, if established, will be of the most important consequence, as affecting the preconceived belief in the traditional sites of the temple, the sepulchre, and other sacred places of the city of Jerusalem. Mr. Fergusson's style of writing is bold and vigorous. He rejects what he considers to be suspicious evidence, and resolves to judge for himself. In the midst of the conflicting statements of apocryphal opinions, he directs his attention to some point on the distant horizon, and ceases not till he has made to it. He occasionally attaches too much importance to inconclusive facts, and he is sometimes mistaken in minor details; but he supports his main argument with what certainly appears to be very strong evidence. We may, in a subsequent number, offer some remarks on the subjects here treated of; and we will therefore, at present, merely state that the work is got up with great elegance, and is embellished and illustrated with several valuable architectural drawings, plans, and measurements, by Messrs. Catherwood and

Arundale, obtained by those gentlemen during the temporary occupation of the city by Ibrahim Pacha. The book must be read by all those who wish to form an opinion on the site of the Holy Sepulchre.

- 4.—M. BOCK, Membre de l'Acad. Roy. de Belgique. *Notice sur plusieurs Ouvrages d'Art Antique, qui sont mentionnés ou décrits par les auteurs du Moyen Age.* 1er. article. Bull. Acad. Roy. de Belg., xiii, 12.

ON the destruction of the Roman empire, when the Northern hordes swept like a torrent over the classic soil of Italy, many a work of choicest art was barbarously and wantonly destroyed; many a vessel of gold and silver, more precious for its workmanship than for its costly material, was sordidly molten and converted into money; and many a noble and sacred object, venerated alike for beauty and antiquity, became the booty of the meanest soldier, and subjected to the vilest uses.

Amidst this general wreck of art, it affords some consolation to meet, in the records of former times, some passing notice of any such a work long since destroyed; to rescue from oblivion, if not the object itself, at least some indications of its form and character, its origin and history. It is with such an aim that M. Bock has issued this first article of what, we trust, will be a long series of records of monuments now destroyed. The subject here treated of is a vase described in the poems of Théodulphe, Bishop of Orleans. It was of chased silver, and represented the labours of Hercules, some of which were engraved on the exterior, and others in the interior. The description there given, which is at some length, affords food for much ingenious speculation on the part of M. Bock.

- 5.—BRITISH MUSEUM. *A Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum.* Vol. I. 8vo. W. Nicol, 60, Pall Mall, 1851.

THIS first volume contains a description of all the earlier or finer vases of Greek and Etruscan art, and embraces 1,241 specimens, each of which is described with great minuteness, while the names of Mr. Birch and Mr. Newton, by whom it is compiled, will be a sufficient guarantee as to the accuracy of the interpretations. At the same time, it would, perhaps, have been desirable that the opinions of other archæologists should have been referred to in the description of the more important vases, whenever those opinions are entitled to any weight. We look forward with interest to what we think should have formed the first volume, a "General Introduction", a "Glossary", a list of the principal vases of each style, etc.; all which are necessary to make the work interesting to the public; while the "Indices", which will appear in the second volume, cannot but be of necessary importance to the archæological student.

- 6.—C. ROACH SMITH. *Collectanea Antiqua.* Vol. II. Part VI, VII, VIII. J. Russell Smith, Soho Square.

WE have, in a former number (Part II), given a notice of the very interesting work by the Rev. J. C. Bruce, on the "Roman Wall". In number VII of the

Collectanea we find some remarks and sketches by Mr. Roach Smith, collected during a summer tour along the line of that important monument. One of the most remarkable portions of the wall are the "Nine Nicks of Thirlwall", among the craggs of Caervorran Fells, so named from the nine craggy summits of which it is composed. Mr. Smith gives a very interesting sketch of this locality, taken by his friend Mr. Brooke. It conveys a more comprehensive idea of the stupendous nature of the Roman Wall than any other view we remember to have seen. The wall climbs up the summit of each successive crag, always preserving a given distance from the edge of the precipice. Another etching gives a representation of the foundations of a Roman building at Chesters. Most of the rooms have hollow pavements, constructed for the purpose of greater warmth and comfort in these northern regions. The paper concludes with a slight notice of the Rev. Hugh Salvin's translation of Prof. Büchner's account of the Roman or "Devil's" Wall on the Danube. It extends "in an unbroken line of more than one hundred and fifty Roman miles, and 5 ft. 6 ins. thick; in many places, still 5 ft. above, and 3 ft. 4 ins. under the surface of the ground. With its one hundred and fifty towers and upwards, it passes along over the steepest mountains, over the most frightful abysses, through rivers and lakes, through the thickest woods. Fifteen hundred years have not been able to efface the vestiges of these towers, more than fifty of which still rise above the wall, often to the height of twelve feet." The most recent account of this wall is given in the *Transactions of the Roy. Bavar. Acad.*; class, Philos. Philol., i, 7.

In Part VI, Mr. Smith gave an account of Anglo-Saxon remains in Kent, Suffolk, and Leicestershire; in Part VIII he gives a description of "Anglo-Saxon and Frankish Remains on the Continent."

7.—JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, F.S.A., Sec. *Remarks on some of the Weapons of the Celtic and Teutonic Races.* In the *Archæologia*, 1852.

THIS is an interesting collection of extracts from ancient historians, who describe incidentally some of the weapons used by the nations of antiquity. The earliest arms were of the rudest description. A piece of flint attached to a wooden handle, or a wooden club studded with sharp flints, formed the ordinary weapon; yet even with such rude materials, it is astonishing what skill and ingenuity could effect, when exercised unremittingly on one object. The flint instruments, as knives, battle-axes, arrow-heads, etc., contained in the museums of Stockholm, and the ports of the Gulph of Finland, are cut in the most beautiful and accurate manner. When brass and iron came into operation, the weapons were far from possessing the efficiency which they afterwards attained. When the Gauls struck at their enemies, their rude swords bent like a strigil, and while stopping to straighten them with their feet, prior to giving another blow, they exposed themselves to the sharp, well-tempered blades of the Romans. (Polyb. ii, 33.) The following extracts, among many others collected by Mr. Akerman, will be read with interest:—

The hundred thousand Franks led by Theodobert into Italy, with the excep-

tion of a few horsemen, were armed only with hatchets, swords, and bucklers. The hatchet had a broad blade and a short handle; and occasionally a shower of these discharged at the enemy, cleft their shields, and rendered them defenceless. (*Sidon. Apoll. Paney. in Majoriano*).

The *angon*, another weapon of the Franks, is described by Agathias, the continuator of Procopius. The *angon* is a kind of spear or javelin, to be used as a missile, or in close combat. "The staff is covered with iron plates or hoops, so that but little wood appears, even down to the spike at the butt-end. On either side of the head of this javelin are certain barbs projecting downward, close together, as far as the shaft. The Frank soldier, when engaged with the enemy, casts his *angon*, which, if it enter the body, cannot be withdrawn, in consequence of the barbs. Nor can the weapon be disengaged if it pierce the shield, for the bearer of the shield cannot cut it off, because of the iron plates with which the staff is defended; while the Frank, rushing forward, jumps upon it as it trails on the ground, and thus bearing down his antagonist's defence, cleaves his skull with his axe, or transfixes him with a second javelin." (lib. ii.)

8.—ANTHONY RICH, JUN., B.A. *The Legend of St. Peter's Chair*. Westerton, 20, St. George's Place, Hyde Park Corner, 1851.

IN an evil hour Cardinal Wiseman put pen to paper in defence of this chair, in reply to Lady Morgan. Not content with refuting the ludicrous accusation of the existence of the Mahometan formula of faith on the presumed chair of St. Peter's, he entered into minute particulars of the chair, triumphantly proving his assertion by reference to the—(description of the) chair itself. The antiquary here steps in, and examines the authenticity of the various premisses. Mr. Rich takes up one point after another, and proves, with the most overwhelming evidence, that the chair, such as the Cardinal describes it, could not have existed prior to the age of Constantine. In the language of a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*,—"Whether we find the Lady's inscription, or the Cardinal's description, to be correct, the chair is left literally without a leg to stand on." (See some excellent remarks on this subject in the *Gent.'s Mag.*, June, and August, 1851.)

9.—REV. I. G. SHEPPARD, M.A., F.R.L.S. *Theophrasti Characteres; with Notes Psychological and Critical*. 8vo. Longmans, 1852.

THIS book has been forwarded to us, and calls for a few remarks, though, in truth, its bearing upon classical antiquities has not that dependence upon art which would bring it properly within the scope of our journal. The book contains 260 pages of comment and criticism to the 26 pages of revised text, and fully deserves the attention of the "University students and higher classes in schools", for whose behoof the commentary has been, with much care and learning, written and composed.

No. VI.—JUNE 1852.

ON THE ANCIENT CITY AND PORT OF SELEUCIA PIERIA.

[illegible]

THE Bay of Antioch extends between the Ras-el-Khanzyr and Cape Posideum, a distance, from point to point, of about twenty miles. The Valley of Suediah occupies the hollow or centre of the bay, beginning at the base of Jebel Akrah, or Mount Casius, (a picturesque mountain, which tapers to the height of about six thousand feet,) and terminating at the

ancient port and city of Seleucia, where Mount Rhossus, or Jebel Moosa, an arm of the Amanus range, reaches the sea. It is in latitude $36^{\circ} 3' N.$, longitude $35^{\circ} 59' E.$, and includes the beautiful valley of the Lower Orontes, which, after collecting the water from the Vale of Hamath and the Toorkoman plains, here falls into the Mediterranean.

The city of Seleucia derived its name from Seleucus, its founder, who, at the death of Alexander the Great, obtained Syria for a possession, and established the dynasty of the Seleucidæ. According to Strabo,* Pliny,† Ptolemy,‡ and other ancient writers,§ “Seleucis in Pieria” comprised the whole of the maritime portion of the north of Syria, from the Gulf of Scanderoon to Aradus in Phœnice, together with the towns along the valley of the Orontes, including the “Tetrapolis”. Mela and Pliny designated the upper and higher portions of the territory by the terms “Pieria” and “Antiochia”; but Strabo includes the whole under one name, *Seleucis*. Appianus tells us that Seleucus gave his own name to no fewer than nine cities; but that of these, two were the most illustrious, viz. “Seleucia in Pieria”, or, as it was sometimes designated, “*by the sea*”; and “Seleucia on the Tigris”.

It appears that there was a small town or village on the spot prior to the coming of the Macedonian general; but, as the ancient writers do not notice it much, we may suppose that it was not a place of any consideration. Ptolemy states that Seleucus Nicator “considerably enlarged and fortified the old city, and greatly ornamented and beautified it”; and the words of Strabo are remarkable: he writes, “the city of Seleucia, which was before *rivers of water*, now became exquisitely beautiful and impregnable”. He also relates, at page 517, that “Pompey made it a free city”; and the fact is illustrated by the

* Strabo, lib. xvi, p. 516.

† Pliny, lib. v, cap. xxi, xxii, and xxiii.

‡ Ptolemy, lib. v, cap. xv.

§ Eusebius, lib. vi; Hist. Eccles., cap. xii; Cicero, lib. v; Attic. Epist., xx; etc.

inscriptions on some of the coins of the period; as is also the fact, that "Seleucia by the sea" was regarded as "holy", because "the oracle was there answered by thunder, in token of the divine approbation,—the thunder being, as it were, consecrated of the gods";* which Spanheim (p. 393) has attempted to confirm by reference to the coins of Seleucia, on some of which the winged thunderbolt appears. Moreover, Jupiter was especially worshipped on Mount Casius, which illustrates the cognomen, "Jupiter Casius", as recorded by coins of the time of Trajan.† But the space allotted me in this paper compels me to pass over the historical part of the subject. I must confine myself chiefly to the topography and antiquities.

First,—Of the port. The entrance measures 240 paces, and is marked by the remains of two fine moles, or piers, jutting out into the sea; that to the north is much dilapidated; the other (which has been called after the apostle Paul, in contra-distinction to its fellow, the pier of St. Barnabas,) is, for the most part, sound. It runs west 80 paces, and then turns to the north-west; the entire length being about 120 paces. The stones, which are of compact lime-stone, are placed transversely; they are from 5 to 6 feet wide, and from 23 to 26 feet long; one is 29 feet 4 inches. According to Captain William Allen, R.N., who has lately surveyed the port with great attention, and whose plan of the basin and culvert he has kindly permitted to be inserted in the map, "the outer port contains an area of about 18,000 square feet", and, he thinks, must have afforded good shelter to shipping in bad weather; but it is now obstructed by sand to the depth of at most eighteen feet. The lower port, or basin, is shaped like a pear, or retort, and must have been entirely excavated. It is entered by a canal of a thousand feet, having at its mouth two large rocks: one of these contains an excavated chamber, probably used as a guard-room

* Appianus Syriacis, p. 202.

† Caracalla apud Patinum, p. 304; Severus, p. 282.

or toll-house (c); on the other, there is now a white house, of modern construction; but it is probable that, in ancient times, there was a watch-tower or fort on each rock. A short distance within the channel, on the left hand, is another square recess, or chamber (b), also cut in the rock. The basin itself, Captain Allen estimates at 2,000 feet in length, and 1,200 feet in its widest part. He considers that it occupies an area of 47 acres, and that it is, consequently, as large as the export and import basins of our East and West India docks put together. The inclosure is still surrounded by strong walls: that on the eastern side is of more modern date, at least the upper portion of it; that on the western side, judging from its appearance, and the size of the stones, (some of which consist of blocks not less than 14 and 15 feet long, and deep in proportion,) is entirely ancient. It is quite sound, except in one place, where it has been intentionally broken through in order to form a drain for the basin; and it is not unlikely that, originally, there may have been here a sliding-door, or sluice-gate, similar to what the natives still employ in the present day.

This wall, which looks seaward, is not equal in thickness: some portions project, as if they had been surmounted by towers for the defence of the harbour. One of these (d) is still 20 feet above the level of the water. There is a gradual rise from the basin, on the land side, to the cliffs above; the highest point of the hill, viz. that towards the south-east, attaining an elevation of about 200 feet, the ridge throughout the entire length being bounded by lofty rocks, through which Seleucus cut the tunnel or culvert to be described presently. From this point another double range of lime-stone cliffs, also 200 feet in height, turns off abruptly in the opposite direction, and, running down towards the "Royal Gate" (e), leaves a space of perhaps half a mile between it and the southern rounded end, or body of the basin, the whole of which is inclosed by immensely strong walls of enormous blocks of stone, constituting a line of formidable defences. Near to where the walls join

the extremity of the cliffs, stood the "South", or, as I imagine, the "Market Gate", which was defended by two towers. The whole of this rising ground inclosed as I have described by these fortifications the south-east and eastern margins of the basin, the line of the culvert, from the outer port upwards to its termination, and the entire margin of the cliffs, down to the "South Gate", comprised the site of the *most ancient* part of the city, that which Seleucus found on his arrival in the country. It may therefore be styled the "*old town*", alluded to by the ancient writers as subject to continual inundations from the ravines above; and which, before the culvert was formed, collected all the waters from the adjacent heights. The whole of this inclosure is strewed with the remains of buildings, interspersed with mulberry-trees, vines, olive, fig, myrtle, and orange trees.

On the eastern side of the basin, to seaward, opposite the drain, and in a direct line with the mouth of the channel which leads from the inner to the outer port, is the entrance to a canal, or back-water, which, bringing a mass of water from the heights above, with a fall of 200 feet, would obviously afford effectual means of clearing out the basin when required. A little to the south of it are some ruins (E), which, as they also command the mouth of the basin, I suppose to have been the arsenal, which was, no doubt, well defended. There are several other dilapidated buildings; and a large vault, conveniently situated for stores, is open to view. No doubt there are many others near it, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the eastern quay; for we cannot imagine that the master-mind which could contrive and excavate the basin and culvert, would be so indifferent to the wants of the people as to neglect the construction of vaults and magazines.

A little to the south of the arsenal buildings, a portion of the hill has been levelled, to the extent of about 500 or 600 feet, at right angles with the basin. It has a tessellated pavement; it has evidently been executed with great care,

and is strengthened by a well-constructed wall. It is not the place for a palace ; for this was clearly the business district of Seleucia. The aristocracy inhabited the upper or new city, built by Seleucus. What, then, could this have been ? When we consider its contiguity to the basin, and what we suppose to be the arsenal, strictly so called, and that it looks to the Bogaz, or mouth of the harbour, we cannot hesitate to believe, I think, that this must have been the exchange or town-hall—a covered terrace, or esplanade, where the merchants, the officers, and government officials, were wont to assemble, as in modern times, either for commercial purposes, for the hearing of disputes, the transmission of orders, the issuing of proclamations, and the like. But this is not all. I believe it to have been also the chief landing-place, and to have been ornamented with a colonnade. It was probably adorned with statues ; and, if the principle of fountains was understood in those days, the situation was admirably calculated for one on this spot. We can picture to ourselves the great men of the place, the philosopher, and the merchant, speculating here on the signs of the times, counting their gains, or settling the affairs of their neighbours, (for there is nothing new under the sun,) whilst others, less interested in the affairs of state, or who cared nothing about the price of silk, or knotty polemics, might assemble there to embark in their gilded barges, and go forth from a crowded city to inhale the balmy yet invigorating breezes of the Mediterranean. Just such a place there is on the opposite shores of Cilicia, viz. at Soli or Pompeiopolis, of which I have already published a plan in another work.* The two harbours are so similar that one would think they had been contrived by the same person ; and at the point immediately opposite the entrance at Soli, we find a flight of steps leading to a beautiful colonnade. Many of the columns are still standing ; and this beautiful harbour may, at no distant period, be again turned to

* The Modern History and Condition of Egypt. (Smith, Elder, and Co.)

account, for it is eligibly situated both politically and commercially. I feel assured that if the spot of which I have been speaking, were to be examined, the shafts of columns, and many other interesting objects, would be brought to light in confirmation of this idea.

The slope of the hill above the basin is covered with the scattered remains of buildings; and as the water-course, or back-water, has not been kept in repair, the stream, which collects the waters from the mountain torrents, instead of passing off by the culvert, finds its way through the gap in the wall above, and not only brings down with it large boulders, but floods this part of the hill and the land at its base; which might be prevented simply by repairing the walls of the water-course. The water being thus, in a great degree, wasted, the basin is not so well supplied as it might be, and the margin on the east side is left dry, especially as, when it rises to a certain point, the water escapes by a drain down to the sea. But, nevertheless, the greater part of the basin is covered with pure running water; for it is supplied by springs within the enclosure, and furnishes a good supply of leeches. In some places it is twelve feet deep; and close to the western wall, to sea-ward, much more, for the water, though quite clear, is dark, and the bottom cannot be seen, evidently owing to its depth. Notwithstanding the dilapidated state of the water-course, a small stream from the mountains still enters by it on the eastern side, and escapes by the gap or drain on the western side; so that the water in the basin is never stagnant, nor productive of malaria. Long grass and rushes have sprung up in some parts, and from these the natives manufacture mats and baskets. The neglected state of the water-course has, it will be perceived, reduced this portion of the hill to nearly the same state in which Seleucus found it, and to remedy which he conceived the idea of cutting the culvert, which I now proceed to describe.

In order to form an adequate idea of its importance, it must be examined in detail from end to end; but many travellers

are satisfied by a superficial glance. They regard it as a mere aqueduct, and because the road through it is in some places rough, especially in its lower third, where the fall is more abrupt, they are contented to take the shorter cut, up the hill from the mouth of the basin to near the centre, where there are some cottages, in the vicinity of what have been called the "Tombs of the Kings", and the "Cave of the Despot" (F). The culvert is here crossed, by an ancient foot-bridge, to several open and very spacious courts, more or less of a quadrangular shape, which form so many recesses in the picturesque, verdant, and wooded heights above and around. They are mostly, I might say all, natural terraces or inlets, the intervening spaces and areas admitting of cultivation; but their chief interest consisted in this, that they constituted the sacred abodes of the dead. The walls are perforated with chambers, and these again with numerous niches, shelves, and cavities, for the reception of sepulchral urns and sarcophagi; but in those which I have entered, I have failed to discover any legible inscription. Some Greek and Latin characters may occasionally be met with; but it is quite impossible to make anything out of them, though, doubtless, if the genius of this solitary but once revered spot could now be heard, she could relate events of painful interest, and unfold many a melancholy tale of some who here alone found rest, and who, in all the bitterness of human woe, have exclaimed with Job, "Oh, that my words were now written! oh, that they were printed in a book! that they were graven with an iron pen and lead *in the rock for ever!*" (xix, 23.)

The bridge itself is in very tolerable preservation; it spans an open cutting of the culvert by a single arch, at an elevation of about twenty-five feet; but the causeway, though narrow, and of course somewhat worn by the feet that have crossed it during a period of at least two thousand years, is perfectly safe. On the right of the bridge is a flight of stone steps, cut in the side of the rock; and by these we may descend into the culvert. Its appearance is very striking, and the traveller cannot be

otherwise than gratified. Large masses of rock surround him on every side, whilst high up above the beetling cliffs appears a delicate canopy of cerulean blue; and the vivid rays of a Syrian sun, darting low into the ravine, brilliantly illuminate its craggy sides, affording a bold and impressive contrast to the deep shadows at their base, and to the arched and gloomy cavern immediately before him, and within whose dark recesses he is now, for the first time, about to penetrate. The entrance to this, the lower tunnel, is rather difficult to pass, on account of an abutment of high shelving rock on the left side, over which it is necessary to scramble as well as we can, as the central passage is still more difficult of access, and at most seasons contains water. It would be easy enough to traverse the buttress, had it not become rounded by time, and smooth and slippery. I always find it best to take off my shoes, the foot has then a stronger hold; and in this way I have even conducted ladies over it. It only extends a few yards, and is soon passed. We may then put on our shoes again, and light our lanterns or torches, without which we can examine nothing thoroughly. We have now fairly entered the tunnel. The rock on both sides is higher than the central channel, towards which it slopes considerably, and it has also become smooth in some parts, from the friction of the rushing water during the winter months. In



View of open cutting, from first tunnel.

any case, but especially if we have to grope our way in the dark, as many do, it is best to keep now on the right, close to the wall, where, within convenient reach throughout the whole length, is a grooved shelf, which formerly served as a conduit

for supplying the town with water ; and if we follow the course of this, it will facilitate our progress considerably. We have not far to travel, however, and we soon find ourselves again in the open air.



View of first tunnel, looking east. From a sketch by Capt. William Allen, R.N.

But the entrance to another tunnel is before us. Advancing a few paces, we get a fine view of the two gateways, which are universally admired, not only as works of art, but on account of the picturesque form of the rocks which tower above them, as well as for the beauty of the open cutting in which we stand, itself a fine specimen of engineering art. The length of the upper tunnel is just double that of the other ; but the road through it is better, and we soon find ourselves emerging from it into a circumscribed valley, or wild, rocky glen, in the centre of which is the bed of a considerable mountain torrent. Huge stones and boulders lie scattered on every side. To the left, and

before us, the heights, diverging, take a semi-lunar form ; and, as we advance, we find ourselves midway between two crescents, or gigantic hollows, the rocks still receding, and rising in terraces, one above the other, to the height of from 400 to 500 feet. Those on the one side are crowned with rich verdure and forest trees ; but their opposite neighbours are not devoid of interest, although comparatively bare of foliage.

These two ranges form together an enormous amphitheatre, or *cul-de-sac*, (for there is no outlet,)—a natural basin, or reservoir, for the reception of the waters which flow from this portion of the steppes of Mount Rhossus, which rise majestically above the city. In the winter, a considerable volume of water finds its way, by torrents, from the mountains into the central channel of this valley ; and we are not surprised to find that the early settlers should have been inundated by “rivers of water”, as the ancient writers described ; for in the winter time it must have poured over the hill down to the sea in torrents and cataracts, for there was then no culvert, and it was not likely that a few rude villagers would adopt any effective measures to confine the waters to a single stream.

But what was to them an inconvenience, the master-mind of Seleucus made subservient to the grandest designs. Having decided on fortifying this important locality, he required a port for the protection of his ships ; and he knew that a harbour without a back-water to cleanse it, would speedily fill up. He conceived the idea, therefore, of forming a culvert, which served the double purpose of carrying off the accumulated waters from the mountain, and of clearing either the outer or inner port, as occasion required, by, as we suppose, sluice-gates of some kind or other. He then built up a strong wall between the upper tunnel and the cliffs which crown the hill on which the ancient village stood ; thus effectually closing the entrance to the glen or basin in which the waters collected. But he left an opening in the centre, which communicated with a strong conduit, by means of which, and by suitable sluice-gates, he could, at plea-

sure, direct the whole of the water into the inner harbour, or into the culvert to the outer port.



Entrance to first tunnel. From a sketch by Dr. Yates.

This wall still exists ; it is built of large stones, and is in good preservation. Of course the sluice-gates are gone, and there is an open gap, through which the waters pass as formerly ; and the conduit which supplied the back-water being defective, the hill is more or less flooded, as already stated.

About fifty yards from the western extremity of the great wall, the first or upper tunnel begins. It is 142 yards long, 21 feet high, and 21 feet wide ; and there is a central channel of from three to four feet in depth and width. The conduit on the left side, before mentioned, is so situated as to insure an abundant supply of water, and it passes along both tunnels and the intervening cutting, as far as the staircase and bridge, where, in consequence of the fall of the culvert, it meets the



A vertical section of the upper portion of the culvert at Seleucia Pieria, as surveyed by Capt. W. Allen, R.N.

surface of the hill, and was thus made to supply the town with water. The cutting between the tunnels is 88 yards long, open at the top; and, according to Captain Allen's survey, a vertical section of it at the upper end measures 150 feet, and it gradually declines to 75 feet, where the second tunnel commences.



View of second tunnel, looking west. From a sketch by Capt. W. Allen, R.N.

On the left side of the cutting are the remains of another flight of stairs cut in the rock, the lower portion broken away. The second tunnel is like the first, but only 45 yards long; an open cutting is then continued to the end of the culvert. A vertical section gives 50 feet at the upper end, and it declines gradually, according to the undulations of the hill. The tunnels only have the channel in the middle. This, together with the ledges left on either side of it, afforded facilities for clearing away boulders, stones, detritus, etc., which would otherwise have col-

lected; and it is remarkable that, although the culvert has been totally neglected for ages, the tunnels have not become obstructed; which Captain Allen thinks may be accounted for by the fact of the stream finding an exit by the gap in the great wall. "The fall," he says, "is one foot in fifty, as far as the bridge." Below bridge it increases obviously; and in some places it is very abrupt. The culvert winds rather more than is shown in the map; and the hill through which it is cut, is continuous with the heights above.

At about 440 yards from the entrance to the first tunnel, the hill declines, the culvert is more or less open for a short distance, and the wall on the left, which formerly kept up the water, has become dilapidated: 200 yards further, on the western side, are the remains of a Greek inscription, cut in the face of the rock; and near it is also one in Latin; but both are so much defaced, that it is impossible even to guess at their meaning. At about 120 yards further the hill declined so much that the ancients found it necessary to build a strong wall for about 40 yards, with large stones, like that above (A); and some years ago, the Turks, wishing to clear out the port, opened a gap in it, thinking that the winter torrents would effect their object; but taking no precautions, as might have been expected they brought down large stones and a quantity of silt, which helped to fill up the mouth of the harbour, and destroyed many beautiful gardens. After another 175 yards, three more inscriptions may be observed, (two of them high up, near an arch, and in sunken tablets,) but, like the preceding, they are quite illegible. Captain Allen estimates the entire length of the culvert at 1,200 paces from the great "bend", or wall, to where it terminates near the north pier. It opens out into a most fertile and beautiful sequestered valley, by an abrupt and sudden fall of enormous rocks, over which the water must have issued as a foaming cataract, with a loud roaring; and I conceive that these precipitous rocks were left in this state as a matter of security against the approach of an enemy. Rather high up

on the terraces to the right, above the water-fall, are some sepulchral chambers, but no inscriptions.

Polybius, in his description of the storming of the city, speaks of a town in this direction called "Dioscurium", from which point certain officers were commanded to lead their troops to the assault; and I believe it to have been situated on the rise of the hills, or the upland, rather than in this vicinity. I conceive it to have been a village close to Seleucia, to which, in times of peace, the inhabitants may have resorted, and where some of the more wealthy may have had their chateaux or country houses; but the site of Dioscurium requires further investigation.

Quitting the tunnel, we pass through orchards and plantations to one of the finest sandy shores I ever beheld, and, turning to the left, the port and moles come into view; but it is evident that formerly there must have been a fortified wall and outworks to defend this approach to the city and harbour.

The culvert, viewed as a work of art, raises the ancients greatly in our estimation; and, if proof were wanting, shews them to have been a people of no ordinary capacity. It would be considered a great undertaking even in the present day, with all our experience in engineering, our scientific attainments, and appliances of gunpowder, steam, and machinery. What a work of labour it must have been then, at that early period, to excavate a passage of such magnitude through hard limestone rock for a distance of three quarters of a mile; indeed, including all the outworks or appendages, we may fairly say a good English mile. Both the tunnels and cuttings are exquisitely contrived and shaped. They could not be better done by any of our modern engineers: there is no denying the fact—scientific men who have seen it allow it; and yet this magnificent triumph of human ingenuity is scarcely known to the world, and no use is made of it.

But viewed in connexion with the port and basin of Seleucia, the moles and fortifications, (also the work of Seleucus and

Antiochus the Great,) our admiration is increased ten-fold, and we deeply regret that a work of such usefulness, so admirably adapted for the extension of commerce, so importantly located, and so much needed on the coast of Syria, should be so utterly disregarded by the possessors of the soil.

On the brow of the hill, two or three hundred yards south of the foot-bridge which crosses the culvert, concealed by plantations and orchards, is a large excavated hollow (F), having the appearance of an old quarry, which, however, the inhabitants took the pains to improve and level; and then cut numerous spacious chambers in the face of the rocks, similar to those at the "Bab el Molook", at Thebes. These I believe to have been the most ancient of the royal sepulchres at Seleucia; and one of them may even have contained the remains of Seleucus himself. But from this spot having for ages been regarded, not only as the burial place of kings, but as the "Cave of the Despot",—and the legends of a patriarchal people like these ought not to be altogether disregarded,—it is not improbable that the tyrannical Antiochus Epiphanes, who oppressed his own people and persecuted the Jews, is here alluded to, and that he was interred on this very spot. The catacombs which occupy the northern side of the court, are more spacious and beautiful than the rest, and might justly be assigned to royalty. We enter by an oblong hall or vestibule, of which we find an admirable representation in Fisher's *Views in Syria*. It is 25 feet long and 7 feet 8 inches broad, and may be said to consist of a double row of columns, supporting a vaulted roof ornamented with sculptured scrolls and cornices. Passing under the central inner arch, we enter a very lofty and capacious chamber, 25 feet by $14\frac{1}{2}$, on either side of which there is also a commodious sepulchral corridor, like the aisles of a church, which conceal the circumscribed resting-places of mortals; and instead of windows, the boundary walls are pierced with semi-lunar recesses of various dimensions for coffins and cinereal urns. In the middle of the central division are sunken vaults,

covered by arched walls raised above the floor, but quite plain and without inscriptions, and there are others on the sides. The roof of the apartment is flat and without ornament. Returning now to the vestibule, we perceive a handsomely-carved arched-doorway, which leads to another sepulchral chamber, $22\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 21 feet, without reckoning the ante-room. The roof is very handsome ; it is divided into vaulted sections, and supported by four Ionic columns, now broken, and at each end are two more, broken in half. The sculptured ornaments above consist of scallop-shells, scrolls, cornices, and mouldings, and the ivy leaf. The tombs are very numerous : there are ten in arched recesses, and a few others still sealed, but whether any have escaped notice and the ravages of fanatics I cannot say. These sepulchral chambers are many of them now used by the inhabitants as goat pens ; and occasionally have become the abodes of hermits ; and very convenient residences they make. I resided in just such an one some years ago in Egypt, and some of these, in more open situations, command the finest scenery in all Syria.

As the number of inhabitants increased, the semi-circular space between the range of cliffs and the Antioch gate, (known as the " Marine Suburb", through which the modern road to Suediah now passes, as seen in the map,) became occupied, buildings rapidly sprang up, and Seleucus Nicator then constructed the new city on the table-land or gently rising ground between the verge of the cliffs and the heights beyond, both of which districts he embellished and fortified. According to the ancient writers, the markets were at the angle formed by the Marine Suburb and the old city, and they may also have been inclosed by a second wall ; but no traces of it remain. The whole range of cliffs is from 150 to 200 feet perpendicular, and the face of the rock is perforated with sepulchral chambers : a water-course consisting of earthenware pipes (of course dilapidated) may still be seen, and a tower and fortified wall, running for a considerable distance along the verge of the cliffs,

are conspicuous objects. The remains of stone buildings lie scattered about in all directions among the plantations; some stone sarcophagi also, two of which (κ) may be seen on the high road, about half way between the "Antioch" and the "South-gate". The former of these gates in the time of Pococke was tolerably perfect; a large portion of it has since fallen down, and near it, on the sea-side, are the remains of some public building, and also some modern farm-houses in the midst of mulberry plantations and orchards. The "Antioch-gate" is close to the cliffs, and, like the other gates, forms a portion of the city walls and out-works, being defended by strong circular towers. Near this spot is a large recess in the cliff, and a little further on are the ancient limestone quarries, which no doubt supplied a large proportion of the material for building the moles and fortifications. The ancient "Coryphæus" river here crosses the road. It is very short, rising in the adjacent heights not above a mile distant, and is beautifully clear and delicious. In this vicinity (λ) are the remains of the ancient circus, near which Antiochus encamped when he prepared to besiege the city, then in the hands of Ptolemy. See *Polybius*, b. v, ch. v.

Having passed this nectar-like stream, we enter upon the rich plains of Suediah, and turning off to the left, we reach various inlets in the upland country, where there are numerous lovely spots well adapted for private residences, certainly not surpassed for scenery and situation in any spot of Syria, and abounding in everything that is calculated or required to render a home agreeable. No elegant villas remain, but I cannot imagine that a situation so desirable, yet so convenient to the great city, could escape the observation of the more wealthy inhabitants, than whom none perhaps could better appreciate its delights; and I can quite picture to myself the country-houses and gardens of the nobles of the period studding the undulating country in this still healthy and attractive neighbourhood, one portion of which is traversed to this day by an ancient Roman road, which forms a part of the more direct route between the

old port of Seleucia and Antioch. The distance between the cliffs and the sea is about two-thirds of a mile ; one half is covered with mulberry plantations and gardens, the remainder admits of high cultivation, but is overgrown with myrtles and squill, for want of population. The city is about six miles in circumference. At the point where the wall near the Antioch-gate joined the cliff, the latter makes an abrupt turn to the northward ; and here is a steep ascent over ruins and terraces, and through plantations to the top of the cliff ; and so, if we please, we may ramble on along the heights until we reach the new city, or we may take the route more usually followed, viz., by what I have called the “Royal-gate”, (G)—as we presume it was in the upper city that the nobles chiefly resided,—that is to say, by the gate which is at the angle formed by the diverging of the cliffs where the wall of the old city terminates, and that of the “Marine Suburb” begins. The gate was flanked by fine semi-oval towers ; one has been thrown down, the other is almost concealed by the trees ; the springings of the arch remain : and here we have another specimen of engineering skill—a fine military road cut through the solid rock in a serpentine direction up the acclivity to the royal city.(G) About two-thirds of the way up, a ravine is passed by a bridge of a single arch of cut stones, and a span of about 24 feet. At this point, a few paces from the road, on the left hand, are some fine capacious vaults excavated in the rocks, which I imagine may have been used as guard-rooms for soldiers ; and immediately above them, there has been evidently a large building of importance, most likely a fortress, perhaps the citadel itself. Crossing the bridge, the road still winds for some distance until it reaches the summit ; it then divides, one branch leading along the cliff to the left, overlooking the basin,—and a fine causeway it is,—the other, diverging to the right, leads to the fortified wall already noticed as running along the cliffs to the eastward, and marked by a conspicuous tower : but it also sends off a short branch here to the new city, which is close at hand, and the

approach to which seems to have been very strongly defended.

There are extensive foundations still to be seen, some in the natural rock, which in one place itself forms a wall about 15 feet high and 60 feet in length, with a noble gateway. This has been a very strong position. There is no sentry now to challenge us as we pass. We walk on unmolested, and traverse an extensive area of ploughed fields and ruins, once, as we suppose, the stately palaces of the rich and powerful, but now mere heaps of stones, and mounds and walls, a confused, indescribable mass, with here and there the shafts of columns mixed up with trees and vegetation. About half a mile beyond the gateway are a few broken shafts still standing, marking the site of an ancient temple; and in the same field a farmer one day ploughed up a beautiful colossal statue (about 8 feet high) of a female figure, robed and sandaled like the figure of Minerva, in white marble. It was in beautiful preservation, but without the head. This perhaps was not far off. I lost no time in endeavouring to secure this figure, but found that it was already sold to a Turk, who, before I could see him about it, caused it be broken up for the convenience of transport, and that he might apply what remained to domestic purposes.

Captain William Allen, R.N., who surveyed the Niger, and to whom great praise is due for the care and attention with which he has surveyed the port of Seleucia, is of opinion that the latter might be restored at a very moderate expense, compared with the advantages which would result from it, viz., the restoration of the prosperity of the north of Syria. Neither the destructive power of man, he says, nor the convulsions of Nature, have done it irreparable damage. It is an enduring monument of the beneficial energy of its founders, and earnestly invites their successors to profit by so valuable a legacy, while the same natural elements of prosperity still exist in the inexhaustible fertility of this wonderful country, which may be said to comprise the valleys of the Orontes, the Euphrates, and the

Bekaa,—all capable of producing, to an almost unlimited extent, articles most valuable to commerce. To these, the cities of the Tetrapolis, and many others, owed their origin and rapid prosperity ; and if it was worth their while to construct such a great work to facilitate the export of the riches of their soil, it surely ought to be worth the while of their successors, as those riches are still to be obtained for the seeking—to *restore the port of Seleucia*. In these sentiments all who are practically acquainted with the subject *fully coincide* : and in support of them we have the published testimony of Colonel Chesney, Colonel Estcourt, M.P., Captain Charlewood, W. F. Ainsworth, Esq., and the other officers of the late Euphrates expedition. I may mention also, that the Bay of Antioch and coast of Seleucia have been surveyed recently by H. M. B. “Frolic”, Commander Vansittart, and that the report is favourable. I must not enlarge on these matters. I have already extended my remarks more than I intended.

WILLIAM HOLT YATES, M.D.

IX.

THE THRONE OF AMYCLÆAN APOLLO.

AT Amyclæ, in Laconia, Pausanias found, and describes, a throne of great size and elaborate decoration, dedicated to the Amyclæan Apollo. The seat of the throne was at least of such height as to admit free passage under it; of the material he says nothing; but the absence of any reference to colour and inlaid woods, stone, or metals, favours the opinion that the surface of it at least was of one uniform substance, probably bronze; and that the forty different subjects, and more, which he enumerates as wrought upon it, were wrought, for the most part, in relief: "The part of the throne where the god should sit, was not continuous throughout, but afforded several seats, a free space remaining by each seat; the widest space was in the middle, and there stood upright the figure of the god." This figure was some forty-five feet high, archaic, and with no appearance of art; bearing, in fact, with the exception of the face and helmeted head, the feet, and the hands, which held spear and bow, resemblance to a bronze column. Some strange hints even occur (Hesychius), that this was the Lacædemonian god that was represented with four hands and four ears; but, if so, the silence and the statements of Pausanias are alike unaccountable. I suspect some confusion with the archaic symbols of the Dioscuri or the Actorids.

The pedestal it stood on was in the form of an altar. The painted vases have made us familiar with archaic statues of the form described—most frequently of Athene; and the Ephesian Artemis is a variation of the same type. The altar-pedestal is also of frequent occurrence; but as yet no adequate monu-

mental illustration has offered of the many-seated throne. Possibly Pindar had such in his mind when he described the "well-circled seat on which sat the gods of sea and land", at the marriage of Peleus. The subordinate places were, no doubt, appropriated to the *θεοὶ παρέεργοι*—the associated divinities worshipped in especial combination with the Amyclæan Apollo. Were the seats divided by arms, or were they distinguished by curved recesses along the front? The pillar-like statue would then occupy, or rather stand opposite to, that in the midst; for we cannot place the altar-pedestal on the seat of the throne, and the expression of the text must be interpreted by the light of general probabilities.

Quatremère de Quincy, in his great work, (*Le Jupiter Olympien*), enters at large into the subject of this throne. The observations of Welcker, in his *Zeitschrift*, are of far more value, and will well repay perusal. My own point of view has so little in common, however, with these anterior notices, that I may be excused encumbering myself with continual references or refutations.

The throne was made by a certain Bathykles, a Magnesian. Of whom he was the scholar, or under what Lacedæmonian king he flourished, Pausanias would not—probably could not—say; but he implies that his work was entirely contrasted with the archaic statue, and claimed the honours of a work of art. From the circumstance that the artist dedicated a statue to Artemis Leucophryne, on the completion of his work, it has been plausibly inferred that his native city was the Magnesia on the Mæander, for there the goddess so entitled had peculiar honours. This Magnesia was among the Greek cities in Asia subjected by Cræsus; and when we find this king supplying the Lacedæmonians, as a free gift, with the gold they wished to purchase for ornamenting the statue of Amyclæ or its counterpart, it is tempting to conjecture that the employment by Lacedæmonians of a Magnesian artist was due, in some manner, to these mixed transactions of revolution and courtesy. These are

questions, however, that it is wise to leave open questions; for we shall find that there were independent reasons why the employment of a Magnesian artist at Amyclæ should be natural and fitting.

The words of Pausanias at first seem to indicate that he intended to give only a selection from the subjects represented, but he takes heart as he goes on, and goes through them all. The throne, he says, is supported before and behind by two Charites and two Horai. Thus a pair of mythological female figures at each foot: "On the left stands Echidna and Typhos; on the right, Tritons". These figures would occupy the outside space between the back and front legs, in a position which is frequently thus disposed of in the thrones on the vases. Pausanias then proceeds with his notice of subjects in the following order. I attach numbers for the sake of comparison and reference:

FIGURES.	No.
5 . .	1. Poseidon and Zeus carry off Taygete, daughter of Atlas, and her sister Alcyone; Atlas also is represented. (Notwithstanding the conjunction in the text, we may ascribe this figure to the same group as his daughters.)
2 . .	2. The single combat of Hercules and Cynus.
5(?) .	3. The battle of Centaurs; and Hercules at the cave of Pholus.
2 . .	4. Theseus leading the Minotaur alive and bound; an unusual version of the story.
Several	5. There is also upon the throne the chorus of Phæacians, and Demodocus singing.
{ 2-3 .	6. The exploit of Perseus upon Medusa—(was Athene present, as usual on monuments?)
{ 2 . .	7. Hercules fighting the giant Thurius.
{ 2 . .	8. Combat of Tyndareus and Eurytus.
Several	9. The rape of the daughters of Leucippus by the Dioscuri.
{ 2 . .	10. Hermes carrying the infant Dionusos to heaven.
{ 2-3 .	11. Athene conducting Hercules to his abode with the gods (probably in chariot, as on vases).
{ 3 . .	12. Peleus delivering Achilles to Cheiron to be nurtured.
{ 2 . .	13. Cephalus snatched away by Hemera for his beauty.
Several	14. The gods bringing gifts to the marriage of Harmonia.
{ 2 . .	15. The single combat of Achilles and Memnon.
{ 2 . .	16. Hercules chastising the Thracian Diomedes.
{ 2-3 .	17. Hercules chastising Nessus. (Deianira could scarcely be omitted.)

FIGURES. No.

- Several 18. Hermes conducting the goddesses to be judged by Paris.
- 4-5 . 19. Adrastus and Tydeus stay the fight of Amphiaraus and Lycurgus, son of Pronax.
- { 2 . . 20. Herè contemplates Io, daughter of Inachus, being in form of a cow.
- { 2 . . 21. Athene flies from the pursuit of Hephæstus.
- { 2 . . 22. Exploit of Herakles with the hydra.
- { 2 . . 23. Exploit of Herakles with Cerberus.
- { 2 . . 24. Anaxias and Mnasinous (sons of Dioscuri) on horseback.
- { 2 . . 25. Megapenthes son of Menelaus, and Nicostratus, riding on a single horse.
- { 2 . . 26. Bellerophon killing the Chimæra.
- { 2 . . 27. Herakles driving the oxen of Geryon.
28. At the ends of the throne, above, are the sons of Tyndareus, mounted; Sphinxes are below the horses, and wild beasts running above; to one, a pardalis; to Poludeuces, a lioness.
29. At the very top of the throne is a chorus, the Magnesians who assisted Bathykles in making the throne.

Such, in the order as enumerated by Pausanias, are the decorations of the throne, exclusive of those which were seen by going under the seat. What is the law of symmetry and order, that, by the analogy of the paintings of the Lesche, of the decorations of the vases, of Greek ornamental decoration generally, we are bound to expect and to assume, until examination disappoints us? The expectation is strengthened by the obvious symmetrical correspondence of the Charites and Horai with the antithetical subjects, Chthonian and Marine below, and of Castor and Pollux above; the whole surmounted by the chorus of Magnesian artists. It will then be readily observed that the subjects from 20 to 27 fall naturally into pairs. Apart from deeper analogies, they would strike the eye; and most of the groups on the throne are familiar, in numerous examples, to the students of figured antiquity, as parallels pictorially. A goddess appears in each adventure of the first pair; the second pair comprises two exploits of Hercules upon two many-headed monsters; in the third, a pair of equestrian cousins confront a pair of half-brothers on a single horse; the fourth pair asso-

ciates Hercules, again victor over a triple enemy, with Bellerophon slaying the triform Chimæra. Following the hint of arrangement thus obtained, we have four rows of subjects, in relief, each row exhibiting a pair of parallel subjects, and an alternation is discovered; the first and third rows having very direct analogy, and contrasting with the second and fourth.

This result is precisely of the nature that we should expect from our acquaintance with the matter-of-fact plan upon which, in the Lesche at Delphi, we found Pausanias commencing at one end of an artistic composition, and telling off its component figures and groups with the method of a lord-mayor telling horse-nails at Westminster. He evidently commenced at one end of the throne, and noted down the groups and subjects consecutively; and attention to the natural aspect of the subjects, may give us a shrewd hint of the course of his enumeration.

The fourteen subjects numbered from 5 to 18, betray their arrangement very satisfactorily; they divide into two sets of seven each, which correspond among themselves, but in inverse order, as if the enumerator had proceeded βουστροφηδόν; taking one now from right to left, then descending a step, to return from left to right; or, as I think more probable, proceeding up one column of subjects, and down the other that was arranged parallel to it.

The subjects 10 and 11 form a pair corresponding, in number of figures, as well as nature of subject, with 12 and 13. Numbers 9 and 14 are both subjects comprising a greater number of figures, and as nearly related to each other as passionate and impatient love to marriage, with its "state and ancience". Then succeed, on either side, triplet subjects of combat or slaughter, 6, 7, 8, antithetical to 15, 16, 17; and then again a single, but in itself more numerous subject is interposed; and 5, the song of Demodocus and Phæacian chorus, ranges opposite to 18, the judgment of Paris, and, I think, to 19, the quarrel of Amphiaraus and Lycurgus. The chorus could scarcely be treated with such scantiness as to have sufficient equipoise

in the three goddesses and their conductor. In another part of the throne we shall meet with a similar instance of departure from precision without prejudice to general conformity,—I have no doubt, with deeply studied feeling of enhanced expression to the general law.

Again, therefore, we have, and in two instances, four rows of subjects; and, on collating them with the four already obtained, we find a parallelism that cannot be fortuitous. Combats are excluded from the second and fourth rows, but exclusively engross the third. I have assumed, in my tabulated scheme, that Pausanias passed along uniformly from left to right—the course of the sun—the course of his stylus on his tablet or memorandum book; yet here and there there seems a temptation to suspect a deviation; for instance, if subjects 13 and 12 were to change places, they would correspond a little more accurately with 11 and 10; the youthful, if not infant, Achilles,—Pindar avouches that he was consigned to Cheiron at least before six years old, conforming with the infant Dionusos.

The plan, as thus far traced, presents us with three tablets of subjects, comprising a centre and two corresponding wings,—strophe, antistrophe, and epode,—and presenting a web of well contrasted, and therefore not incoherent, but distinctly accentuated, representations. This contrast and coherence induce the conclusion that the three tablets were so disposed on the throne that they might be taken in by the eye at once, which thus was at liberty to wander its own way, and catch in its varying course the varying harmonies of the versiform combinations. If this be so, the only place that can be assigned for them is upon the internal face of the back of the throne above the seat, and so disposed as to be visible to the spectator standing in front of the monument. This back may have been either curved or straight, whatever might be the outline of the front edge of the seats, but the distribution of the subjects does not admit any sharp return of the sculptured surface to form a side. As there appears to have been a clear passage below the throne from front

to back, it will be observed that the assignment of these decorations to the external face of the back of the throne would leave the front view almost destitute of enrichment of any kind.

We can scarcely be wrong in ascribing the figures of the Tyndarids on horseback "at the ends of the throne above" to the proper arms of the throne. The sphinxes that were below them are ornaments that are constantly seen on monuments in this position, the supports of the rails. It seems not at all unlikely that the Dioscuri, sphinxes, pard, and lioness, were executed in the round, as detached figures. The next words of the describer, locating the chorus of Magnesians "at the very top" of the throne, appear to exclude the antecedent groups from the lofty position, that otherwise might have some claims of plausibility, at the extreme angles at the top of the back.

The four first subjects enumerated present two distinct groups of single combat, Theseus and the Minotaur, Hercules and Cynus, interposed alternately between two more extensive subjects, a general battle of Centaurs, and the rape of the daughters of Atlas. I conjecture that this system of subjects was adjusted upon the base of the throne. The base of the Olympic throne had its special ornaments, and there is an indication in the text of a marked transition in passing to the fifth subject, which is noted as "upon the throne", as if the preceding were not upon it also, at least in so strict a sense.

The mention of the throne of the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias, invites allusion to other analogies and illustrations. Pausanias catalogues the paintings with which the brother of Pheidias, Panæus, adorned the walls or panels that closed up the intervals at the sides and back between the supporting pillars and legs. It was from noticing the principle of order to which this list is reducible, that I was encouraged to test the regularity of the Amyclæan enumeration. The subjects at Elis are nine, and they are told off in the order that follows as numbered, but with no hint of the relative position in which they are placed.

1. Herakles relieving Atlas. 4. Herakles and Nemean lion. 7. Herakles relieving Prometheus.
 2. Theseus and Pirithous. 5. Ajax Oileus, & Cassandra. 8. Achilles and Penthesileia.
 3. Hellas and Salamis. 6. Hippodameia and mother. 9. Two Hesperides with apples.

The subjective parallelisms and proprieties, which are very subtle, must be passed over here, but it will be noticed at once that the upper subject of every row is an exploit of Hercules, that the three lowest correspond in presenting pairs of female figures; the intermediate groups are linked by laws of analogy that must and may readily now be assumed and taken for granted. There would be some considerations in favour of commencing the enumeration from below, in which case the subjects of the upper and lower lines would simply change places. The corresponding space in front had no pictures, probably because the portions of the statue in front of it would have interfered with such decorations, and because the blue with which it was coloured furnished a better background for the robe of the god and its enrichments.

Yet again: the Olympic throne, says Pausanias, was supported not only by the proper legs, but by columns between and of the same height as the legs. If we assume only one column on each side, we have a pair of vacant spaces, which will not agree with the requirements of the scheme, and neither will the triple spaces, lateral instead of vertical, that would be given by a pair of intermediate columns. But the columns could scarcely have been in a line or plan with the legs, because they would have interfered with the bar that ran from one leg to another, bearing a continued subject executed in the round. The latter point is clear, from one figure having been lost from the front bar. The columns then, I conclude, were set a little back, and this enables us to place them at the angles of a reduced square, so that two would be visible between the legs of all the sides, with the single wall curtain at the several fronts of the very form and proportions suitable for our vertical pictorial ternaries.

It appears, from the description of Pausanias, that it was

possible to pass under the seat of the Amyclæan throne in order to inspect another set of subjects which were distributed to the right and left—thus apparently at the back of the Tritons and Typhon visible from without. The notice furnishes us with the hint for the scale of the work, that the seat of the throne must have been some six feet above the ground, and it would have been welcome had a note been given us of the point of division of the subjects between the two sides; wanting this, we gain at least an opportunity to test the rule of symmetrical arrangement that has appeared to develop itself in the general list.

“Going under the throne, we find within, on the side of the Tritons”:—

FIGURES.	No.
many	31. The chase of the boar of Calydon.
3 . .	32. Hercules slaying the Actorids.
3 or 4	33. The Boreads driving away the harpies.
{ 3 . .	34. Pirithous and Theseus carrying off Helen.
{ 2 . .	35. Hercules strangling the lion.
{ 3 . .	36. Apollo shooting Tityus; and Artemis.
2 . .	37. Hercules fighting the Centaur Oreios.
2 . .	38. Theseus and the Minotaur slain.
2 . .	39. Hercules wrestling with Achelous.
2 . .	40. Herè bound by Hephaistos.
many	41. The games instituted by Acastus at funeral of his father.
3 or 4	42. The adventure of Menelaus with Proteus, as related in the Odyssey.
3 . .	43. Admetus yoking a boar and lion.
many	44. The Trojans bringing funeral libations to Hector.

This series, from 31 to 44, we must divide into two parts for ourselves, as Pausanias, in his haste, omits to mark the point at which he turns to the side of Echidna and Typhon. In attempting this we find, as before, that the correspondence is inverse—the first subject answering to the last, and so in order towards the middle. The tabulated scheme exhibits the correspondence, but it will be seen that the games of Acastus, no doubt a subject comprising several groups, has not one but three subjects of minor groups to balance it. Again, as in our first examples, we are brought to a double system, each of four

rows; which are severally, either single, double, or triple in composition. There are two single-subject rows in the first scheme, two double-subject rows in the second, but in neither case do rows of like composition follow each other. The two plans or schemes agree in the arrangement of commencing or concluding either as a single or a double row, the triplets being placed internally. I suspect that in one case the single-subject rows were at the top of the system, and in the other at the bottom, but this is a point to which the text gives no clue.

It is useless, I fear, to attempt to elicit from our materials whether the several bands or friezes were all of the same height, and the figures introduced all of the same relative proportions. I am inclined to think that this was the case, from the observation of the agreement in number of the figures in each of the rows of the central tablet, which range with the more varied lateral combinations. The Greek vase painters exercised the most admirable art in combining several friezes one above another of varying depth and, so to speak, populousness, with nicest feeling for contrast and relief, in harmony with the proportionate interest and importance of the distributed subject. Of this, as of so many other artistic and poetic excellencies, the François vase is probably the noblest example. The resource in question, however, was, I suspect, not unknown to Bathykles, but neglected, as not required in addition to the contrast and distinction given by the varying division of the several rows, and by the grand contrast of the bas-reliefs with the round figures at the top, the ends or arms, and basement of the throne; and moreover as inapplicable to a combination so multitudinous, and which was not intended to concentrate chief interest on one main incident and chief representation.

The altar pedestal of the statue was said to contain the ashes of Hyacinthus, the hero of the Hyacinthia, the great festival of Amyclæ. On the left side of it was a door of bronze, affording access for offerings to the dead previous to the sacrifices made

to Apollo at the Hyacinthia. The sculptured decorations of the altar exhibit a degree of correspondence that intimates their distribution on the several sides of the altar, but how far the left side and its door may have shared in them is not absolutely clear.

“1. *On the altar* were wrought the figures of Biris (*Doricè* for “Iris, say those who best should know, and thus we get a hint “that the names of the figures may have been inscribed), and “Amphitrite and Poseidon. Also Zeus and Hermes in talk together, and near them Dionusos and Semele, and Ino beside her.

“2. There are also made *upon the altar*, Demeter, Kore, and “Plouto; besides these, the Moirai and Horai (Fates and Sea- “sons); and with them, Aphrodite, Athene, and Artemis. They “conduct to heaven Hyacinthus and his sister Polyboia, who, “as they say, died in her maidenhood. Hyacinthus has a beard “here, but Nicias (about the time of Praxiteles) painted him “extremely youthful, with allusion to the passion of Apollo.

“3. Hercules also is represented *upon the altar*, he too led to “heaven by Athene and other gods.

“4. There are also *on the altar* the daughters of Thestius, the “Muses, and the Horai (qy. Apollo?).

The fourfold repetition of *on the altar* seems to hint a fourfold division referable to the several sides. The three first subjects have obvious agreement; the fourth differs, and in this very point seems suited for the door or its borders. The Horai which, in the fourth, are a recurrence, seem to be due to a transcriber's error, his eye catching, as not unfrequent, a previous final word. The names enumerated for two first subjects are in each case eight, but the addition of Moirai and Horai to the second, disturbs the balance, and suggests some oversight. The three first names of each set seem to have some independence of the rest that follows, and the remark may be extended to the fourth side, the Thestiadæ being three—Althæa, Leda, Hypermnestra.

The fourth set of figures being on the left of the altar, the subject on the front must—such we have seen is the method of

Pausanias—have been one of those next to it, that is, either the third which precedes it, or the first which stands at the other extremity of the list. I suspect that Pausanias, passing under the throne, had the back of the altar full before him when he had finished there, and taking that first, passed on to the right hand subjects, and thence to No. 3; which would thus give us the progress of Hercules to heaven as the subject in front of the altar and the god and his throne.

Now this result perfectly agrees with the preeminence assigned to Hercules in the general collection of subjects chosen to decorate the common dedication of throne and altar, for there are other confirmations that the altar also was no less the work of Bathykles. Heracles is the hero introduced most frequently—the only hero who appears, and frequently, in several adventures in all the six great systems of groups. Besides a repetition of his apotheosis, twelve of his exploits are represented, and the very number is proof that the whole form a designed series, although they are selected upon some other principle than that of his great series of labours, a list that itself varies with various authorities. An obvious justification, or rather explanation, of this preference, is the claim of the kings of Dorian Sparta to be descendants of the great hero—the favourite hero of the Dorian race. Something more, however, than mere compliment and consideration for even the highly honoured Herakleid monarchs, is required to complete the illustration of the scheme. We have farther to seek for—it will not be far—the special analogy of his myths to that of the god, and to the festival to which the monuments of Amyclæ more especially refer, and to trace the concurring local and symbolical proprieties that decided the selection of certain exploits out of the multitude that on different grounds were equally available.

The festival of the Hyacinthia was one of the most important celebrated by the Lacedæmonians; for the due observation of it they delayed or interrupted the most urgent military ex-

peditions: they were engrossed by its festivities in the midst of the danger of Greece, when Xerxes had already forced the pass of Thermopylæ. At a later date the mora of Spartans destroyed by the manœuvre of Iphicrates, consisted of Amyclæans, who were returning as usual with them from foreign service, on the approach of the festival. This took place about the time of the summer solstice, and Athenæus furnishes an account of it from an original source, and other details are forthcoming. The sacred rites continued for three days; they commenced with the funereal ceremonies within the altar already described, where Hyacinthus was said to be buried; the nocturnal procession, for which Euripides is our authority, probably came in here; the funereal feast followed, with all tokens of solemnity and grief; certain cakes were substituted for bread, no crowns were worn, no pæans sung, and the assemblage separated in grave orderliness and silence. The second day was devoted to Apollo, and now succeeded a cheerful and lively series of spectacles. A great procession, under direction of a special director, comprised all Amyclæans and the majority of the Lacedæmonians now crowned with ivy; the pæan to the god was now heard, boys in festal garb accompanying the voice with lyre and pipe; and the theatre was the scene even of equestrian exercises, as well as of the varied performances of choruses of youths who sung the poetry of the district to the accompaniment, not only of the flute, but of certain mimetic dances of archaic style. The Spartan maidens took part in the show; they passed along in cars ornamented for display, or they took part in contests of the chariot race. It was, no doubt, on this day that the robe wrought by Spartan matrons for the Amyclæan god was carried in procession and dedicated. The entire state was effused in rejoicing; every class shared in the rites; the citizens entertained not only friends and relatives, but their very slaves. The third day appears to have been occupied with games in honour of Hyacinthus,—the discobolia especially, and races in full suit of armour.

These details betray the character of the festival as of the same nature as so many others occurring far and wide over Greece, in which the same alternation of depression and exhilaration, sometimes in inverse order, gave outlet for the sympathies and excitabilities of the mind, that find vent among southern nations still, in vehemencies not less extravagant, in fast and festival, in Carnival and Lent. In the various instances, the various elements might be differently combined in order and degree; but the set is usually the same, and complete, and ever grouped around some mythic personage, hero or heroine, who is at once a type of all nature and of every individual, arrayed in the symbolical imagery and attributes of the vegetable world and the astral cycles; and yet of like aspirations and of like sympathies with his worshippers. These were far too engrossed with the workings of their own sensibilities to criticise historically the tale which gave opportunity for their gratification; they assumed a truth where they recognized a beauty, and were saved from the mischiefs of superstitious veneration for a blunder or a falsity, by the refinement of their sensibility withdrawing their attention from the dead vehicle of fable and mistake, and attaching it to the eternal veracities of sentiment and expression.

Thus it was that, with no insincerity and no degradation, the Amyclæans mourned for Hyacinthus, as the Greeks generally for Kore, carried off by the king of the shades; for Linus, for Dionusos; though in every case the symbolical import of the tale of woe was far more salient than any pretensions to literal tradition. The heart that finds itself unburdened of a present grief, is too grateful to inquire curiously, still less sceptically; this duty falls to the more intelligently benevolent, and must be undertaken, perforce, by the philosophical, when the children of impulse have lost the safeguard of original simplicity, and are despairing and entangled in the meshes of dogma and formalism.

The mythus of Hyacinthus is of a class that was wonderfully

prevalent and influential, not only among the Greeks, but among all the nations around the Mediterranean, of whatever origin ; and the agreement not only evinces agreement of sympathy, but led the way chiefly to that ultimate fusion of mythologies that took place in the later days of the Roman empire, and gave a common term to the Kore, and Dionusos, and Hercules, and Hyacinthus, of Greece ; the Atys, Lityerses, Bormus, and Hylas, of Asia Minor ; the Adonis and Thammuz of Semitic races ; the Maneros, and, above all, the Osiris of the Egyptians.

The Greek sources for the mythus of Hyacinthus are neither abundant nor early, yet sufficient to authenticate the general accuracy of Ovid, and to illustrate it even by variations. Hyacinthus, son of the Spartan king, Amyclas, and Diomedes,—or of Cebalus, a youth of exquisite beauty,—was loved by Apollo, but slain unintentionally by his rebounding discus ; or the discus swerved, driven by Zephyrus, the jealous rival of the sun-god. In other accounts, Thamyris, the Thracian singer, is attached to Hyacinthus, now son of the muse Clio and Pierus, the eponymn of musical Pieria. In every case, it is by the discus of Apollo that the boy is slain ; and from his blood springs up the purpled hyacinth, on the petals of which Greeks found without difficulty the letters ΑΙ ! ΑΙ ! the exclamations of woe. The flower and its inscription are elsewhere connected with the fate of Ajax,—Aias ; and the general parallelism of the myth merits the attention that in another place I have endeavoured to bestow upon it.

The youth Hyacinthus, then, is a personification of the blooming vegetation of the year ; as that, again, is a type of the youth and strength of humanity. Hyacinthus, beloved of Zephyrus and Apollo, the breeze and the sunshine, is the floral decoration of the earth, fostered by genial light and air. On the Tower of the Winds, at Athens, we see Zephyrus with lap full of flowers, the hyacinth, now double, among them. The fatal disc that swerves or rebounds, and slays him, is the orb of the sun, which, at the turn of the year, burns up the ripening bloom.

Hence the festival took place at the summer solstice, about the longest day. According to Ovid, the god and his favourite resort to the exercise of the discus about high noon: "Titan, intermediate between the past and coming night, distant either way at equal intervals", a transference of allusion from the annual to the diurnal culmination.

Hyacinthus is the fading bloom of the year, as Persephone is the falling harvest; and the exactness of the analogy is evident by the introduction, on the altar, of a sister, Poluboia, who can scarcely be distinguished from Kore. The natural cycle of the harvest in the mythus of Kore, furnished at Eleusis the impressive type of mortality, the faith in the healthy vigour of nature, and the confident hope of individual revival. At Eleusis it was Dionusos who supplied the second elemental symbol of humid nature—not wine alone, but all humidity, as Kore, not bread-corn alone, but all vegetation; and on the altar of Amyclæ these cycles of fable are again united. The violent abduction of youth and beauty was another mythological form, parallel to that of premature death; and the fable of the daughter of Pandarus carried off by the Harpies, finds its nearest parallel in that of the slaughtered children of Niobe.

The physical or mixed physiological symbolism of these tales is elevated into a moral type in the story of Hercules. This mythus is not without a natural, and especially an astronomical aspect, which is of value in association with the Sun god; but the moral import predominates. The career of the hero is not simply beautiful, but heroic. Heroism and beauty were both easily expressed by the Greek by a single word; and offer parallel sequences of growth, culmination, premature interruption, and claim equal promise of beautified restoration.

Hyacinthus, it will be observed, is only represented on the altar, within which he was said to be buried, and not on the throne connected with it, as neither was Apollo himself but once; but the analogy of the decorations proves that his mythus gave the pervading sentiment of the whole. Aphrodite, Arte-

mis, and Athene, conduct him and his sister to heaven; and in the same composition, or system of groups, the especial divinities of earth and its fruitfulness, Demeter, Kore, Plouton, are introduced. On another side, Dionusos appears himself in heaven, and greets there or conducts, his mother Semele, as on the Etruscan speculum, and in the celebrations of Delphi; and here, along with Zeus and Hermes, we are introduced to powers of vapour and the brine; to Iris, Amphitrite, and Poseidon. Lastly, Hercules, whose importance on the throne is so predominant, appears to engross the front of the altar, by his progress to the assembly of the gods.

The symbolism of the throne is harmonized with that of the altar, not only by repetition groups, in conspicuous places, of the transference of Dionusos (45) and Hercules (47) to heaven, but by the continuation, in the first instance, of elemental allusion. The Horai and Charites support the throne,—the Seasons, and the Graces; and on either side we find contrasted forms of the wilder manifestations of nature: on one side, the briny Tritons; on the other, Echidna, the scaly inmate of cavernous earth, with Typhon, her associate power of noxious and violent exhalations, and gaseous outbursts.

It would only weary to set forth, even in epitome, the illustrations that are available, of the solar and seasonal associations that, in the Greek mind, were prompt to be suggested by almost every subject selected for the throne. The ravaging Calydonian boar, for instance, is a recognized wintry symbol (*ἱς* is not unrelated to *ἰάκτινος* and *νεῖν*—if space could be spared to show how). The lion, again, is a summer type; and both lion and boar are yoked significantly in this connexion by Admetis; the instructed of Apollo (20), Io, who is entitled to be present as ancestress of Hercules, has also a claim as a cyclic personification of the moon. (*Æschyl. Prom.*)

The decorations of the throne and altar must be regarded as the complements of the symbolism of the celebration, of which much the most explicit and direct found place in the songs and

mimetic exercises of the festival itself: hence a certain indirectness of allusion throughout to the local mythus; by no means remoteness, for the sculpture attends the spirit of the festivity with the truth and duty of an accompaniment, as in the subjects of the funeral offerings to Hector (44), and the funeral games celebrated by Acastus (41).

Apart from other proprieties, to be adverted to presently, the twins Castor and Pollux are clearly reducible to diurnal types, as Hyacinthus to an annual. Like him, they pass to heaven; but on alternate days they die and live by turns; and there is little uncertainty about the point that, whether originally or not, in this *ἐτερήμερία* was seen an allusion to alternating day and night,—the brothers who, according to Hesiod, return and retire from the house by turns, and never occupy it together. Closely allied, again, is the subject of Cephalus carried off for his beauty by Hemera, the day or dawn—Hemera, mother of Zephyrus, by whom Hyacinthus was beloved; nor less so, those of the daughters of Leucippus, whom the Dioscuri themselves are carrying off just when they are at the point of marriage; and Helen, the prize of Theseus and Pirithous. Lastly, the two daughters, Taygete and Alcyone, are carried off by the two very chiefest gods, by Zeus and by Poseidon.

The ruling sentiment of the story of Hyacinthus is still further emphasized by the representations of heroes whose forms and fortunes sprang from the same suggestions, or at least attracted and assimilated them. Memnon (15), the most beautiful of all that fought at Troy, was the subject of devotional lamentations; and his slayer, Achilles, himself prematurely slain, was mourned by the women of Elis, with faces turned towards the setting sun. The apotheosis of Achilles at Leuca, associates him with both Helen (34) and Ino (45). Amphiarus (19) and Menelaus (42) are other instances of similar advancements after death; and Admetus, favoured of Apollo, owed at least prolonged existence to the self-sacrifice of Alcestis.

But if beauty and loveliness are mortal, if all that is bright

must fade, this is not because vitality throbs more healthily in hideousness and deformity. Those whom the gods love die young; the fair and the excellent that perish early, are snatched away, not without love, by the gods; or they quit their seat and sojourn here, not without a better compensation. Hence the lament for the disappointment of the beautiful is cheered by promise of its exaltation; and the certainty of this, to be assured, requires the declaration of the destiny of the mischievous,—to be disgraced, destroyed, extirpated. Hence, to minds alive to the expressiveness of the festival, and its natural types, the significance of that scheme of subjects which we found to arrange itself in four consecutive pairs of pairs. On this tablet are concentrated, not unmeaningly, three exploits of Hercules (27), and one of Bellerophon (26), of which the several victims are, Chimæra and Geryon, Hydra (22) and Cerberus (23). Tri-form monsters all, or polycephalous, they are united by blood alliance within a short paragraph of the theogony. Chrysaor, who sprang, together with Pegasus, from the severed neck of Medusa, begot three-headed Geryon in the embrace of Kallirhoe, daughter of Ocean, the mother of the portentous Echidna we have already passed. Tellurian Echidna bore to gusty Typhaon, Cerberus and Hydra; and from Hydra sprang Chimæra. Another offspring of Echidna was Orthios, dog of Geryon, often introduced, and probably on the throne, in scenes of his death. The inference forces itself upon us, that the artist chose and combined these examples of monstrous and disorderly offspring of nature wild and noisome, of foul haunts and explosive exhalations, to contrast with the bright and cheerful, the healthy and happier natural types of Hyacinthus and Poluboaia, the nurslings or favourites of all the developed and invigorating influences of earth, and air, and sky. The same principle is observable in the subject of the winged sons of Boreas (33) driving away the filthy harpies. The harpies sprang from, or became types of, winds, as certainly as Boreas himself; and we have here a corollary of the influences of Zephyrus in the con-

flict of opposed powers, of the winds potent for good and ill. Thus the honours and the fate of beauty, and of the excellence of which it is a type, that are set forth in the mythus of Hyacinthus, receive illustration and definition from the subjects associated with it on the throne, both by parallel and by contrast. But the illustration of beauty and its influence would be incomplete, or liable to misapprehension, in its free mythic sense, but for glances directed from yet another point of view. The rivalry and passion of Zephyrus and Apollo is kept in harmony by the parallel of Zeus and Poseidon (1), of the Dioscuri (10), of Hemera (13), and even Theseus (34); but admiration or love, in passionate exaltation, have yet to be sundered from violence; and this is effected by displaying the vengeance of Hercules on Nessus for his attempt on Deianira (17); the punishment of Tityus by the filial ire of Artemis and Apollo (36). Jealousy finds its type in the group of Herè and Io (20); the pursuit of Athene by Hephæstus verges upon that step which descends to the gay and the laughing in the allusion to the entrapping of Ares and his paramour, that lurks in the subject of the chorus of Phæacians and Demodocus singing (5); for even this was the subject of his song. The contest for the prize of beauty by Aphrodite, Herè, and Athene (18), the very goddesses who lead Hyacinthus to heaven (46), and who all occur, it may be remarked, in other subjects, on the same row or line, furnishes the highest example of the glory of beauty; and the marriage of Cadmus and Harmonia, an incident so rich in all the symbolism of order and political regulation, is witnessed by all the gods, who honour and contribute to the great seal of flourishing society, and celebrated by the hymenæal song of the Muses, themselves a cosmical quire.

If our theory of the significance of these subjects has any value whatever, it ought to receive vindication by some special reference to the mythus of Hyacinthus, of the subject of the quarrel of Amphiaraus and Lycurgus (19). The incident fully answers these demands upon it; for it is connected with the

institution of games, which, like those of the Hyacinthine festival, pertained to a funereal solemnity, and were set forth with funereal emblems. The seven chiefs allied against Thebes honoured thus the memory of Archemorus or Opheltes, youthful son of Lycurgus, or that of Pronax, the father of another Lycurgus, who met his death either by a serpent, as his nurse was guiding them to a spring, or in some other unrecorded way dependent on the requirements of their expedition. It is Amphiarus who, in most of the preserved versions of the story, appeases the ire of Eurydice, wife of Lycurgus, and mother of the infant; and this hint justifies us in completing the parallel but less perfectly preserved anecdote of the son of Pronax, by ascribing to him a like altercation with the same antagonist, Amphiarus. Vases present us with many groups of quarrelling heroes separated by their friends; examples have been published in England by Mr. Birch, in the *Archæologia*. Other well-known vases exhibit the scene of the death of Archemorus, the intercession of Amphiarus for the nurse, the Lemnian Hypsipyle, the corpse of the hapless youth on a bier; the funereal offices, the gods, and the nymph Nemea, associated with the games in his honour. Archemorus, by his age, would be the more exact antitype of Hyacinthus; but enough is preserved of the legend of Pronax to prove that he was little less so. The preference, for the sake of variety, of an analogy over a closely parallel example, appears again in the subject of the funeral offerings to the maturer and warlike Hector; and again in that of the funeral games in honour of the aged Pelias. There is something of the character of an ἀγών, it may be remarked, in the rendezvous of the goddesses, led by Hermes to Ida (18). Contests of beauty were quite familiar to the Greeks, and they could not be reminded of them more appropriately than on a monument consecrated to Apollo and the lovely Hyacinthus; indeed, Pausanias furnishes distinct record of the association of Aphrodite with the honours of the god of Amyclæ (30).

Bathykles, it will be remembered, placed, not unconspecu-

ously, on the throne a chorus of his assistants, and probably a figure of himself in the midst of them. There is nothing in the expressions employed by Pausanias to preclude the possibility that they were a row of detached figures along the top of the throne. The Greek artists were prompt to assert their proper interest and dignity in their works. The recorded anecdotes of Pheidias and others are fully borne out by the practice of the vase painters, and by the assertions by Pindar of himself and of his craft: hence the peculiar patron of the workers in metal, Hephaistos,—the artist-god, is not left without honour. His pursuit of Athene (21), the wise, the warlike, yet, no less than himself, the encourager and protector of art, is deeply symbolical; and legends there are that intimate broadly that the pursuit was neither uninvited nor in vain. More obviously expressive of his specialties in reference to the actual dedication, is the group in which he was seen triumphant in his retaliation on Herè (40), caught fast and fixed in the throne that he had made for her, and in mock dutifulness presented. Demodocus singing to the chorus of Phæacians (5), is correspondent to Bathykles and his chorus,—not without design. What was the song of the bard, which the Phæacian dancers, by an art highly cultivated in antiquity, and delighted in, but now lost, and almost disbelieved, accompanied mimetically, as best they might, and as, no doubt, well they did? Again, a triumph, though somewhat of the ruefullest, of the smith Hephaistos, who again, with fine springes, has entrapped his enemies,—but one of them, alas! his wife. By the laws of Greek art, however, which are those of the most accurate sense of nature and nature's truth,—taste seems too confining an expression when Greek art is in question,—the subjects selected for the expression of technic sympathies must also have had an import by which to inosculate with that or those of the general dedication. Thus the fraudulent chair of Herè belonged to the story how Hephaistos gained his establishment in that heavenly seat which receives Dionusos (45), Herakles (11 and 47), Hyacinthus (46),

and is also found the vehicle of expression for the relation of elemental nature,—the agency of tellurian heat unlocking the frost-bound atmosphere and earth. In this sense, the return of the fire-god to Olympus expresses the revival of earth's fertility and genial airs, as explicitly as the return of the appeased Demeter, and the ascent of Kore to the upper world. (cf. *Hor. Od.* i, 4, 10.) The pursuit of the coy Athene by the fire-god has analogous significance; and such is abundantly traceable in the capture of Ares (5), the constant type of winter no less than war. Is not all this, however, set forth at large in sources notorious, and by authorities well accepted and acceptable? It is enough here to advert to the fact as furnishing another link of propriety to the mythic incidents, in addition to the obvious recommendations they possess as love passages.

It now remains that we should glance at the especial connection of the mythical subjects of the throne of Amyclæ with the history and genealogy of the tribes and populations among whom, and as an ornament for whose temple and festivals, it was erected and enriched by Magnesians Bathykles. The mythic stores of Greece were so varied and exuberant, that they afforded abundant incidents illustrative of any principle, theory, or moral, that might recommend itself to the artist. But this very richness of resources compelled to discrimination, that among many significant the most significant might be adopted. The selection was therefore required to be made under the control and guidance of many consenting proprieties, and thus to address and satisfy all the chief feelings and associations habitually present to the Greek mind. Among these, pride and pleasure in the mythic history of his own nation and tribe of the great Hellenic body, was ever predominant; this was a feeling that was in full force in the great historic period, and that it had descended from long ages in which it had constantly grown and strengthened, is the fact that gives to Greek mythology that historic value which would render it a most valuable study had its poetic and artistic merits been of the lowest instead of, as they are, the very highest character.

We may therefore confidently anticipate that we shall find on examination, that all the subjects we have been considering under their symbolical or artistic aspects, are derived from the mythic and semi-historical treasury of Laconian antiquities. Even in modern times we recognize the tendencies that struggled with adverse influences in the direction of a like development. It is not merely in the antique songs and hereditary tattoo of actual savages that this is seen; the emblems that have descended traditionally, with whatever falsification intermixed, as armorial bearings in the families and nations of modern Europe, are clung to, as all may have observed, and many must have felt, with a spirit that assuredly was not less strong five hundred years ago, and that is the best voucher of their general authenticity. Such is the case even with symbols that as materials for art are for ever hopeless; in themselves for the most part they have remained as they were originally, barbarous badges, either dumb, or of speech frivolous, when not nonsensical, and yet are they precisely the abuse of materials which a people like the Greeks, of plastic faculty and genius, and a lively utterance, would have fashioned and developed into creations of art, and associated with poetry that would have ennobled to all ages the historical traditions it attached to. There may be no remedy now, and no choice open, but to cover national monuments with rows of memorials which have a certain interest to the conventional sense, though to a purged sight, ugliness unredeemed; the Greek was more fortunate; the quarterings which he exhibited were no less historic, but associated with beauty and refinement, artistic, ethical, poetic, that crowned them with a glory, and gave them currency for all time as the very tests and types of civilization.

The two most important Greek races that figure in Lacedæmon in historical times are the Dorians, and secondarily the Minyans, who however were of far higher antiquity in the land. Both races traced their origin to Thessaly, to the banks and embouchure of the Peneus, and to the general precincts of the

country of the Magnetes, with whom, especially in the Argonautica, the Minyans are freely identified. Already in these northern seats, and in very remote age of Greek antiquities, the worship of Olympic Zeus and Delphic Apollo formed a tie among a great variety of tribes, and in the great Amphictyony that combined it with the Pelasgic type of Chthonian worship of Demeter, we have the same combination of Olympic and Chthonian worship that is so conspicuous among the monuments of Amyclæ. Abundant allusion to the mythology of these tribes appears on the throne of Bathykles; but time and the hour warn to be brief, and it will be most convenient to drop rapidly down the main stream of mythic history, and mark the illustrations as they pass swiftly by us.

The Leleges have an early renown in Laconia, but are of equivocal Hellenism, and leave no mythic trace. Their dynasty quickly resolves into that which is marked as autochthonous, springing from Zeus and the personified mountain chain of the country, Taygete. Hence arose Hyacinthus (46), the hero of our monuments, which explains the conspicuous place assigned to Taygete (1). Her sister Alecyone (1), grouped with her, was ancestress of the Minyan Euphemus, who is located at the Laconian promontory Tanarum, descendant and therefore worshipper of Poseidon, and the sufficient explanation of the abundant Poseidonian allusions of both altar and throne.

The next indication of importance is that of intercourse with Danaan Argos in the alliance of Œbalus with Gorgophone, daughter of the Perseus whose great exploit, alluded to in her name, is before us (6); and Tyndareus, the hero of a neighbouring group, was their offspring. To this and other Argive alliance may be ascribed one of the motives of the group of Here (20) and Io; variants yoke Tyndareus and Hyacinthus together as Œbalids.

The order of mythic history brings Pelops next, with whom the Achæans descended from Phthiotis upon the peninsula, afterwards named from him Peloponnesus, and where they

more or less gradually became the dominant race during an eventful period. Pelops, it is said, founded many cities in Laconia, and possibly Achæan interference may have caused the political change typified or recorded in the retirement of Tyndareus as an exile to Ætolia. The connection of Laconia with Ætolia, thus commenced, recurs in the sequel, and this concurrence of tradition explains the value assigned on the throne to Ætolian legends. Tyndareus marries Leda (48), the daughter of Ætolian Thestius—she was represented with her sisters on the Hyacinthine altar—and hence sprung Helen (34), and the Dioscuri, to whom such conspicuous places are given, both separately (28 and 29), and in their common enterprise of carrying off the daughters of Leucippus (9). They would also no doubt be represented as usual among the hunters of the Calydonian boar (31), with their cousin Meleager. Tyndareus is reinstated in his throne by Hercules, as an ally of whom apparently he is seen engaged in combat with Eurytus (8). Eurytus was hateful to Apollo, and it was at the temple of Amyclæ that Hercules obtained purification for the slaughter of Iphitus his son.

The mythological authorities of Bathykles probably considered that the Dorians at this period had already migrated from Tempe to their second seat between the mountain ranges of Ceta and Parnassus, and in proximity to Ætolia; the Ætolian adventures of Hercules with Achelous (39), and with Nessus (17) at the river Euenus, would no doubt convey to a Dorian Spartan the sense of the early alliance of the races.

The establishment of an Achæan dynasty is expressed by the marriage of Menelaus with Helen, and thus are opened all the associations with the Trojan cycle which find their expression in natural, as well as symbolic harmony, in the subjects of Peleus and infant Achilles (12), the combat of Achilles (15) and the son of Eos, the judgment of Paris (18), the funeral rites of Hector (44), the adventure of Menelaus with Proteus and his phocæ (42). It will be remarked that these subjects all occur in the right hand divisions, as if from a view to inti-

mate a certain historical sequence, though not so strictly as to interfere with the main interest, the symbolical and religious. The obsequies of Hector, whose sister Cassandra found her death and had her tomb at Amyclæ, are also a Theban reminiscence; such duty was imposed on Thebes by an oracle.

Amyclæ was the great seat in Laconia of memorials and traditions of the Atreidæ, and appears indeed to have been the city of Lacedæmon of the Homeric epics. Homer celebrates the architectural splendour of the palace; and a reference to this occurs again in a story, told by Apollodorus, of a relative of Hercules who was killed as he was admiring it. On good mythic grounds, Müller concluded that careful search could not fail to discover in this locality the ruins of constructions like the so-called treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ, and the like remains at Minyan Orchomenos; and so it has in fact turned out. Homeric students of the better vein will appreciate the coincidence that the alternation of grief and cheerfulness, of pity and vivacity, which corrected the tone and elasticity of the celebrations of the Hyacinthia, affords the very expression of the affectionateness of heart by which Homer preserves our respect for Menelaus (42).

πολλάκις ἐν μεγάροισι καθήμενος ἡμετέροισιν,
ἄλλοτε μὲν τε γόῳ φρένα τέρπομαι, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε
πάνομαι· ἀνελγὸς ἐξέ κόρος κρυερὸιο γόοιο. (Od. iv. 101.)

Compare the entire incident, and especially the speech of Pistratus, 190-202. The son of Menelaus has not casually the name of Megapenthes (25), and his Ætolian mother refers to the source of this symbolism in Sparta. The Æginetan festival, which I have elsewhere shown to be by symbols and usages parallel to the Hyacinthia, had a direct reference to those who perished at Troy.

The next great revolution averred by the traditions was the consequence of the invasion of Peloponnesus by the Dorian tribe, with allies from Ætolia, and doubtless, whatsoever others could be engaged—even Achæans and Athenians are spoken

of, but especially certain members of a Cadmeian tribe, the Ægids, closely connected also with the Orchomenian Minyans. The influence of this tribe in the expedition seems largely due, at least ascribed, to their affinity with the earlier Minyan population of Amyclæ and Laconia generally, and they figure in very important public events of a later date. Allusion to their origin appears on the throne, in the marriage of Cadmus and Harmonia (14); Cadmeian, of course, is the story of Dionusos with Semele and Ino (45); the story of the Boreads (33) is Argonautic, and thus Minyan; and those of Admetus (43), and Pelias (41), belong to the primeval seats of the race, as Thessalian or Magnesian. The Cadmeian Ægids were especially connected with the festival of Carneia celebrated in honour of Amyclæan Apollo. Semi-historical mythus goes on to tell how Dorians and Minyans, primitive, allied, or refugee from Lemnos, isle of Hephæstus (21 and 40), fell into dissensions, and large bodies of Minyans left for Crete, where they joined an earlier settlement of Magnes in the territory of Gortyna, the locality of the adventure of Theseus and the Minotaur, that we have seen represented in more than one form among the sculptures of Amyclæ (4 and 38). The introduction of this subject we may ascribe to the patriotic sympathies of the artist. His native town on the Mæander was settled from the Magnesia of Crete, and in the midst of Dorians long avouched its origin by its Æolian tongue. The Magnesians of Crete, moreover, pretended—for reasons we cannot here pursue—to be of Attic origin by the mother's side. That the leaders of the Minyan colony from Amyclæ were Spartans, fully accounts for the ascription of Asian Magnesia to a Lacedæmonian founder.

Lastly, or nearly so, a wild tale of Parthenius preserves a glimpse of the associations that justified the single Asiatic subject of Bellerophon and the Chimæra (26). At Magnesia, as among the cities of the Ionian confederation, the Glaucid princes of Lycia, descendants of Bellerophon, were honoured, and for a certain period obeyed and followed. This connexion reminds

me that a namesake of Bathykles, the Magnesian artificer in bronze, is in the *Iliad* slain by a Lycian. So fell Bathykles, son of the wealthy Myrmidon, Chalkon. The name Chalkon may seem to have been invented simply to harmonize with the ascribed wealth, of which, as we find by the epithets of Troy, brass was a type, as well as and along with gold; but I have no doubt there is more in the coincidence,—of what nature will be comprehended by those who have insight into the theory of Greek proper names.

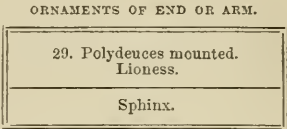
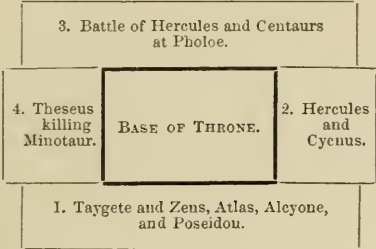
Such is a brief abstract of one of the most complicated webs of Greek tradition. The full details, which elemently I withhold, though they are beneath my hand, confirm the truly historical basis of associations and feelings so strictly social, which descended by an unbroken chain of tradition, received, retained, and delivered with the same liabilities to change, doubtless, but scarcely with more, than that surest of historical evidence, the dialect in which they were declared and sung.

W. WATKISS LLOYD.

ULPTURAL DECORATIONS ON THE THRONE AND ALTAR OF
 AMYCLÆAN APOLLO.

BACK OF THE THRONE.

Bathycles			Assistants.		
s Hercu- as.	26. Bellerophon and Chimæra.	27. Hercules and Ger- ryou.	12. Peleus commits Achilles to Cheiron.	13. Hemera carries off Cephalus.	
	24. Anaxias and Mnasithous on horses.	25. Megapenthes and Nicostratus on one horse.	14. The gods at the marriage of Harmonia		
reus and ytus.	22. Hercules and Hydra.	23. Hercules and Cerberus.	15. Achilles and Memnon.	16. Hercules and Diomedes.	17. Hercules and Nessus.
as.	20. Herè and Io.	21. Athene and He- phaistus.	18. Hermes leads Goddesses to Paris.	19. Quarrel of Amphiarus and Lycurgus.	



THRONE, AT BACK OF ECHIDNA.

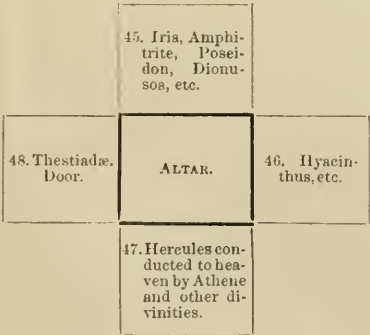
32. The slaying of Calydonian boar.	
33. Boreads and Harpies.	
35. Hercules, Menelaus, and the boeotian lion.	36. Apollo, Tityus, Artemis.
37. Theseus and dead Minotaur.	

BELOW THE THRONE, AT BACK OF TRITONS.

44. Funeral offerings to Hector.	
42. Menelaus and Proteus.	43. Admetus with lion and boar.
41. Acastus, and funeral games of Pelias.	
39. Hercules and Achelous.	40. Herè and He- phaistus.

ON EXTERIOR OF SUPPORTS OF THRONE.

Hora.	Tritons. (round figures).	Charis.
Hora.		Charis.



THE ORDER OF THE SCULPTURAL DECORATIONS ON THE THRONE AND ALTAR OF
AMYCLÆAN APOLLO.

BACK OF THE THRONE.

Chorus of Mægistian			Bathyces		ASSISTANTS.		
10. Hermes bears Diomedes to heaven.	11. Athene conducts Hercules to Olympus.		26. Bellerophon and Chimera.	27. Hercules and Geryon.	12. Peleus commits Achilles to Cheiron.	13. Hemera carries off Cephalus.	
9. Rape of Læocippides by the Dioscuri.							
			24. Anaxias and Mastibous on horses.	25. Megapenthes and Neocleatus on one horse.	14. The gods at the marriage of Harmonia		
6. Pyrrhus and Melane.	7. Hercules and giant Thurius.	8. Typhæus and Eurystus.	22. Hercules and Hydra.	23. Hercules and Cerberus.	15. Achilles and Menæon.	16. Hercules and Diomedes.	17. Hercules and Nessus.
5. Demodocus singing; chorus of Phæaciæns.			20. Heræ and Io.	21. Athene and Hephaestus.	18. Hermes leads Goddesses to Paris.	19. Quarrel of Amphiaræus and Lycærgus.	

ORNAMENTS OF END OR ARM.

28. Castor on horseback. Fasciæ.
Sphinx.

3. Battle of Hercules and Centaurs at Pædon.

4. Theseus killing Minotaur.	BASE OF THRONE.	5. Hercules and Cycnus.
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1. Taygete and Zens, Atlas, Aleyone, and Poseidon.

ORNAMENTS OF END OR ARM.

29. Polydeuces mounted. Lioness.
Sphinx.

ON EXTERIOR OF SUPPORTS OF THRONE.

Charis.	Echidna and Typhon. (round figures)	Hora.
Charis.		Hora.

BELOW THE THRONE, AT BACK OF ECHIDNA.

31. Bant of Calydonian bear.		
32. Hercules and Actæon.	33. Boreas and Harpes.	
34. Theseus, Helen, and Pirithous.	35. Hercules and Nemean lion.	36. Apollo, Tityus, and Artemis.
37. Hercules and Centaur Geryon.	38. Theseus and dead Minotaur.	

BELOW THE THRONE, AT BACK OF TRITONS.

44. Funeral offerings to Hector.	
42. Menelaus and Proteus.	43. Admetus with lion and bear.
41. Anaxius, and funeral games of Pelas.	
39. Hercules and Achelous.	40. Heræ and Hephaestus.

ON EXTERIOR OF SUPPORTS OF THRONE.

Hora.	Tritons (round figures)	Charis.
Hora.		Charis.

45. Iris, Amphirite, Poseidon, Demoson, etc.

48. Theseus and Lion.	ALTAR.	46. Hyacinthus, etc.
37. Hercules conducted to heaven by Athene and other divinities.		

X.

ON THE TRUE SITUATION OF
CRAGUS, ANTICRAGUS, AND THE MASSICYTUS,
MOUNTAINS OF ASIA MINOR.

THE names of Cragus and Anticragus have generally been attributed to the mountains which lie to the west of the river Xanthus; the more northern part of the mountains being identified with Anticragus, and the southern with Cragus. There is, however, no authority for this nomenclature and division of the mountains. While Spratt, in his map of Lycia, gives the name of Anticragus to the important northern half of the mountains,—in which appropriation Mannert and Cramer concur,—Leake, in his *Remarks on Mr. Hoskyn's Narrative of a Survey of part of the South Coast of Asia Minor*, (*Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xii,) refers the name to merely the northern extremity of the mountain, as Hoskyn himself uses it for the northern division of the mountain in its extension from west to east. But though the latter attributes the name of Cragus to the southern part of the mountain, he leaves the exact division of the two ranges to the opinion of the reader. This caution is likewise manifest in the maps by Fellows and Kiepert, who, perceiving that the mountain has no natural division, lose sight of Anticragus, and call the whole mountain by the general name of Cragus, without explaining how this can be made to agree with the account given to us by Strabo.

This difficulty in the division of the mountain is, I conceive, unnecessary, as the real Cragus does not lie in this direction. It appears to me to be much more probably the Lycian Akdagh, (*white mountain*,) to the east of Xanthus. The mountains

to the west of the river were indeed considered a part of the same formation, and called indifferently Cragus by the old geographers; but when they wished to distinguish them from those on the eastern bank, they gave them the name of Anticragus; and this name became eventually appropriated to the whole range of mountains along the coast. That this is the fact appears especially from Dionysius and Pliny. The former (*Perieg.* 848, et seq.) calls Cragus a part of Taurus, stretching from the mouth of the Xanthus to Pamphylia. This can only apply to the mountains lying to the east of the Xanthus, as those to the west of the river are separated from the Taurus mountains by the valley of the river, by the sea, and by the plain of Telmissus. Thus also it is defined by Pliny (v. 27). He calls Cragus that chain of mountains which extends from Taurus southward to the sea. Now Ak-dagh is properly a portion of another mountain; but the mountains to the west of the river form an insulated group, and consequently Pliny, as well as Dionysius, applies the name to the eastern mountains.

To enable us to decide upon this as the real Cragus, we must recollect what Ptolemy says. He describes the city Tlos as occupying the central point of Cragus, both in length and breadth. Now Tlos is known to lie on the western slope of Ak-dagh, and several hours' distant from the mountains to the west of the Xanthus; and this mountain not only attains the highest altitude of any of the mountains about Tlos; but it is likewise exactly central of the whole group.

The mountains which extend from the table-land of the Cibyratis, east of the Xanthus, down to Patara, form a single chain of mountains, being intercepted by no deep. This chain of hills evidently corresponds to the extension of Cragus from north to south, referred to by Ptolemy. As the extension from east to west, we must consider those mountains commencing at the western coast of Lycia, and continuing to the Plain of Almaloo; thus including also the mountains which lie to the west of the river Xanthus. Were it not so, Ptolemy could not

have made Tlos the centre of the chain, but the mountains lying east of that city. In further proof of these mountains being Cragus, we have a coin of Tlos, bearing the motto ΤΛΟΚΡ.

As, in a broad sense, the mountains on the west of Xanthus also constitute part of Cragus, so it cannot appear strange that Seylax here calls it Anticragus, and that Mela, who examined merely the coast of Lycia, speaks of a *Mons Cragus*. But Strabo's account does not accord with their opinion. After speaking of Telmissus, he says :

Εἶθ' ἐξῆς ὁ Ἀντίκρατος, ὄρθιον ὄρος, ἐφ' ᾧ Καρμυλησσὸς χωρίον, ἐν φαραγγίῳ κείμενον, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ Κράτος, ἔχων ἄκρας ὀκτὼ, καὶ πόλιν ὁμώνυμον. Περὶ ταῦτα μυθεύεται τὰ ὄρη τὰ περὶ τῆς Χιμαίρας· ἔστι δ' οὐκ ἄπωθεν καὶ ἡ Χίμαιρα φάραγξ τις ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνατείνουσα. Ὑπόκειται δὲ τῷ Κράτῳ Πίναρα ἐν μεσογαίᾳ.... Εἶθ' ὁ Ξάνθος ποταμός, κ.τ.λ. (*Geog.* xiv, 5.)

According to this, Anticragus would lie by Telmissus, and Cragus by Pinara, both of which are to the west of the Xanthus ; but Strabo cannot be supposed to signify this, for he knew that the Chimæra, as will be presently shewn, lay not to the west, but to the east of Xanthus ; and he therefore could not place Cragus, which lay in its immediate neighbourhood, to the west of the river. The passage is corrupted : every difficulty disappears if we read, Ὑπόκειται δὲ τῷ Ἀντικράτῳ, etc. As Strabo speaks first of Anticragus and its cities, then of Cragus, after which he approaches the Chimæra and the line of coast ; so on the termination of his description of Anticragus, the next city of the interior that he referred to would naturally be attributed to Cragus ; and thus the word Anticragus, in this passage, became changed to Cragus, without any respect or attention to the nature of the country. But Strabo has been led to this slight confusion in his narrative, by having been obliged to refer to Anticragus on occasion of speaking of Telmissus. This name obliges him afterwards to call the chief part of the mountain Cragus, though he could not deny that the ancients considered this mountain to join on to the wonderful Chimæra ; but then remembering that he has not named Pinara, one of the largest

cities of the interior of Lycia, as belonging to Anticragus, he reverts back with the words Ὑπόκειται δὲ τῷ Ἀντικράγι to the before mentioned mountains.

If this changing of the text appears too violent, there must then be an inaccuracy of expression in the original passage: that is to say, we must assume that Strabo, instead of giving us the name of this particular portion of the mountain Anticragus, has given us the general name of the whole range, Cragus, an error which cannot be attributed to him: his accurate acquaintance with the true Cragus is proved by what follows, as indeed it is also by what he says of the Chimæra—ὁ Κράγος, ἔχων ἄκρας ὀκτώ, καὶ πόλιν ὁμώνυμον. Now Anticragus has no such peaks. One of the narrow slips of mountain contiguous to the coast has a distinguishable elevation only at its northern extremity, but the rest of the mountain is an ordinary ridge which is steep towards the west, but falls gradually towards the east, and presents nothing like eight summits. The necessity of finding such summits has occasioned the seven precipices called *Yedi-burun* (Seven Noses) to be taken for these eminences, but the mountains to the east of Xanthus have in reality eight bare, rocky, craggy summits, which must be what Strabo refers to.

The city Cragus has been vainly sought for on Anticragus, and as no other city but Sidyma could be found on these mountains, it has been conjectured that the ancient Cragus had passed into the modern name of Sidyma. The true situation of Cragus, however, on the mountains to the east of Xanthus cannot be mistaken. Among its ruins are several colossal fragments of sculpture, including some lions of very ancient character. The city lies toward the northern end of the pass which leads from the plain of Almaloo to Oenoanda, immediately under the highest peak, closed in by chains of mountains. Although at the beginning of April, there was still much snow, and their height must be about 6,000 feet above the level of the sea. A small plain containing a not inconsiderable lake is in their immediate neighbourhood. The ruins of the city are

called by the Turks *Guverdef*, and must certainly represent the much looked for Cragus. It is therefore no longer doubtful that Strabo, with the other geographers, describes the Cragus mountains as lying to the east of Xanthus.

That Ak-dagh appears on the maps as Massicytus is only to be accounted for by the circumstance that Cragus had been already appropriated, and geographers were unwilling to leave the highest mountains of Lycia without a name. But this opinion is not supported by the authority of ancient geographers. Pliny says that Massicytus lay between Limyra and Andriace, and Ptolemy places on this mountain the cities Phellus, Myra, Rhodia, and Corydalla. The last city is on the eastern boundary of the mountain: it lies to the east of Limyra and Myra. The cities Rhodia, Corydalla, and Limyra, on one side, and Myra on the other, point unequivocally to the mountains about the valley of Arycanda as the true Massicytus; and this name must consequently be given not only to one of the northerly branches of the Taurus, but to the more westerly of the Cragus, and the more easterly of the Solymæ mountains, and to some others; but as Ptolemy describes Phellus as also being in the neighbourhood of Massicytus, so must at least the most southerly of the chain of mountains, which extending from the plain of Cassaba towards Antiphellus, be also included, if the mountains which border the plain of Almaloo be identical with those of Taurus, or more properly with Cragus. But it is surprising that Strabo, who describes all the other mountains of Lycia, does not mention the name of Massicytus, especially as several remarkable cities lay in this region. But I imagine that the reason of this name not appearing is because the text in the following passage has been corrupted—'Εν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ κωρία Φελλὸς, καὶ Ἀντίφελλος, καὶ ἡ Χίμαιρα, ἧς ἐμνήσθημεν ἐπάνω. The first words should run thus: 'Εν δὲ τῷ Μασσικύντι. Not only should we then find what we might have expected, the name of the mountain, and this in the place pointed out by other authorities, but thus also all the great difficulty would cease which the passage

in question has caused to geographers with reference to the situation of Phellus, Antiphellus, and the Chimæra.

The situation of Phellus has been clearly established by Ross, and in a situation not far from the line of coast. Antiphellus is a sea town, and therefore to neither of these can the expression *in the interior* apply: neither can it refer to the Chimæra,* for Strabo has previously stated that it formed one of the mountain defiles towards the coast. The position of Massicytus is therefore unquestionable: it lay on the coast between Bazirgianchoi and Antiphellus. The next traveller in these regions who searches for it will find it. We must hope that Captain Spratt, to whom we are already so much indebted with respect to Lycia, will make us acquainted with the particulars of this mountain also. So much at present for the Lycian mountains. We must be satisfied with conjectures and surmises, till he solves them, whose opinion every searcher of antiquity so highly respects, especially in reference to Asia Minor—Col. Leake.

A. SCHÖNBORN.

* In a former letter, Professor Schönborn states, "In the Massicytus mountains lay the celebrated defile of Chimæra, to the west of Antiphellus, perhaps that of Suaret."

XI.

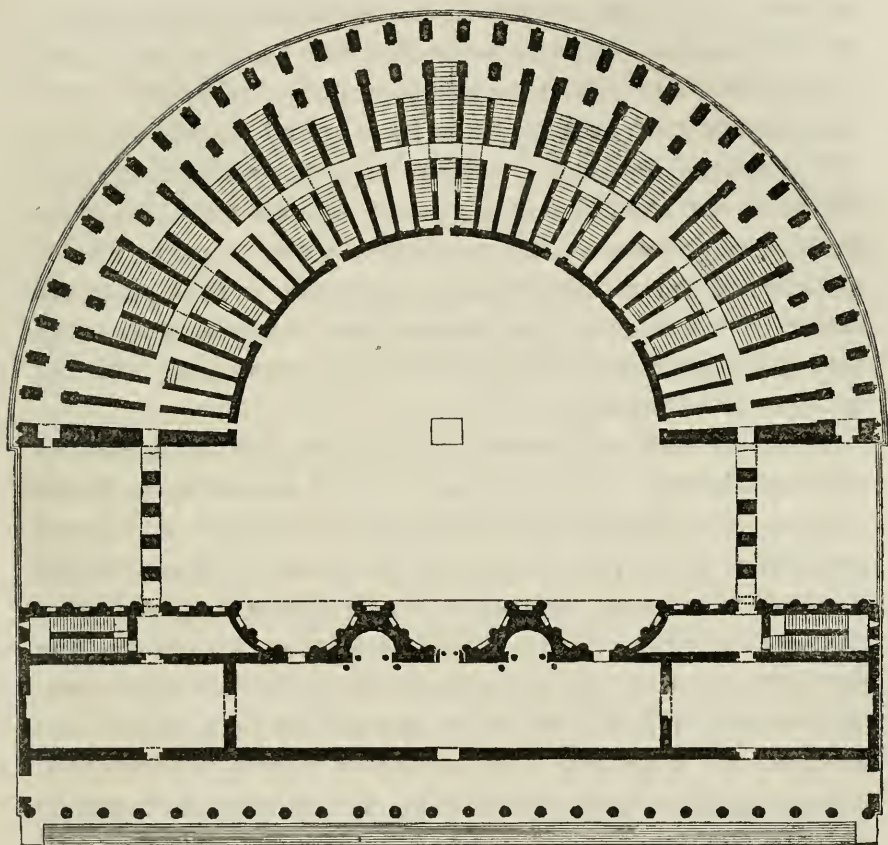
ON THE THEATRES OF VICENZA AND VERONA.

ONE of the circumstances which causes most astonishment to the mind, on considering the works of the Romans, is their exceeding number. It is true that the more general wonder is excited by their prodigious magnitude; and with this sentiment our imagination is naturally directed to the Colosseum and other monuments of Rome; the amphitheatres of Pola, Capua, and Verona; the temples and other structures of southern France; the arches of Benevento and Ancona; a few scattered monuments of the Rhine; a few villas in our own land; the extensive ruins of Baalbec, Palmyra, and Dalmatia; the aqueducts of the Campagna and the Pont du Gard; and we imagine that we can form a very definite idea of the nature and extent of the works of the Romans; and we are apt to fancy that these and some other monuments are preserved to our day by reason of their greater massiveness of construction or solidity of execution, and that their other works are perished on account of their inferior importance and dimensions. There are two ways of correcting this illusion: one is by considering the various countries in which such gigantic moles are found, as the vast countries of Asia, the burning coasts of Africa, the distant isle of Britain, and the extensive plains of Germany; the other is by a careful investigation of the antiquities of any limited district. We shall thus become acquainted with numerous and important remains, of the previous history of which we were entirely unacquainted, and which will appear so frequent, and rise up in such unexpected places, that we shall be

constrained to believe that the only way of forming a correct idea of their number and extent is to take a map of the Roman empire, and attribute to every town or city shown thereon a temple, theatre, baths, triumphal arches, and the other usual evidences of Roman grandeur.

It is probable that the reader is not aware that theatres, and those of no little magnitude, may still be traced in the ancient cities of Verona and Vicenza; and yet these places are not out of the common route of travellers, but are on one of the high roads of Italy. It is remarkable that each of these theatres is indebted for its excavation to a single individual. The theatre at Verona has been explored at the sole charge of Sig. Andrea Monga; and the theatre at Vicenza, though excavated at the expense of the Austrian government, the Academy of Venice, and the municipality of the place, owes its reappearance to the exertions of the architect Miglioranza, who has devoted his whole life to its accomplishment. It is to this theatre that I would first direct the attention of my readers.

THE THEATRE OF VICENZA.



Plan of the Theatre of Vicenza.—From Barbaro's edition of Vitruvius.

In the vicinity of the Piazze de' Gualdi and S. Giuseppe and the Contrada de' SS. Apostoli, a stranger may behold a circular form of street, without having any idea of its real origin; but on entering one of the houses, he will at once perceive that the back fronts form one regular curve directed toward the straight line of what he might fancy to be the scene of an ancient theatre, and such indeed it proves to be. On more attentive consideration, the gardens of these houses will be seen to

decline toward one common centre, and the party fence walls will be found to represent the converging lines of the ancient scalæ.

With the exception of a rude drawing, published by Mazzari in 1603, and of one or two subsequent drawings unpublished, Sig. Miglioranza claims to be the first who has devoted himself to the elucidation of this ancient monument. His studies were first directed to it in 1824, when he executed a bird's eye view of the theatre as restored; the validity of which being questioned, he was excited only to greater care and attention in the study of its remains. After an absence of some years in Venice, he returned to his native town, and prepared in 1831 plans and details of the theatre, in seventeen sheets, whereby it appeared that the theatre was "disposed in exact accordance with the precepts of Vitruvius".

These labours were rewarded by the emperor by a grant of 300 florins, and a further grant of 400 florins towards the expense of publication; while the municipality of Vicenza awarded a considerable sum for the purposes of excavation, the works of which were commenced on the 6th of August 1838.

Two reports* have been published of these excavations, from the information in which we learn the following particulars. At the depth of 3 ft. 9 in. below the ground they attained the level of the pulpitum, the surface of which, covered with cement, gave indication of its having been finished with marble slabs $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick, some of which, of different colours, were still in place. Other slabs of about half an inch in thickness, of African marble, cepolino, blood jasper, and other qualities, appear to have formed the lining of the pedestals. Many pieces of coloured stucco were discovered, from the existence of which it is supposed that some portions of the theatre were so decorated. The stucco is composed of coarse sand and pounded

* *Relazione intorno gli scavi intrapresi per l'illustrazione dell' antico teatro di Berga in Vicenza*, pp. 1-44, 1838, 1839.

terra-cotta, mixed with lime, and finished with a fine coating of pounded marble. The theatre is about 275 feet in diameter, and is of very beautiful plan. The scene is disposed in the form of three large niches, the centre one of which in Palladio's drawing is marked 48 ft. in width, and those on each side 33 ft. 6 in. These are divided by tabernacle work and statues of two orders, composed of columns 2 ft. 4 in. in diameter, of cepolino, African, and other dark-coloured marble, with capitals and bases of white marble. The niches were in like manner ornamented with columns. Those of the eastern niche were found *in situ*. The western niche still retained its pavement of various coloured marbles, with the plinth of a pedestal of bargiglio. Some of the marble employed is from Paros; and it is remarkable that some of the capitals are of Greek design, being ornamented with the peculiar water-leaf observable in the columns of the Temple of the Winds at Athens. The floor of the platea was likewise adorned with coloured marble, as were also the face of the pulpitum and the front of the scene.

The original drawing* of the plan of this theatre by Palladio appears to have been a "first idea". Several of the walls beneath the cavea do not radiate to one common centre; the arrangement of the chambers behind the scene is awkward and unfinished; the porticus at the back is omitted; and the distance of the scene from the ends of the cavea, figured 26 ft. 2 in. in Palladio's drawing, is insufficient to allow of the Vitruvian diagram.

The drawing which Palladio furnished to the Patriarch of Aqueleia must have been the result of subsequent study and research. It is true that Barbaro does not publish it as the plan of the theatre at Vicenza, but as a Roman theatre; observing, however, that the theatre at Vicenza had afforded him *alquanto di lume*. The passage runs thus, and it is important in shewing that the scene of the theatre at Vicenza was sufficiently distant

* In the collection of the Duke of Devonshire. See pages 181, 182.

from the cavea to allow of the Vitruvian diagram being inscribed within the platea; which circumstance we find confirmed by Sig. Miglioranza. Speaking of the manner of drawing the four triangles, he says:—

“Non nigo però che ancho ad altro modo non si possa congiugnere, ed ancho dissegnare la Scena; ma con grande pensiero consultando questa cosa, della quale non ne havemo essemplio antico, insieme col nostro Palladio, si ha giudicato questa esser convenientissima forma: e di più siamo stati ajutati dalle ruine d'un teatro antico che si trova in Vicenza tra gli horti e le case d'alcuni cittadini, dove si scorgono tre nichii della scena, la dove noi havemo posto le tre porte, ed il nichio di mezzo è bello e grande, e ci ha dato alquanto di lume.”*

Another feature of this plan confirmed by Sig. Miglioranza is the existence of a porticus at the back of the scene. For these reasons I have thought it better to reproduce Barbaro's plan at the head of this article, rather than the earlier drawing by Palladio. Among the ornaments discovered in excavation are a circular disc and a mask, both of terra cotta; several fragments of marble statues, including the lower portion of a fine draped figure of a female; a colossal statue of a warrior; a colossal arm holding a globe in the left hand; another colossal left hand; a finely carved bull's head, forming the ornament of a keystone, 2 ft. 3 in. in height; and many other fragments. But the finest statue is one of Bacchus. It is almost nude, but has a pallium suspended from the left shoulder: it is one-fourth less than the size of nature. Another fine statue represents Augustus. The drapery of the female statue, above referred to, is of wonderful execution; the general effect is simple and easy, though the folds are undercut in an extraordinary manner, like the statues which served as decorations to the Ionic Heroum at Xanthus. Several fragments of bronze statues have also been discovered; and the whole of these remains are about to be disposed in the palace of the Chiericati family by Palladio,

* BARBARO, *I dieci libri dell' Architettura di M. Vitruvio*; fol., Vinegia, 1556; lib. v.

which has been purchased by the municipality for the purpose of forming a museum of ancient art—a noble destination for so magnificent a palace.

It is satisfactory to know that the exploration and measurement of this theatre are committed to so able an architect as Sig. Miglioranza, and the care and labour he has bestowed upon this monument are beyond all praise. We must look forward with interest to the time when his important work shall be given to the public, more especially when we consider the sacrifices he has made in its preparation. His drawings, which are eighty in number, are all in duplicate; one plate represents the object in exact imitation of nature, the other as restored. His drawings, presenting as it were a facsimile of every stone, will enable everyone, at any distance, to form for himself a correct appreciation of the accuracy of the restoration. It is much to be regretted that the writer is not enabled to present some indication of the result of these labours, but it would be unfair towards the indefatigable artist were he thus to forestall his subject.

THE THEATRE OF VERONA.



Seal of the City of Verona.

“Nobile, præcipuum, memorabile, grande Theatrum,
Ad decus exstructum Sacra Verona tuum.”*

During my artistic studies in the north of Italy in 1849, I paid the usual visit to the far-famed Verona.

“Magna et præclara pollet urbs in Italia
In partibus Venetiarum, ut docet Isidorus,
Quæ Verona vocitatur olim ab antiquitus.

Discere lingua non valet hujus Urbis schemata :
Intus nitet, foris candet, circumsepta lamine
In ære pondos deauratos metalla communia.”†

* These lines are placed by the side of the amphitheatre, in an ancient plan of Verona, which is supposed to have been executed by Raterio, bishop of Verona. It forms part of a manuscript in the library of the Benedictine monastery of Lobbia, near Cambrai. The theatre is there called *Arena Minor*, and the amphitheatre, *Theatrum*. But though these verses were applied to the amphitheatre by the monkish writer, it is probable he would have spoken of the theatre with even greater enthusiasm, had it been standing perfect in his time. By Berengarius the theatre is called *Medius Circus*.

† *Rhythmus Pipinianus*, stanzas I and VI. Supposed to have been written

After viewing the Amphitheatre, the triumphal arches, the walls, and the other well-known antiquities of Verona, with admiration and delight, I proceeded to Vicenza, where I had the fortune to make the acquaintance of the Abate Magrini,* and of the architect Sig. Miglioranza, who kindly pointed out to me the vestiges of the ancient theatre in that city, which I have just described, and then informed me of the fact of traces of a still more important theatre being visible at Verona; of the existence of each of which I was previously alike ignorant. I had passed through the city, and visited its various antiquities, but neither by my guide-book, nor by any of the natives, had I been led to expect the presence of such a monument.

I immediately resolved to return to Verona, and on so doing was amply repaid by beholding the remains of one of the most interesting and extraordinary of the monuments of antiquity which are in part preserved to us. On the left bank of the river, on the south-western slope of the hill called San Pietro, are the remains of an ancient theatre, above which on the steep slope of the hill were noble ambulatories, consisting of arcades and terraces, leading up to the summit of the hill on which stood the Roman Capitol. Beneath the theatre, and behind its scene, is the remaining portion of this grand structure, consisting of an artificial basin projecting into the bed of the river, and serving the purpose of a Naumachia. It is the triple character of these remains, which, viewed in their collective appearance, causes them to possess this unique and important character.

The traveller in regions once celebrated as the focus of civilization comes upon the ruins of many an ancient edifice, all associations of which are lost; he discovers the traces of once

between the years 781 and 807. Dionisi, *Il Ritmo del Anonimo Pip.*; 4to., Ver., 1773, p. 29.

* Author of the *Life and Works of Palladio*, and of many other writings on the history and antiquities of his native city.

opulent cities, the very names of which are unknown, and thus it is not extraordinary that we can adduce nothing in elucidation of the early history of this theatre. Almost the first evidence we have of the existence of this monument is the edict for its destruction. In the ninth century the vaults of the theatre served as refuge to several poor families, but some of these vaults falling in, and occasioning the death of nearly forty persons, Berengarius, king of Italy, residing then at Verona, issued a decree allowing anyone to take down portions of this or other ancient monuments which threatened ruin.

“In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Eternal God.

“A certain part of the theatre which is in the city of Verona, and situate beneath the castle, having fallen down not very long ago, by reason of its very great antiquity, and destroyed all the houses which were below it, and caused the sudden death of nearly forty persons, we, at the entreaties of Adelard, bishop of the holy church of Verona, and of all the clergy and people of the city, and for the love of our successors, and for the salvation of our soul, by this edict of our sovereign command, allow to the holy church of Verona, and to all the clergy and people of the city, and to all the inhabitants beneath the castle, that if any such public building near the bridge threaten ruin, or, in the opinion of any one, endanger to him loss or damage, they may, without fear of offending the public interests, or without let or hindrance, pull down, as may seem necessary, such public building, even to its foundation” * * *

“4 Nones of May 895, in the ninth of Berengarius.”

Shortly after this, we find a second decree of Berengarius, granting a portion of the ruins to his chancellor, and referring to a previous grant of some other arches.

“In the name of our Lord, the Eternal God,
Berengarius, by the grace of God, king.

“At the request of Count Grimaldo, the king grants to his chancellor, Giovanni Chierico, a small quantity of land called the Arena del Castello Veronese, with its arches and vaults, and a small quantity of ground in front of the same, where the entrances from the east and south are situate, and where the highest portion of the theatre wall exists ; with the exception of those vaults, thirteen in number, already given to Azzo del Castello, which said piece of ground measures 10 perches (60 feet) in length on one side, by 7 in length on the other side ; and having 2 perches in breadth on one side, and 6 on the other, of precise measurement, bounded on the east and north by the public and royal

buildings, on the west by the property of the said Giov. Chierico, and on the south by the public road" * * *

"Dated 6 kal. June 913, 26th of Berengarius.

The ground here given to the chancellor, or the adjoining property which he previously held, appears to have been occupied by a house; for by his will, dated A.D. 922, he describes it as dedicated to S. Siro. This subsequently became the church of SS. Siro and Libera, shewn on plan, page 180, by letter (c).

The earliest of modern writers who has entered into any description of this theatre is Sarayna. He compiled his history in 1540, and employed a skilful painter, of the name of Caroto, to prepare drawings for his publication. His want of architectural precision in plan-drawing is made up for by his imaginative and artistic feeling. No doubt but that even in the sixteenth century the theatre was much buried, and it must have required long investigation to enable an antiquary to form a correct idea of the general detail and arrangement. But though this artistic license was allowable in the painter, it is less excusable in the historian, and we must regret that Sarayna and Canobio were not more precise in their notices of this theatre: they occupy themselves in a description of Caroto's drawings rather than of the monument itself.

In 1757 an excavation was made in the house of Fontana, situate between the Piazza S. Libera and the Piazza del Redentore, and the following objects were found:—many squared stones of good workmanship; pieces of African marble, and of other rare descriptions, including lapis lazuli; some coins which passed into the Muselli collection; a portion of a colossal foot of bronze and of beautiful workmanship; fragments of plain columns, 2 feet diameter; others of spiral columns; many fragments of white marble statues, architraves, and cornices, and a Corinthian capital, all which were collected by Dr. Fidele Fontana, who generously presented them to the municipal library.

During the three following years were found part of a column

of verde antico, 18 inches diameter; several other columns; two pilasters, *in situ*, similar in form, size, and character, to those of the Amphitheatre. These, unhappily, were destroyed in order to use the materials for the Ponte delle Navi, then in course of reconstruction; and at the same time columns of the richest marble were sawn in slabs for the construction of an altar in the church of S. Marco, and for the high altar of the church of Bovolone.

In 1780, while some men were at work behind the church of SS. Siro and Libera, and near that of S. Girolamo, the earth falling in disclosed to view a subterranean corridor, of about 8 feet in width, which ran between the theatre and the mountain. The whole was then covered in entirely to conceal the aperture.

About 1816, a Sig. Detogni, whose house occupied a portion of the site of this theatre, was reminded of the fact in consequence of the loss of a duck. The animal had fallen into a hole, and some days after, hearing its cry proceeding from the ground, he became sensible of the existence of some hollow chamber. He immediately caused this to be opened, and discovered a corridor and several rows of seats contiguous to one of the scalæ.

The theatre remained in this state till 1836, when Sig. Andrea Monga conceived the idea of acquiring the whole of the ground occupied by the theatre, and of devoting a yearly sum to its excavation. This resolve he immediately put into execution, and from that period has continued with untiring assiduity to prosecute the accomplishment of this great object. For this purpose Sig. Monga has had to purchase a small church, with houses and lands in the occupation of nearly thirty individuals; and when we consider the prodigious size of these ancient theatres, and the enormous cost of their erection, we must be struck with admiration at the generous exertions which have been made by a single individual, in order to form a correct idea of the integrity of the original structure, by bringing to

light those portions which were still preserved from destruction by the accumulation of soil and ruins over them.

A description of these excavations was published in 1845, by Consigliere Gaetano Pinali, to whom I am indebted for many of these details. The other authorities upon which this description is founded, in addition to the various historians of Verona, are:—

A plan, and very spirited external and internal views, of this edifice, with details of the several parts, as restored by Giovanni Caroto, painter, in 1540; the external view representing the Naumachia; and the internal, the Ambulacrum and Capitolium.

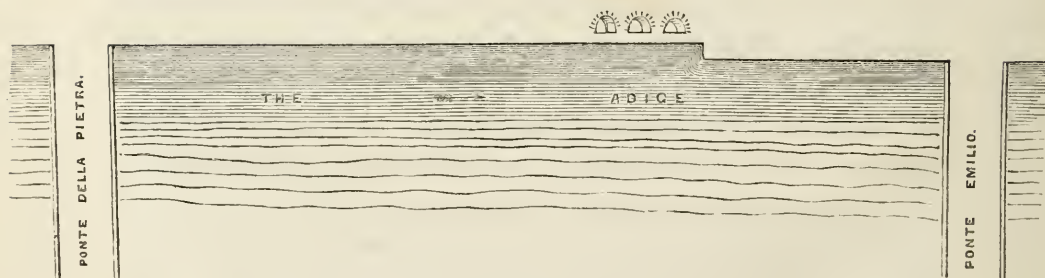
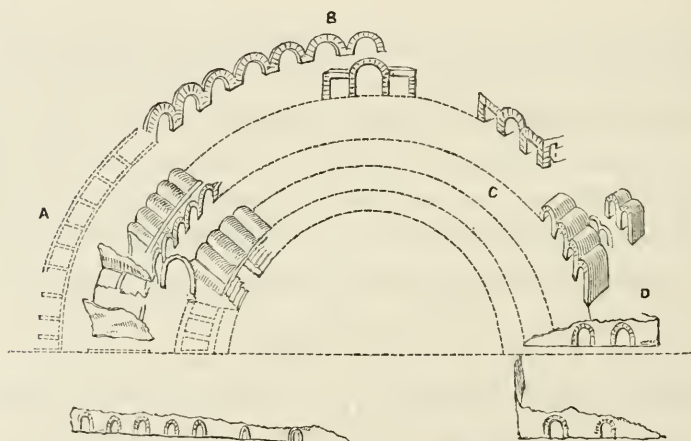
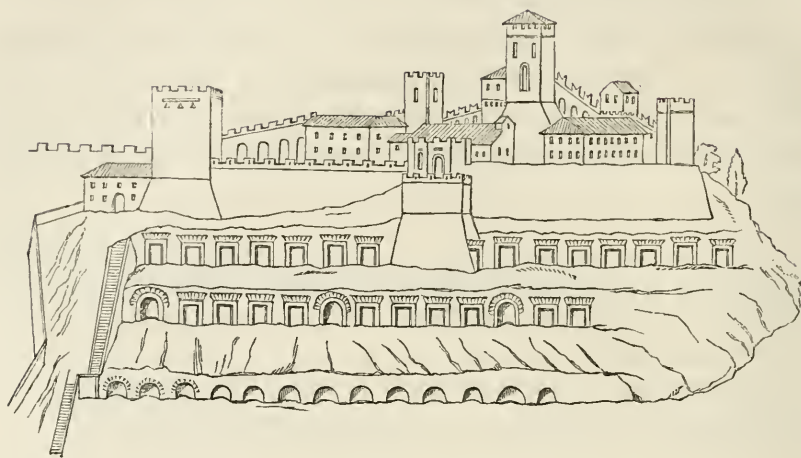
The internal view, as above, slightly altered, by Andrea Cristofali.

A bird's-eye view of the ruins, as remaining in the time of Cristofali.

And a restoration of the whole group of edifices, by Palladio.

It will be observed that we have three independent pictorial representations of this edifice; and this circumstance is of importance, as it enables us to form a more just idea of the value and correctness of these drawings. We perceive, at first sight, considerable discrepancies in the details of the several restorations, thereby showing that one or other of the authors must have relied somewhat on his imagination. This is principally to be remarked in the Postscenium, and in the details of the Naumachia, where we find these differences so striking, that we are forced to believe that few or no traces could have existed of these parts, even in the sixteenth century, of sufficient integrity to warrant any certain form of restoration; but I shall refer to these details more minutely when I describe these portions of the edifice. The differences and alterations in the other parts are only more certain evidences of the general arrangement.

The view of the interior of the theatre, by Caroto, is in perspective. It is drawn with great freedom and spirit, and yet with considerable attention to the accuracy of the several parts, detail drawings of which are given in the margin of his plate. His restoration has evidently served as a model, not only to Cristofali, but to Palladio. His drawings were published first



Bird's-eye View of the Theatre of Verona, as existing in 1749. By Cristofali.

by Sarayna in 1540; subsequently by himself in 1560; and they have been republished in 1764. The drawings by Cristofali were prepared under the direction of Ramanzini, who thus speaks of them: "Queste reliquie del teatro, siccome tali e sì fatte, che si può ancora per esse conoscer benissimo qual fosse l'ordine e la struttura di quel meraviglioso edificio, quindi abbiám avuto cura che pel nostro Adriano Cristofali raccolte fossero e in disegno poste come a' tempi nostri si veggon nel colle, nelle case e chiese appiè di quello edificate."* We may therefore regard this drawing, showing as it does the state of the building in his time, in its ruined condition, and without restoration, as of incontrovertible authority.

The drawings by Palladio are in elevation. They represent the building as restored, but dimensions are put to the several parts, which give them the appearance of being founded on the admeasurement of the ruins then extant. From the regularity of these dimensions, it may be suspected that some of them, at least, are conjectural, and founded upon his knowledge of the harmony of proportion and the laws of composition, rather than upon the measurement of the actual remains.

It is probable that this great architect was conversant with the restoration by Caroto, the general principles of which he approved of and adopted. His detail is purer, his drawing more architectural, his proportions more regular, his additions less capricious, but the general features are the same; and this circumstance affords us strong confirmation for the general accuracy of the restoration, at the same time that it shows the importance which was attached by the older architects to the imaginative *restorations* of ancient monuments, as an exercise of the mind and an improvement of taste.

These drawings, from their importance and great interest, I have taken as the basis of my illustrations. I had the fortune to discover them in the magnificent collection of original and

* *Suppl. alla Cronica di Zagata*, vol. ii, Pt. II, in principio, 1749.

unedited drawings by Palladio, in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, who has kindly permitted me to copy them for insertion in this journal.

The theatre at Verona is supposed to have been built about the time of Augustus.* It was built on the slope of a hill, afterwards called S. Pietro, from an ancient Christian church which formerly occupied its summit. The stone of which its walls are composed was quarried from the same site which the theatre afterwards occupied.† According to the general practice of the ancients, the slope of the hill was taken advantage of for the inclined line of the seats, so as to diminish the cost of construction. Caroto, followed by Sarayna, Canobio, and later writers, state the diameter to be 360 *pie di Veronese*; but by recent measurement, Sig. Monga makes it 380. Da Persico states it at 115·713 mètres, which are equivalent to 378 feet English. Palladio calls it $322\frac{3}{4}$, which he makes equal to 389 *pie di antiquo*, (sic,) which are nearly identical with so many English feet; the length of a *pie de antiquo* being marked off on the margin, and measuring 11·7 inches.‡ The scene is shown, both by Caroto and Palladio, as of equal width with the diameter of the cavea, a disposition which is contrary to the usual custom, but which may have been considered desirable for the purposes of the Naumachia. The Proscenium is approached by three handsome doorways, 10 ft. 6 ins. wide, § one of which existed in 1583, in the house of Michele dell' Orefice. || In front of the stage are some stones fitted into holes, the purport of which seems to have been to receive wooden standards for the enlargement of the stage, on occasions when, for gymnastic or other purposes, a greater width was deemed desirable. A similar arrangement may be observed at Segeste, Taormina, Orange, and many other theatres. The cavea is made to consist of

* Panvinus, *Ant. Ver.*

† Canobio, *Ann. Suppl. al Zagata*, ii, 303.

‡ The *pie de Veronese* is marked off on the margin of a drawing by Caroto, as $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches English.

§ Caroto.

|| Canobio, p. 306.

thirty-five rows of seats, by Caroto : or thirty-four, according to Palladio. I have shewn thirty-eight in the accompanying view, considering that a theatre of about 380 feet would require so many to reduce the platea to its usual proportion. Calculating the accommodation according to the standard marked upon the seats of the theatre at Pompeii, it must have held 16,000 persons. The cavea was divided into *cunei* by five lines of *scalæ* extending the whole length, and five upper lines, extending from the line of *præcinctio* to the portico at top. This portico consisted of thirty-nine arches* of the Ionic order.† Over this is a *solarium*, or upper gallery, open to the sky,‡ with a wall at back 20 ft. 6 ins. high, the summit of which ranges with the top of scene. This portico is among the most interesting features of the theatre. Several portions of the piers have been discovered by Sig. Monga, on the sides of which are engraved the names of their ancient proprietors, among which we perceive several of the female sex. One of these arches has been rebuilt by Sig. Monga in its original position, from the broken fragments found at the bottom of the cavea, where they had fallen from the inferior galleries. Among the names so presented are *FABULLÆ*, *VALERIA*, and *SEVERA*, the existence of which Sig. Pinali considers as evidence of the upper *præcinctio* or portico being appropriated to the female sex, and therefore as rendering it difficult to explain the assertion of Calphurnius, that—

“Venimus ad sedes ubi pulla sordida veste
Inter fœmineas spectabat turba cathedras.”

This arcade is of the Ionic order ; the columns have Attic bases, without plinths. The keystone of one of the arches is decorated with a bull's head, like those of the large arches at each extremity of the orchestra. The Cavea was enclosed by an arcade

* Palladio. Caroto makes forty-one.

† Pinali, *Relazione*, etc. Caroto represents them as Doric, and Palladio as Corinthian ; but by recent excavations they are shown to be Ionic.

‡ Caroto represents it as enclosed, and having small square windows in front.

in two orders ; Doric below, and Ionic above. Some of these arches, at the eastern extremity of the cavea, were standing only a few years ago ; and it was of these arches that Palladio spoke, when he directed that the breadth of the pier should be equal to that of the arch, “ as in the theatre at Verona”.* The arches just referred to have been repaired by Sig. Monga, but in such a manner that the new work can readily be distinguished from the old. At each extremity of the cavea is a noble staircase, as in the theatre at Taormina, giving access to the præcinctum and upper portico.

It is to be regretted that the plan of this theatre, as given by Palladio, is very imperfect ; probably from the vestiges above ground not being sufficiently entire, even in his time, to enable him to take his measurements with any certainty. It is drawn on the back of one of the other drawings, and looks, indeed, like an unfinished sketch. None of the columns or other ornamental features of the Proscenium are shewn in plan, though they are represented in the section. In like manner, the nineteen seats of the Naumachia do not appear in Palladio's plan, but he shows them in his section, and I have therefore inserted them in the accompanying plan, in order to make it more complete ; for which same reason I have also indicated the seats in one half of the theatre. A projecting arcade is observable on plan, jutting out from each extremity of the cavea. This is still standing, and a plan of it by Sig. Lisandro Castangioglu, has been published in the *Bullettino* of the Institute. By having an angle column at the extremity, it appears to have turned round and formed a cortile, and perhaps united with the Postscenium or river-front next the Naumachia, as shown by the dotted lines.

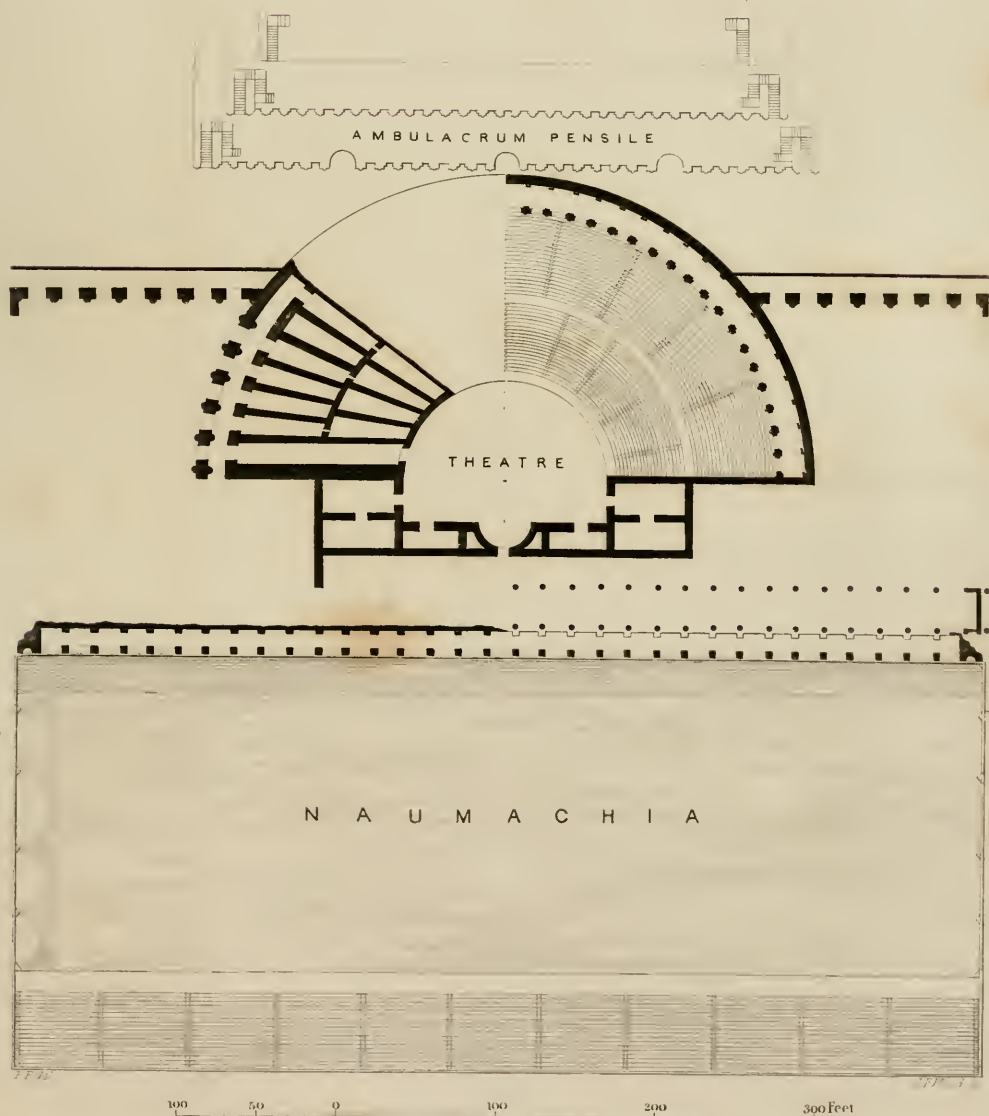
The theatre being built on the slope of a hill, it became necessary to protect it from being flooded by the waters which would rush down the face of the cliff. This has been done by cutting a trench, 6 ft. 6 ins. wide, and 32 ft. 6 ins. deep, which runs round so much of the outer wall as abuts upon the hill

* Palladio, *Arch.* i, 13.

THEATRE OF VERONA

FROM AN UNPUBLISHED DRAWING BY PALLADIO,

IN THE POSSESSION OF HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.



and then discharges itself into the river beneath. The interstice is filled in at intervals with cubes of hard stone, to give support to the walls of the structure. Desirous of ascertaining the whole economy of the theatre, Sig. Monga opened the sewer which traverses the orchestra, and found that one branch is continued in a semicircular direction, and the other in a straight line, till they meet together, and then proceed towards the river. Another means of draining appears to have been afforded by some of the columns being hollowed to receive terra-cotta pipes. They are described by Dr. Emil Braun, (*Bull. dell' Inst.* 1837, p. 175.)

Within the sewer just described, and immediately beneath the entrance to the platea, the excavator discovered several interesting objects of antiquity, among which was a caryatide of Greek marble, but without a head, adjoining which was a fragment of cornice and trabeation, from the appearance of which it was considered that they must have formed part of a throne or *palco*, adorned with two caryatides, of a similar nature to those in the theatre at Pompeii. It would be impossible to give a detailed account of all the objects found in these excavations, comprising columns of Greek marble, of African, and verde-antico; white marble, basalt, and bronze statues: many pelta-shaped shields, sculptured on both sides, with representations of Silenus, sphinxes, panthers, dancers, etc. These latter were furnished with rings at their upper extremities, for the purpose of being suspended in the intercolumns. From the immense number of these accessorial ornaments, whether we regard form or material, we may entertain some idea of the richness with which the scenes of the ancient theatres were decorated.* It was while excavating at the eastern wing of the theatre, that Sig. Monga came upon a deposit of sculptured remains, the care in protecting which seemed to denote the

* The scene of the theatre of Scaurus was adorned with three hundred and sixty marble columns, 38 feet high, the second order of columns being of glass, and with three hundred bronze statues. (Plin. xxxvi, 5.)

great estimation in which these objects were held. Among them were four hermal figures, of equal size, and quite perfect, representing Bacchus, Silenus, Thalia, and Melpomene, all crowned with ivy, and richly adorned. A considerable sum of money was offered for these sculptures; but Sig. Monga, with noble liberality, presented them to the Veronese Museum, that they might be inspected by everyone in their native place. But the most numerous objects found were portions of the architectural decorations, columns, capitals, cornices, etc., of native and oriental marbles. In some of the blocks, which contained the cornice of the upper or Ionic order, are square holes, which held the masts of the velarium.

The bulk of the theatre is of the stone of the country; the ornamental parts only are of more costly material. The capitals and other decorative parts are of white marble, and the rest of the structure of red stone; in the cavea the scalæ are of red stone, and the seats of white marble. This employment of stone of different colours is observable also in the Amphitheatre. The columns of the Doric order, both of the theatre and of the terraces above, have a circular plinth instead of a moulded base, a detail which we find in the theatre of Marcellus, and which Palladio has imitated in his basilica of Vicenza. The columns of the theatre at Verona are rather larger than those of the theatre of Marcellus. Caroto describes them as 2 ft. 6 in. in diameter. Palladio figures them as 24 ft. in height.

AMBULACRUM PENSILE.

A constant appendage to the ancient theatre was the porticus, the usual position of which was behind the scene. The example before us is remarkable, and indeed unique, in exhibiting this luxurious adjunct to the theatre in the form of hanging gardens, in a series of terraces one immediately above another, decorated and enlivened with statues and colonnades.

This series of terraces was ornamented with porticoes and other accessories.* The labour of ascending these terraces would be abundantly repaid by the exquisite and varying view afforded, as the spectators climbed sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another, till they reached the summit, and enjoyed at their ease the splendid view laid out before them.

The river Adige intersects Verona in a similar serpentine form to the course of the Grand Canal at Venice. On a bend of this river, looking towards the west, stood the ancient theatre, surmounted by the terraces I have described. The amenity of the aspect of this hill, its commanding position, and its fine prospect, caused it to be selected as a favourite residence by the kings of Italy. Maffei thus speaks of it:—"On crossing the Ponte della Pietra, we are immediately struck with the immensity of the space, divided in various terraces, and the incomparable beauty of the situation; for the lowermost ancient wall rises immediately above the Adige, and the last is under the wall of the castle, at the very summit of the hill. To build this castle much of that which was below was taken down and destroyed."† The castle was dismantled in 1797, up to which time the terraces had formed a favourite walk for the inhabitants of the town.‡

My visit to Verona being immediately after the Austrian reconquest of Lombardy, I was not permitted to examine these terraces, much less to climb the summit, as the commanding position of the hill, immediately overlooking the whole city, was esteemed too important to allow strangers to approach unnecessarily.

The terraces are said to be of equal length with the diameter of the theatre. They are distinctly recognizable even in a view taken so late as 1820,§ which represents five arches remaining

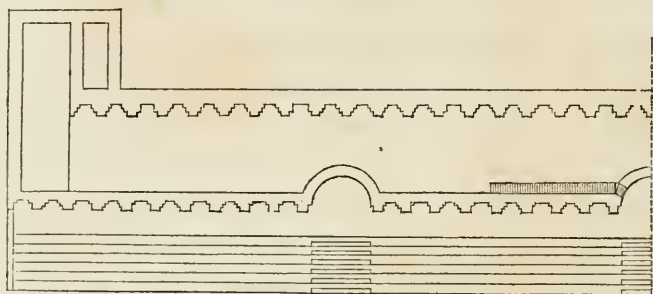
* Maffei, *Verona Illust.* 8vo. Ver., 1732; vol. iii, p. 68. † *Id.*, p. 64.

‡ Venturi, *Compendio della Storia sacra e prof. di Ver.* 2^o ediz. 4to., Ver. 1825; i, 161.

§ *Id.*, vol. ii, tav. ult.

at top, and two at bottom next the river, forming the façade of the Naumachia.

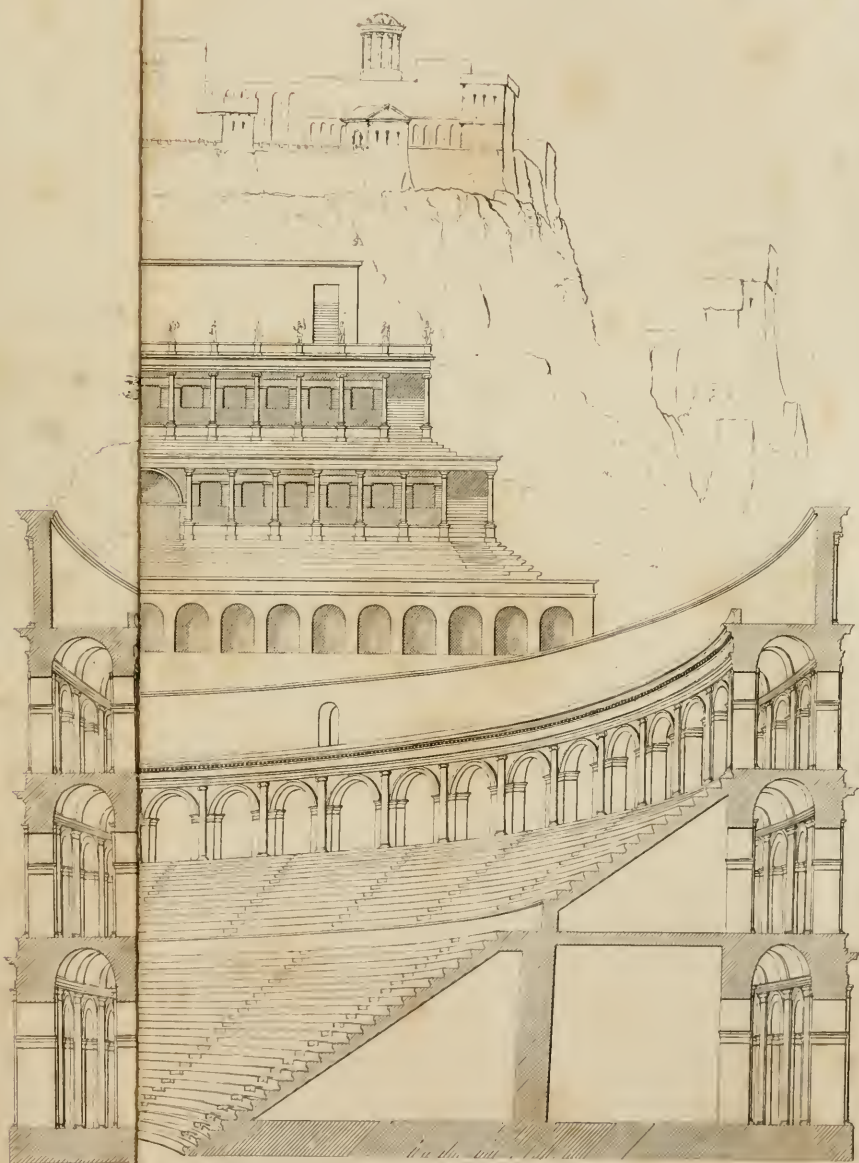
The lowermost portion of the edifice, shown in the accompanying illustration, is a row of simple arches. They are represented neither by Caroto nor Palladio, but they are very carefully noted by Cristofali, in his bird's eye plan. Above this Caroto shows a terrace 25 feet wide, from which rises a row of



Plan of Ambulacrum.—From Caroto.

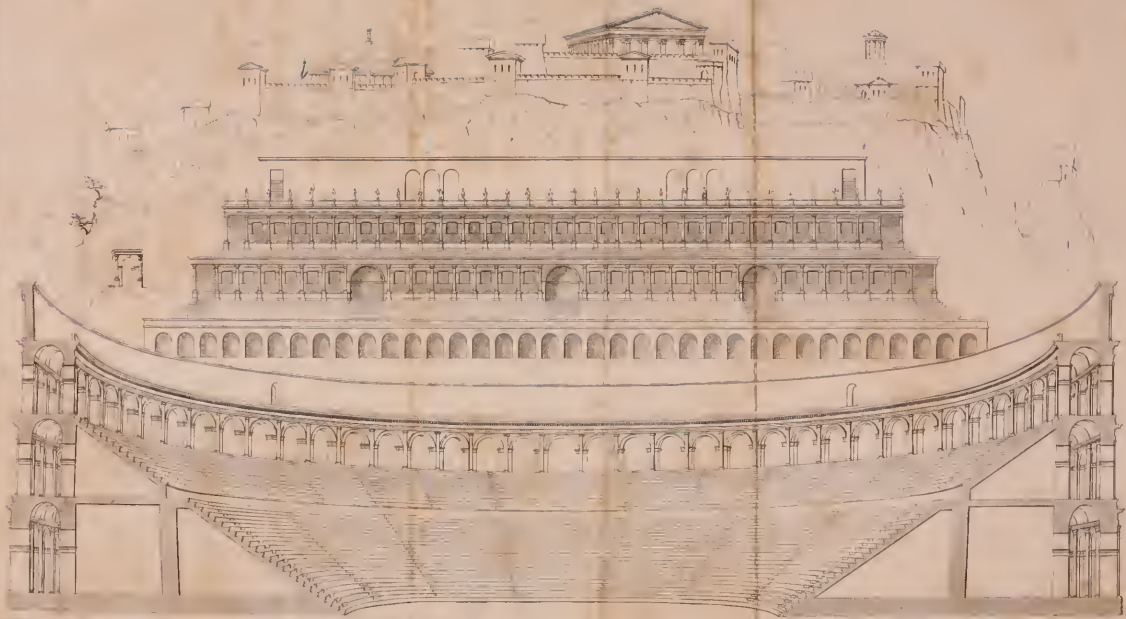
seven seats, with scalæ at regular distances, as in the theatre beneath. These lead up to the first loggia, the general characteristics of which are alike in the several authorities, differing only in the number and disposition of the niches.* Details of each loggia are given both by Caroto and Palladio, with the measurements carefully affixed. In the accompanying illustration I have followed the arrangement by Palladio, in which we see in the lower loggia, four clusters of seven intercolumniations of $9\frac{3}{4}$ ancient feet from centre to centre, divided by three large niches, each equal to two intercolumniations in width. This order is Doric. The upper loggia, which is Ionic, stands with its columns alternately over this, and consists of 31 intercolumniations, all of equal width. Each tier of these loggie is figured as being 20 feet in height, including its pedestal and cornice. Caroto describes three arches or intercolumniations of this upper loggia as remaining in his time. It had a terrace in

* Caroto represents eight small intercolumniations on each side of the niches; Cristofali shows only four, and places a circular niche at each extremity.



A.

CRISTOFALI.



THE THEATRE AT VERONA.

WITH ITS AMBULACRUM PENSILE.

RESTORED BY E. FALKENER FROM DRAWINGS BY PALLADIO, CAROTO AND CRISTOFALI.

front, from which it was raised by a few steps. Stairs are shown in the extreme arches, leading to the Capitolium above. The back wall of the intercolumniations is filled with reticulated masonry, which Canobio describes as having once been covered with mosaic,* but which Venturi asserts was decorated with fresco-painting : † perhaps both. The pavement in front was of marble. ‡ Above the upper loggia is a wall 20 feet in height, with two groups of treble arches, giving access to the summit. The terraces have been restored by Sig. Monga, who has strengthened them at their western extremity by arched substructions ; and he has planted trees along their length, to furnish some slight idea of their original appearance.

The summit of the hill formed the ancient *Capitolium*,—

“Castro magno et excelso firma propugnacula”.§

Many cities of the Roman empire had their capitolium, in fond imitation of the splendour of the metropolis ; in the same manner that, at Padua, and other cities once subject to the Venetian republic, we find the lion of S. Mark, and other emblems of the queen of the Adriatic. || The title appears on a statue in the museum at Verona, where, it is said, that it lay for some time neglected in the Capitol,—“in Capitolio diu jacentem”. ¶ Here is generally believed to have existed an ancient temple, which is vulgarly attributed to Janus or to Jupiter.** This is supposed to have been succeeded by the palace of the Longobardi, built by Theodoric. This king erected a magnificent palace, and surrounded it by a portico communicating with the gate of the city. He also restored the ancient aqueduct, and

* *Suppl. Zagata*, ii, ii, 307.

† Venturi, *Compend.*, i, 22.

‡ Maffei, *Ver. Illust.*, iii, 68.

§ *Rhythmus Pipinianus*.

|| They have since been removed by the Austrians.

¶ Maffei, *Ver. Illust.*, Insc., No. XLV.

** Caroto exhibits a fantastic temple, crowned with an octagonal dome. Palladio shows an equally capricious Palladian rotunda, flanked by a Corinthian arcade of five arches on each side ; the columns of which are figured as 20 feet high. Caroto shows a similar arcade.

attached Thermæ to his palace.* In ancient documents we find palatia described in different parts of the city. Some refer to the palace as being near the Regaste,† and it is shown in this position in the ancient plan of Verona already referred to as existing in the monastery of Lobia; others speak of it as near the bridge; while in others it clearly appears that a palace existed in the Capitol. Thus Raterio, bishop of Verona in the tenth century, speaks of “*ascending* to that strong place called the palace”.‡ Venturi§ agrees with Maffei|| in supposing that this palace extended from the summit of the hill down to the banks of the Adige; and they endeavour to identify this with the PALATIUM shown in the ancient plan of Verona, and with the ancient seal of the city, given at the head of this article, which, they pretend, bear a striking resemblance to each other. A glance at the two representations, however, is sufficient to show the futility of this statement; and there appears every reason to concur in the opinion of the earlier antiquaries, that this seal represents the palace in the Capitol, rather than that on the banks of the Adige,¶ shown on the ancient plan. Beneath the palace is a line of battlements, to signify the castle, below which is a double colonnade, which may well be taken for the Ambulacrum pensile; and, considering the beauty and importance of this monument, we can scarcely imagine an object which would be more suggestive of the grandeur of the city, and more likely to be adopted for such a commemorative purpose. The seal, formerly in the possession of the Moscardo family, is, unhappily, now lost; and it would appear from the following paragraph, that the drawing of it given us by Maffei and Dionisi,** has been slightly altered:†† “Nel secondo piano ove

* Panvinius, *Ant. Ver.*, iv, 18.

† The modern road, between the theatre and the river.

‡ Maffei, i, 445.

§ *Compend.*, p. 121.

|| *Ver. Illust.*

¶ Known by the name of “Corte della Duca”. (*Suppl. alla Cronica di Zagata*, vol. ii, Pt. II, p. 237.)

** Dionisi, *Dell' origine della Zecca di Verona*, 8vo., 1776.

†† This, however, is not very clear. The word *aggiunte* signifies merely that

furono aggiunte le lettere, par che fossero logge architravate, dalle quali altresì principesca fabrica si dimostra: ma le colonne nell' originale son tonde, e più piccole, e meno distante, che nella stampa non apparisce".* Connected with the castle,† were subterranean vaults, which are referred to by the anonymous author of the *Rhythmus Pipinianus*,‡ and by the author of the ancient plan, who says,—

"De summo montis Castrum prospectat in urbem,
Dedalea factum arte, viisque tetris."

NAUMACHIA.

The third feature of the theatre of Verona is the Naumachia. The bridge above the theatre is called the Ponte della Pietra; at an equal distance below the theatre was formerly another bridge, the Ponte Emilio:

"Castro magno et excelso firma propugnacula,
Pontes lapideos fundatos supra flumen Athesis,
Quorum capita pertingunt in urbem ad oppidum."§

The basin of water between these two bridges formed the Naumachia. All this is considered as a *sogno* by Maffei, who doubts the existence, at any time, of this second bridge; but when we consider that this able historian mistook the ruins of the theatre for those of the palace of Theodoric, we need not express surprise that he did not recognize these less evident remains.

the letters were added *on the seal*, and did not exist in the original building; but where he speaks of the smallness and roundness of the columns, it is difficult to determine whether he refers to the original building or to the original seal.

* *Ver. Illust.*, i, 448.

† This castle was succeeded by one built in the middle ages by Giovanni Galeazzo, so that with these alterations, and the continual crumbling away of the face of the hill, the terraces and loggie had become more and more buried and concealed, previous to the excavations by Sig. Monga.

‡ *Rhythm. Pipin.*, Stanza III.

§ *Id.*, Stanza VII.

But even he cannot deny that fragments of ruins exist along the whole bank of the Adige, and that masses, like small rocks, lie in the bed of the river at each extremity.* The central position of this naval theatre admirably fitted it for the purposes to which it was intended ; it being very common to convert the principal area of a city into a temporary Naumachia. An instance of this occurs in the neighbouring city, Padua, the inhabitants of which having captured the fleet of Cleonymus, king of Lacedæmon, established the yearly exhibition of a sea-fight in the river, which runs through their city, on the anniversary of that victory.† This portion of the structure causes the theatre of Verona to be regarded with especial interest, as it is the only example of the ancient Naumachia which is known to exist at the present day.

The northern bridge, known by the name of the Ponte della Pietra, still preserves two arches, and part of another, entire. On the keystone of the second arch is a figure of Neptune, of Parian marble. Though called merely the Ponte della *pietra*, the construction is of marble ; and in the old plan of Lobia it bears the title of *Pons Marmoreus* ; and it would seem that this appellation was given to it, not on account of its masonry, but because it was ornamented with a marble colonnade, clearly shown in the plan of Lobia, and which was probably that built by Theodoric, for communication with his palace. Liutprand (ii, 1) calls it a marble bridge of wonderful workmanship, and prodigious magnitude. The bridge was broken in 1512, and restored by Fra Giocondo in 1521.‡ Both bridges were ornamented with beautiful bas-reliefs.§ The southern bridge was called Militare and Rotto, though the more general name was the Pons Æmilius, from its being in a line with the Strada del Corso. It communicated with the church of S^a Libera,|| or

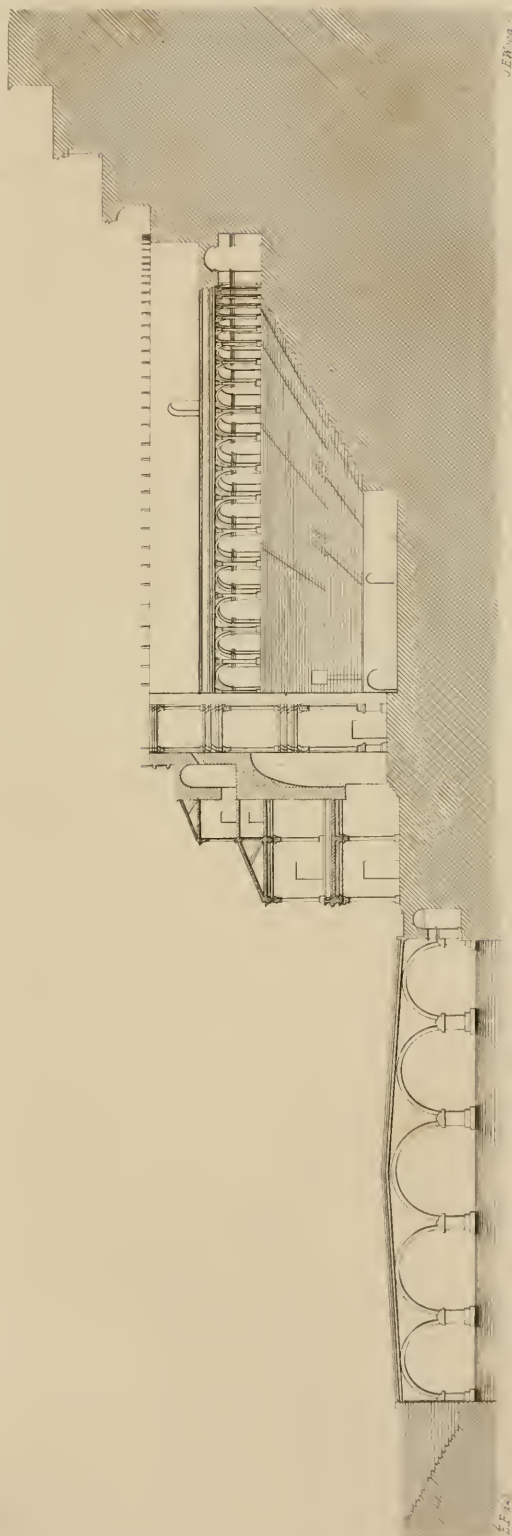
* Maffei, iii, 64.

† Liv., x, 2.

‡ Da Persico, *Verona e la sua Provincia*. 4to., Ver., 1838.

§ Sarayna, *Dell' origine, etc. di Ver.*, p. 9.

|| *Id.* Girol. Dalla Corte, *L'Istoria di Ver.*, 1596.



THEATRE AND NAUMACHIA OF VERONA.
 FROM AN UNPUBLISHED DRAWING BY PALLADIO,
 IN THE POSSESSION OF HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.

100 50 0 200 300 Feet.

the monastery of the Redentore,* or the church of S. Faustino,† or the hospital of S. Apollonio, now S^a Maria in Organo.‡ These churches are all close together. (See the plan of Verona in Biancolini, *Dei Vescovi di Verona*, 1757; tav. v, p. 56.) In the plan of the theatre by Cristofali (see p. 180.), (A) to (B) indicates the site of the convent and cloister of S. Bartolomeo; (c) the church of SS. Siro and Libera; and (d) the church of the Redentore.

The bridge was destroyed, in 1153,§ by an inundation of the Adige; but several writers concur in stating that vestiges of this bridge might be seen at either extremity, in their time.¶ Maffei, as we have seen, testifies to the masses of ruin appearing in the water like so many rocks.¶ Some of these have since been removed, in order to clear the bed of the river.** One author, even so late as 1830,†† affirms that some of the piles might be perceived when the water is low, and that many stones were dug up from one of the piers, with which the campanile of S. Anastasius was erected. This bridge has been replaced by the Ponte Nuovo, lower down. Other bridges are referred to in an inscription over the door of the church of S. Stefano, whereby it appears that “pontes omnes, excepto lapideo”, were swept away by an inundation of the Adige in 1238, in the nineteenth year of Frederick II.‡‡

The whole length of quay between the bridges, on the east side of the river, was occupied by a covered arcade, the roof of which was even with the roadway. Not only are some of these arches next the river still preserved, but several of the corresponding vaults beneath the Regaste are yet entire, and made

* Da Persico, *Verona*, etc., p. 187. † Biancolini, *Dei Vescovi*, etc., p. 85.

‡ *Id.*, p. 62.

§ Da Persico, p. 187. Moscardo, *Ist. di Ver.*, p. 16. Compare Sarayna, p. 9. Biancolini, *Dei Vescovi*.

¶ Canobio, cited by Biancolini, *Dei Vescovi*, p. 85. ¶ *Ante*, p. 192.

** Pinali, *Relaz.*, p. 62. †† Da Persico, *Verona e la sua Provincia*.

‡‡ Zagata, *Cronica*, Annotaz., Pt. II, vol. ii, p. 241.

use of as cellars by the neighbouring inhabitants.* The arcade next the river is shown by Cristofali, Venturi,† and Palladio ; while Caroto furnishes us with its measured detail, by which it appears that the piers are 6 feet square. (See also Maffei and Canobio.‡) Above this rose the Postscenium of the theatre, which was so arranged that its openings served as loggie for the accommodation of the spectators of the Naumachia.§

At each extremity of this quay was a fountain, the water of which flowed into the basin. That at the northern extremity was supplied by subterranean conduits from Parona, three miles from Verona ; the other from Montorio, a village at like distance.|| Various marine animals and monsters, as Tritons, fish, etc., which are to be seen in various parts of the city, as in the Spezzaria del Giglio, in the house of the Conti Giustini, at S.^a Maria della Scala, and in the Capuchin convent, are supposed to have formed part of the ornaments of the Naumachia;¶ but this appears improbable. On the opposite side of the river, and facing the theatre, Palladio shows a row of nineteen seats. Whether the great architect found any traces of these, I cannot state ; but Canobio, in his *Annali*, records that one Francesco Genovese, who held a house near the convent of S. Anastasius, having occasion to rebuild it, discovered several of these seats, “like so many steps”; and that under the piazza of S. Anastasius were found several vaults with mosaic pavements.**

Serlio, in speaking of the grandeur of the Romans, refers at once to the theatre at Verona, describing the Naumachia, with the contiguous theatre and ambulacrum, as being most grand and beautiful ; and then lamenting their general destruction, he observes, that the ruins are so numerous and important that “mi dà stupore à pensarvi”.††

* Pinali, *Relazione*, etc., p. 61.

† *Compend.*, tav. ult.

‡ *Suppl. alla Cron. di Zagata*, p. 306.

§ Canobio, *Annali*, cited by Zagata, *Cron.*, p. 307.

|| Sarayna, p. 9.

¶ *Suppl. alla Cron. di Zagata*, p. 308.

** *Id.*, p. 308. Biancolini, *Dei Vescovi*.

†† *Arch.*, lib. iii.

This building being the only one of the kind of which any traces can now be discerned, I may be excused in referring to the scanty notices which we have of Naumachia in general, even though they be, in great part, familiar to my readers. It is true there were no less than five Naumachiæ at Rome; but though the sites of some are described to us, no remains of them can now be traced.

The Naumachia, properly speaking, was of later invention, and, as it were, a supplement to the amphitheatre,—the introduction of water being another element placed at the disposition of the extravagant sumptuosity of the Roman citizens. At the same time it cannot be denied but that the germs of these shows were already in existence. The Greeks and Romans had long been accustomed to the exhibition of sham naval combats, which their commanders had thought necessary for the practice and efficiency of their seamen. Alexander frequently exercised his fleets, and adjudged prizes to the most skilful. (Arrian, *De Alex.*, vii.) We learn from Appian that Mithridates acted in like manner. So also Alcibiades. (*Xen.*, i.) The Lacedæmonians, when within sight of the enemy, prepared themselves for battle by engaging in sham fights. (Diod. xiii.) Such engagements were practised, with like object, by Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus, (*Id.*); by the Syracusans, (Thucyd., vii); by the Lacedæmonian tyrant, Nabis, at Gythium, (Liv. xxxv, 26); by Scipio, (Polyb. x; Liv., xxvi, 51; xxix, 22); by Anthony, (Diod., 1); by Duilius, (Front., iii, 2); by Cassius, (Appian, B.C. iv); by Agrippa, (Velleius, ii, 79); and by King Theodoric, (Cassiod., iv, 12). Pompey, having possession of Sicily, formed a sham fight in presence of the enemy, off Rhegium, with barks of skin, in order to ridicule Salvidienus Rufus, who had attempted to cross over in such vessels. (Dio. Cas., xlviii, 19.) Naval engagements formed part of the funereal rites in honour of the dead. (Isoc., in *Evag.*; Plut., *Vit. Cas.*; Hyg., cclxvii; Virg., *Æn.* v.)*

* Scheffer, *De Militia Navali*, iii, 2.

But though some of these sea-fights were given for amusement, as well as for the exercise of the mariners, we do not read of exhibitions of this nature, intended solely for the purposes of entertainment, till the time of Julius Cæsar. Velleius Paterculus* affirms that Cæsar gave several magnificent spectacles in the Naumachia. The first of which we have any record took place in the year 46 B.C., in the "lesser marsh".† The vessels consisted of two, three, and four banks of oars, and were divided into two fleets, Tyrian and Egyptian, manned by captives condemned to death. The crowds that came to Rome to see these sports were so vast, that many were obliged to live in tents. This basin he intended to have filled up again, and to have erected a temple to Mars on its site;‡ but though he was prevented so doing by his death, the area was filled up and levelled the same year, in consequence of various epidemics which took place at that time, attended by extraordinary natural phenomena.§

Augustus exceeded all others in the magnificence of his public spectacles. During his reign he gave forty-seven festive games, each of which lasted several days. His Naumachia was in the Campus Martius, in the vicinity of the Tiber.|| It measured 1,800 feet in length by 1,200 in width, and held thirty triremes and quadriremes, besides smaller vessels. It was supplied by the Aqua Alsietina, called also Augusta. He sometimes used the Flaminian Circus. In one engagement the mariners, who were divided into Athenian and Persian fleets, numbered 30,000.¶ Thirty-six crocodiles are said to have been killed in the Naumachia, during his reign.** On his conquest of Antony and Cleopatra, he is said to have exhibited naval games at Misenum and Ravenna.†† Tiberius is said to have given several

* ii, 56, 1. † Suet. *J. C.* 39. Dion Cass., xliii, 23. ‡ Suet., *J. C.*, 44.

§ Dion Cass., xlv, 17. || Suet., *Aug.*, 43. Tacit., xii, 56; xiv, 15.

¶ *Mon. Aneyr.*, tab. i; Statius, iv, 4; Front., lib. i.

** Tacit., xv, 37.

†† Marliani, *Urb. Rom. Topog.*

“magnificent spectacles” in the Naumachia;* but we are not furnished with any of their details.

In the year of our Lord 50, the emperor Claudius determined to give a naval spectacle on Lake Fucinus, previously to its proposed drainage into the river Liris. The lake was twenty-six miles in circumference, yet the hills, like one immense amphitheatre, were lined with spectators, some of whom came even from Rome. The emperor surrounded the lake with a wooden wall, and erected stages and seats. The mariners, nineteen thousand in number, consisted of men condemned to death; and to prevent their deviation from the fight, the banks were lined with rafts of timber, on which were stationed the prætorian guards, with redoubts from which to propel stones and missives of all descriptions. Claudius and Nero attended in military costume, and Agrippina in a magnificent chlamys interwoven with pure gold. The hostile fleets, which took the names of Sicilian and Rhodian, consisted of fifty vessels on each side, twelve of which were of three, and some even of four, banks of oars. The signal for charge was given by a silver Triton, on which the gladiators cried out with one voice, “Hail Emperor! Dying men salute you.” To whom Claudius answered, “Health to you also”; which gracious answer they interpreted as a token of pardon, and it was with some difficulty that they could be persuaded to begin the combat. After much courage had been displayed, and much blood shed, the survivors were respited.†

The Emperor Nero made use of the Amphitheatre, but filled it with sea water. In the year 55, he represented a battle between the Athenians and Persians; and to render the scene more animated, he introduced large fish, and other animals. A ship divided in two, and after giving forth various wild beasts, closed up again. By means of hidden conduits, the water

* Vell. Pater. ii, 100-2.

† Suet., *Claud.* 21; Tacit., *Ann.* xii, 56; Dion Cass., lx, 33; Plin., xxxiii, 19.

suddenly retired, and a battle of infantry took place.* In the year 60, he gave a floating banquet in the Naumachia of Augustus.† Suetonius informs us that he often supped in the Naumachia.‡ On occasion of another entertainment, in the year 64, he exhibited first a chace of wild beasts, then a naval engagement, then a gladiatorial fight; after which the water was again admitted, and a floating banquet prepared, called by Tacitus *ratem*, the details of which are too horrible to narrate.§ The floating fabric was moved about by vessels adorned with gold and ivory. The water teemed with river and sea fish.|| Similar excesses were perpetrated by the same emperor in the grove planted round the Naumachia of Augustus near the Tiber.¶

The Emperor Titus made use of the amphitheatre, Circus Maximus, and the Naumachia built by Augustus, indifferently. In the year 80 he filled the Colosseum with horses, bulls, and other animals, which he made to swim about in the water during a conflict between Corinthians and Coreyrians; and in another spectacle which took place in the Naumachia of Augustus, and which had been surrounded by a wood by Caius and Lucius Cæsars, he covered the water over with planks, on which he exhibited a gladiatorial engagement, and then a chase of wild beasts; on the second day, chariot-races; on the third day, a naval battle of thirty thousand men, after which a battle of infantry. The Athenians having conquered the Syracusans, landed on the island, and gave assault to a city. The games lasted one hundred days. At the conclusion, Titus threw among the people small wooden balls, which contained orders on his treasurer to pay the bearer houses, garments, gold and silver vessels, horses, slaves, etc.**

Domitian represented a naval engagement in the Colosseum by torch light. He also dug a large lake near the Tiber, and

* Suet., in *Nero.*, 12; Dion Cass., lxi, 9; Mart., *De Spectac.*

† Dion Cass., lx, 20.

‡ Suet., *Nero*, 27.

§ Dion Cass., lxii, 15.

|| Tacit., *Ann.* xv, 37.

¶ *Id.*, xiv, 15.

** Dion Cass., lxvi, 25; Suet., in *Nero.*, 12.

formed it into a permanent Naumachia with stone seats; the materials of which afterwards went to the Circus Maximus.* This was in the year 91, and took place in honour of the consecration of his beard to Jupiter Capitolinus. On this occasion the spectacle was interrupted by a heavy storm, but the tyrant refused to allow any of the spectators to retire, or to change their clothes, though he did so himself; and many of the people died in consequence. In order to console the populace for their sufferings, he gave them a banquet, which lasted all night.

But the greatest extravagance was reserved for Heliogabalus, who, not content with imitating the magnificence of his predecessors, filled the Circus with wine instead of water.†

Till when the Theatre of Verona remained entire we know not, but on the 31st April 793, an earthquake took place, which destroyed a great portion of its walls; and owing to its ruinous state and condition, as we have already seen, a further part of it fell in 893;‡ an event which caused the decree of Berengarius. Its final destruction took place on the 14th June (18 Kal. Jul.) 1195, in consequence of an inundation of the Adige.§

It has been already remarked that Palladio has copied some of his details from this theatre. It has also furnished models to Sanmichele for his balustrade in the Canossa palace; and the beautiful spiral columns of this theatre, which are now preserved in the library of Verona, have been imitated by that architect in the Bevilacqua palace.

* Suet., in *Domit.* 4, 5.

† Lampridius.

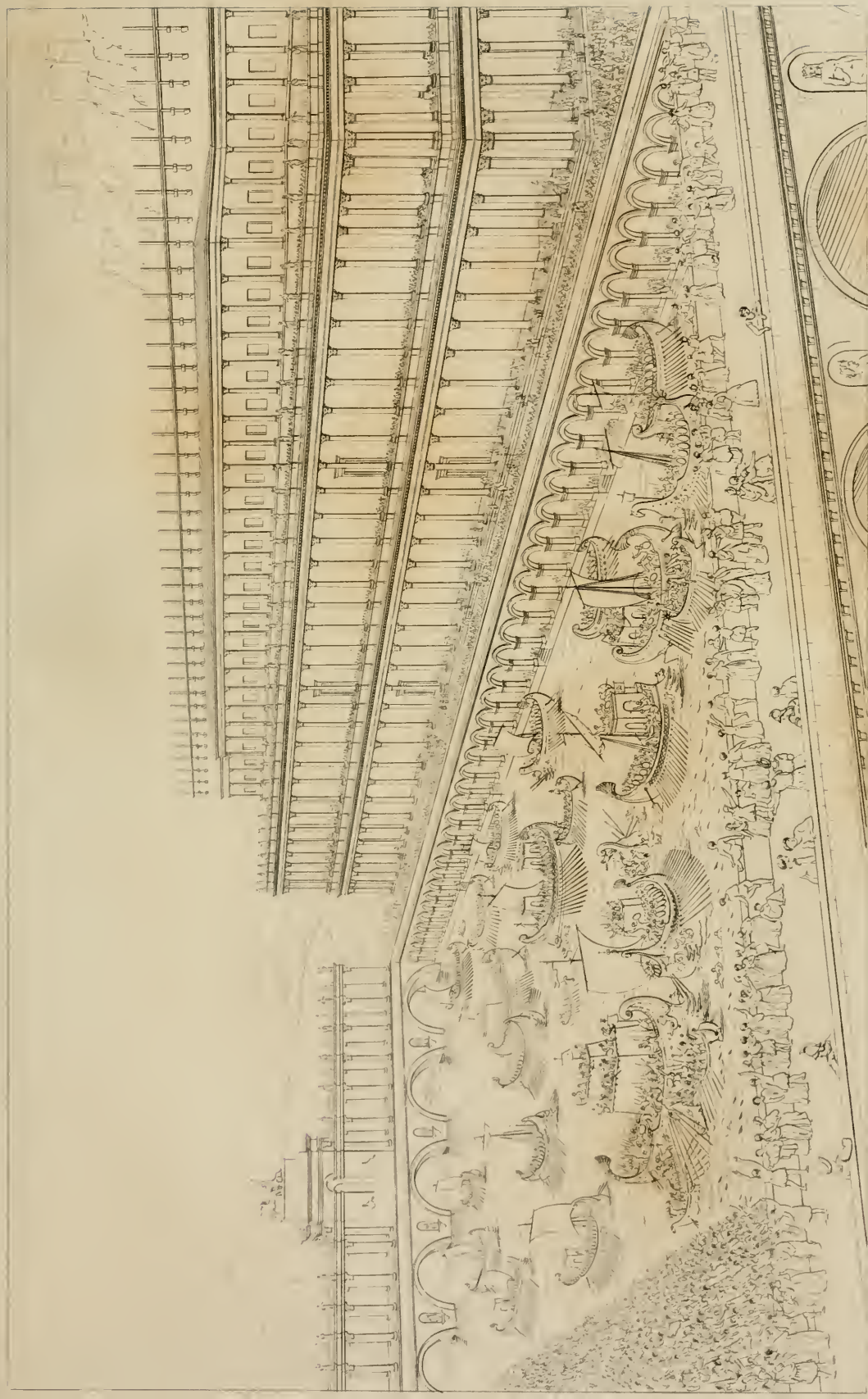
‡ Girol. Dalla Corte, *L'Ist. di Ver.*, 1596.

§ Zagata, *Cronica*, i, 191 Panvinius, *Antiq. Ver.*, p. 187.

It is now sixteen years ago since Sig. Monga commenced the excavation of this theatre. It is much to be desired that he will not be content with exposing the parts to light, but that he will cause that to be done which has been so ably carried out in the neighbouring theatre of Vicenza, viz., the careful drawing of every portion of the ancient structure. We shall then be enabled to form an estimate of the value of the drawings by Palladio, Caroto, and Cristofali; at the same time that we picture to ourselves the structure in its original state, and perhaps attain knowledge of many important details affecting the grandeur and beauty of the building, of which we are, at present, ignorant.

“Magna Verona, vale, valeas per secula, semper
Et celebrent gentes nomen in orbe tuum.”

EDWARD FALKENER.



NAUMACHIA OF VERONA.

RESTORED BY E. FALKENER, FROM DRAWINGS BY PALLADIO, CAROTO & OTHER AUTHORITIES.

XII.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE THEATRE
OF VERONA.

ON the slopes of the hill on which stood the Capitolium* of Verona, are prodigious remains of the ancient theatre, evidences of its former grandeur, and which cause us the more deeply to deplore its present ruin. This theatre and the amphitheatre, which, fortunately, is better preserved, shew the importance and power which Verona possessed under the Roman dominion; on which account it is praised by Livy† and Strabo‡ for its greatness, and by Tacitus§ for its flourishing condition and abundance. We are unable to determine the exact epoch of the building of this theatre. Sig. Consigl. Gaetano Pinali, in his description of the excavation, adduces argument to show that it was built in the Augustan age, supporting the conjecture by the inscription

OCTAVIAE

C. F.

EXSORAT.

The local historians who bring forward this inscription forget to tell us that it is surmounted by a bas-relief containing the images of three persons, under whom are written, PATRUUS, PATER, and MATER, and that it is the portrait of a lady of illustrious family.

* Cont' Orti describes this building at considerable length, in a former work, *Di due antichissimi Tempj Christiani Veronesi*, p. 57 et seq. Ver., 1840.

† Lib. iv, cap. 35.

‡ *Geog.*, vol. i, lib. v., Amstel., 1707, p. 213.

§ *Hist.*, iii, 494; tom. iii, Ven., 1708.

Nor can we regard as of greater authority the conjecture offered by Sig. Pinali, that the diphthong AI, which is found in some of the loggie of the theatre, is confirmatory of the opinion that the theatre is of this age. This apparent archaism was used and practised by the Veronese in many of their documents, even in those of comparatively recent period; thus showing that in authors and in monuments, *scribendi rationem multum diversam fuisse, et sui dissimilem*, in and after the time of Augustus.*

The other inscription brought forward by Consig. Pinali is equally inconclusive :

COESARE
AUGUSTO
IMPERANTE,

being, as he acknowledges, cut in a late Roman character.

It is necessary to correct another error into which Consig. Pinali has incidentally fallen, where he asserts that the loggie forming the upper arcade were the exclusive property of females, and reserved for their sole use; and that this is proved by the fact, "that the name of each owner was engraved on the marble piers of the several loggie". It so happens, however, that among the vestiges of these same loggie, which he refers to as existing in the stables of the bishop's palace, are visible the names of several male proprietors, in even greater number, as POMP. COMPS., CAPILONIS, L. GAVI, COMISIAI ARIADNES, M. PVLII,.....C. F. FABULLAE, and C. GAVI; and in the theatre, adjoining the pier which has the inscription VALERIAI SEVERAI, we find L. CAEL (Lucii Caelii) and PRISCI; thus clearly showing that these loggie were appropriated indifferently to male and female proprietors.

* Fleetwood, *Præf. ad Inscr. Antiq. Syllog.*: Labus, *Museo della Reale Accademia di Mantova*; vol. iii, tav. xli, p. 237-8. Mantova, 1820.

GIO. ORTI MANARA.

Verona, 26 Jan. 1850.

THE
MUSEUM OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES.

No. VII.—SEPTEMBER 1852.

XIII.

NOTES UPON OBELISKS.

ONE of the most remarkable features of the architecture of Egypt was its obelisks. None, probably, have excited greater attention, or are more popularly known. Two capital cities of the old world preserved them as decorations; a third, of modern Europe, preeminently imbued with the love of the fine arts, has added one to her magnificent treasures of ancient remains, and to her noble public buildings. Even here, slow as we are nationally to undertake such enterprizes, the spirit of individuals has removed some examples, although they are not the giants of their race. At all times they have commanded the admiration of their beholders; and, if the motive of their creation was intelligible to the pagan world, the same cannot be said of the middle ages of Christian times. With theology in the ascendant, the history of Egypt disappeared; and it was not till the time of the renaissance that awakened Europe gazed upon the *débris* of ancient art with credulous admiration, and while collecting the shattered remains, sought still to give them a greater charm by interpreting their legends as the philosophical tenets of Egypt, or the dogmas of theology. Nor has this craving yet disappeared, and the many are still disappointed at finding that such gigantic works had a scope apparently so simple as the piety of kings to gods, and to perpetuate to posterity the names of monarchs once renowned.

It is not here proposed to record the errors of past inquirers,

or to treat of obelisks in every point of view, that would require a folio, like the work of Zoega, to complete; but to examine their legends in detail, and to show how far the discovery of the mode of reading the hieroglyphs illustrates their object and the meaning of their inscriptions. They contain no mysteries, but a few curious facts.

In their shape they are generally a four-sided prism, tapering towards the top, which the Greeks called the *akrobolis*. This is of the shape of a small pyramid, called the *pyramidion*, with one exception, which is rounded. They resemble huge crystals of granite or basalt, placed erect upon their bases, of very symmetrical shape; the general law of proportion being, that the base is one-tenth of the elevation up to the point. All the obelisks are monoliths, and generally of red syenitic granite, although a few were made of basalt and sand-stone. Each of the four faces was decorated with a line of hieroglyphs in cavi-rilievo, sculptured with great care, and painted in the prevalent colour of the period. This portion of the work was executed after the obelisk had left the quarry, as is proved by the plain one still remaining at Syene, and numerous uninscribed ones at Rome. The apex has often a subject, generally the king, under the form of a sphinx, adoring a god; or else the cartouches, or names of the king.

The height of the cap is also one-tenth of the elevation. They were placed upon bases, which also tapered, being broader below than above. In finished examples, this base was inscribed with a legend, in hieroglyphs, recording when and how the monument was erected. Some of the bases were steps. They were placed at the doorway, a little before the lintel, and before the propylæa. The relation of obelisks to the buildings before which they stood, is that of triumphal columns placed before the propylæa or triumphal arches; and they were probably suggestive of the column, as the pyramid had been of the mausoleum, and the propylon of the triumphal arch. In the tomb near the Pyramids of

Gizeh, which was made for a priest of three monarchs of the fifth dynasty, Ra-nefer-ka, Ra-sahu, and User-en-ra, an obelisk is represented in the hieroglyphs, placed on a base.* M. Lepsius† found one of 7 feet high, in one of the sepulchres of Gizeh, inscribed with the name of the tenant of the tomb. In the museum of the Duke of Northumberland, at Alnwick, Dr. Lepsius recently discovered a small obelisk of the time of the twelfth dynasty, covered with dedications to Osiris and Khem, for the Prince Beba, son of a royal concubine Aarru, Amen-em-ha, and one Hannu, chief of the “southern thirtieths”. This sepulchral use appears even in the ritual of the dead, executed about the age of the Persians, in which the vignette of the funeral ceremonies shows the priest consecrating two obelisks,‡ with other gifts.

No public obelisks of the old monarchy remain, nor am I aware that there is reason to suppose that they were employed; yet the rich quarries of syenite were worked, and if limestone was not sufficiently compact, other hard materials might have been employed. Notwithstanding the immortal public works then undertaken, the earliest obelisk that has remained is the one of Matarieh, or Heliopolis, of User-tsen I, the only relic of the magnificent temple erected there to the god Horus, or Tum, the setting sun. It is placed upon a block or pedestal now covered by the deposit of the inundation. On all four sides is the same inscription, consisting of the five names and titles of the king, who is styled “beloved of the spirits of Peten”,§ to whom, it would seem, the temple was dedicated; while the expression after the king’s titles, “the first time of celebrating the festival” (*sep shaa set heb*), seems to show that it was dedicated on the occasion of some jubilee, probably towards the close of the king’s reign. That great public works were

* Burton, *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, pl. xxvii.

† *Briefe*, 8vo., Berlin, 1852, s. 40.

‡ Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, v, 15.

§ Read Pen or Poni. How it was pronounced is not certain.

undertaken at this period, the accounts of which have reached us,* is not only evident from the labyrinth, the pyramids, and the lake Mœris, the fortification of Samneh, and adjustment of the Nile level, but also from the celebrated inscription of Benihassan, in which Nehar, son of Numhep-t, states, "I set up tablets in the south, like the heaven I stretched out the great river in its valley"; and that his father had done the same as far as the Mareotis on the north, and Lycopolis on the south. Of this dynasty, the only other obelisk, if it is really one, is that of the Fayoum;† but this monument is so different from all others that it is difficult to believe that it is an obelisk. It is a squared block, tapering to the apex, broader on two sides than upon the others; and on one of these, Usertsen I is represented five times, in compartments, offering to the gods Phtha, Ra, Chnumis. The narrow sides, which are rounded at the top, have each a perpendicular line of hieroglyphs,—the usual prenomen and titles of the king, who is said to be "beloved of the gods Mentu" (Mars) and "Phtha" (Vulcan); but the lower half is wanting, and its use is not easily explained. M. Lepsius has, indeed, given a copy of the base inscription of this object, which is, unfortunately, too much mutilated to throw any light upon the object of the monument. It commences with the name of the king, and continues with the speech of the gods, speaking in the plural, but to what purport is not very clear. One expression only, mentioning "this construction of wood, inlaid with" (gold?), l. 8, seems to show that it was part of an edifice. From this period no obelisks are known till the age of the eighteenth dynasty.

It is to the flourishing period of the eighteenth dynasty that the greater number of obelisks belong; but no examples remain

* Rosellini, M. R. xxv, 1; Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, Abth. ii, Bl. 118 h.; Kircher, *Œdipus*, iii, 333; Norden, xxxix, *Descr. de l'Eg.* A. vol. v, pl. 26.

† Burton, *Exc. Hier.*, pl. xxxiii; Rosellini, M. R. xxv, l. a., h.; Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, Abth. ii, pl. 119, calls it the obelisk of Begig, and places it at Krokodilopolis.

of the two first monarchs of the dynasty, whose active life did not allow of much repose for the embellishments and arts of peace. Four obelisks, however, of their immediate successors decorate the pylons of the temple, or the granite sanctuary, as it is called, of Karnak, which was commenced by the kings of the twelfth, and continued by Thothmes I. He placed before the pylon, which led into the peristyle, two obelisks of syenitic granite, at the side of the door, of nearly the same dimensions, viz. about 70 feet long, and 5 feet 7 inches wide at the base. On the obelisk which remains entire, the central lines of the four sides contain the name and titles of the king, and some slight information relative to the occasion of placing them in their position. It is stated on the west side, that the king, who was "the divine ruler of Peten, had made them as a gift to his father, Amon-Ra, who dwells in Thebes",* with a repetition of the same on the eastern side, with the addition that "he had erected two great obelisks" at the two propylæa, capped with (gold)". Hence it is clear that the propylæa of the temple of Amon-Ra are intended. The occasion appears to have been on the celebration of the great festivals; for it states (north side) that "the lord of the gods assigned to him to celebrate festivals on the (great) Persea" (*asht*), or tree of life; and we have already seen that the obelisks of Usertsen I were set up "the first time of celebrating the festival", probably the *triakonteris*. A consideration of the lateral inscription, I reserve for the present. It is, however, on these obelisks that the position of these monoliths is first mentioned, which continues to be the case throughout their numerous inscriptions. The companion obelisk to this lies broken in several fragments in the same courtyard, and was restored by a subsequent monarch. It appears that Thothmes I projected and commenced a second pair of obelisks, but that either he lost his political power, or did not survive to erect them, as they

* Rosellini, M. R. xxx, 1.; Lepsius, *Denk.*, Abth. iii, Bl. 6.

were subsequently set up by his daughter, the queen regent, Hatasu. These, which are the largest in the whole of Egypt, rising to a height of upwards of 90 feet, were placed before the second propylon of the courtyard of the sanctuary, and their inscriptions contain the fullest information on these monuments that the hieroglyphs afford.

It is not here the place to enter upon the discussion of the confusion of the period. The reign of Thothmes I probably closed with political or domestic trouble. Thothmes II, his son and successor, had but a feeble political existence, to judge from his monuments; and his children, Hatasu and Thothmes III, mounted conjointly upon the throne of Egypt. After the twenty-ninth year of their joint reign, which was probably dated from the death of Thothmes I, the sister had died, as well as her daughter,* whom she had in vain assumed into the sovereignty, and Thothmes III became sole ruler, having reigned with her from her nineteenth regnal year at least. Now the great obelisks contain no notice of Thothmes III, and the queen expressly states "that she", alone, "erected them, in the name of her father", so that they fall into this period. One only of these colossal objects remains upright upon its base; the other has been overthrown, and comparatively a small portion only remains, which throws no additional light upon their object.

On the first side of the standing obelisk, it is stated, after the usual names and titles, that the queen "has been crowned by Amon, upon the throne of Horus, in the hall (*tasr*) of the great temple, enshrined, as the other great gods, for the mistress of the circle of the disk, provided with the breath of life",† etc. On the other main side it is stated, "her majesty made (it in) the name of her father, setting up this sacred monument, when prayers were offered for the king Thothmes I, to the

* The queen, Ra-neferu, as appears from an inscription copied by Sir G. Wilkinson, at Eilethyia.

† Rosellini, M. R. No. xxxi, *Descr. de l'Egypte*, A. vol. iii, pl. 30.

person of that god, when two obelisks were set up by her majesty for the first time. Said the lord of the gods: 'Thy father, the king Thothmes I, vowed the obelisks. Let thy majesty complete the monument'."*

Down the centre line of the next side, after her name and titles, it states that "she has made it as a memorial to her father Amon Ra, lord of the foundations of the world, setting up to him two great obelisks at the main gate of Amon, the first of created beings, chiselled", or, "inlaid with very much gold, giving light to the world like the solar orb".†

The inscription upon the last side states, that "her father, Amon Ra,‡ has placed her name of the Horus, the sun, the follower of truth, on the great persea", or tree of life—"her titles, for millions of years, providing her with health". After this is a remarkable erasure, which is subsequently followed by the statement, that "she set it up to him, Amon Ra, on the first celebration of the festival". Now, as the regent's rule did not reach thirty years, it is clear that this could not allude to the triakonteris, which she had not completed. And on the Karnak tablet,§ the celebration of this festival is found upon it to have been made by Thothmes III.

The political state is shown by the manner in which this obelisk is decorated at each side of the central inscription, about half way down the base. At a later time, be it observed, when a later monarch repaired the building, or set up an obelisk of his predecessor, already *in situ*, he added a lateral inscription of two lines of hieroglyphs, containing an account of what he had done. In the present case, on the left side of the main line, is sculptured the queen regent, Hatasu, Thothmes

* Burton, E. H., xlviii; Rosellini, M. R., xxxii; or "gifts".

† Burton, *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, pl. xl-xlviii, gives two sides; Rosellini, M. R., xxxiii.

‡ Rosellini, M. R., No. xxxiv; Lepsius, *Denk.*, Abth., iii, 22.

§ Lepsius, *Auswahl*. taf. xii, 7; Champollion, *Mon.*, tom. iv, ccxiv, xv.

III, Thothmes I, Sethos I, adoring Amon in various forms; Thothmes II is studiously omitted, and upon the pyramidion the queen is crowned by Amon Ra.

Additional information is afforded by the inscription on the base.* The greater portion is of an adulatory nature; of which only a few phrases are of any importance, such (south side) l. 3, 4, that the queen regent "was crowned by Amon himself, on his throne of S. Peten", and, "chosen by him to rule Kami", or "Egypt". On the top the regent is seen kneeling, and crowned by the god, showing that the Theban hierarchy recognised the power of the queen, and that the Karnak quarter was in the district called the S. Peten. In a subsequent part of this side it is said, "to conquer for the pure race; the female Horus, who is the defender of her father, the eldest born of him who is male and female; the issue of the sun, whom he has made to be his glorious manifestation upon earth, for the health of the living, whom he has placed as his living image, the Sun, who follows truth (*Ha-t asu*) the gold of queens. She has made it as a gift to her father, Amon Ra, lord of foundations of the earth, who dwells in Thebes. Two great obelisks of granite have been made to him on the south side, rising with gold, over the heads of all countries, seen from the banks of the river, diffusing their rays over the earth like the solar orb when it is in heaven's horizon"; a notion which connects the obelisks with the solar rays, and is also found on other obelisks, which, perhaps, was subsequently the cause of their gnomical use. On the west side, the queen appears to say, "that she made it (the obelisk) according to the commands of her father; that she has not claimed the work, and that although the constructions were not made by her at the gate of the temple, yet that she did not depart from what he had

* Two sides of which were first given by Mr. Burton, *Exc. Hier.*, pl. I.; then the whole by M. Prisse, *Mon. Egypt.*, fo., Paris, 1847, pl. xviii; then by M. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abth. iii, Bl. 34.

commanded". She also mentions some mystical notions. "I know," says she, "the sun's gate (*horizon*), it is Thebes on earth—the noble floor of the first time—the eye of the universal lord, from the bottom of his heart, bearing his benefits, attaching those who belong to him." The queen also expresses her delight at the dedication of "the two obelisks, capped with gold, leaping on high at the principal gate of the two towers (*bachen*") of Thothmes I.

On the obelisks of this king, it will be remembered, mention is made of the obelisks being capped with gold. The inscriptions on the north side are of more than usual interest. "I have made," the queen is supposed to say, "these two obelisks; I have inlaid them with gold to my father, Amon Ra, because I have desired my name to remain sacred at the door of this house for ever and ever. The lesser are of stone, the greater of granite, without delay or stopping (!) from when I commenced carrying them on the 1. Mechir of my 15th year till the 30. Messori of the 16th year, seven months passed from when they were first in the quarry." The word for obelisk occurs here the first time, written *techen*,  accompanied by the masculine article *pai*.  There is a difficulty about the calculation of time on this base: on first appearance it would seem that the whole time was seven months, dating from 1. Mechir to 30. Messori, which is exactly the time. It is, however, then necessary to suppose an error of the scribe or stone-cutter in adding a cypher too much to the last year, for both M. Prisse and M. Lepsius give the same text in this part. This time must be that of transporting the obelisk; the inscription must have required a longer period to cut. There is not much of historical importance on the east side; the obelisks are said "to be gilded with pure gold", but this fact, as well as the claim to universal conquests, was already known.

I now pass to the obelisks of Thothmes III. His accession to power materially altered the position of Egypt; and the

long annals of his reign exalt him far above the supposed Ramesses II, or Sesostris. Throughout his rule, deputations and tribute-bearers of the different tribes came to Egypt, offering the rich products of their lands, and amongst other objects obelisks were of course included, from the granite quarries of the vicinity of Syene. Hence, in the tablet of Karnak, l. 26, after mentioning the setting up of tablets in the land of Naharaina, in order to extend the frontiers of Egypt, it states, "sledges coming from the land of P'ant in that year", which, notwithstanding the mutilated condition of the monument, must be 32nd or 33rd. In the pictorial representation of this tablet, in the tomb of the officer Rekshara, the people of P'ant are represented offering two obelisks of red Syenitic granite amidst the other products of the country. The general inscription calls it *aa.t m hept en ũr nu P'ant m kes m tehan kar nen sen chetb kar cher ef su cheb-anch geta*. "The coming in peace of the chiefs of P'ant, dancing on their heads (submissively) bearing their offerings to his majesty the king, the sun, the placer of creation (Thothmes III), ever living, all the true things of their lands".* Various explanations have been given of the position of the P'ant, supposed to be the Poeni,† the Libyans,‡ the people of Punon, or the south eastern borderers of Egypt;§ but it is evident that they must be in the vicinity of the Syenitic quarries; and the red figures who accompany the blacks are their Egyptian masters.

These two obelisks given by Thothmes III,|| to the granite sanctuary, are again represented in the numerous offerings which that monarch presented to the temple of Amon. The picture on the top of the obelisk is erased. On each is one vertical line containing the name and titles of the king; and

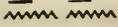
* Hoskins, *Æthiopia*, 4to., Lond., 1843; plate, tomb at Thebes.

† Birch, *Tr. R. Soc. Lit.*, vol. ii, p. 356.

‡ Wilkinson.

§ Lepsius, *Einleit.*, s. 286.

|| Burton, *Exc. Hier.*, plate xxix; Champollion, *Mon.*, tom. iv, pl. ccxvi.

“that he has set up two great obelisks capped  (ben ben am nub) with gold”; which, on one, are  stated to have been “at the two gates of his temple”.

In a fragment from the temple of the El Assasif, amidst a list of offerings which this monarch presented to the temple of the god, collars, pectoral plates, and other gifts for the clothing of the deity, are described some of the more solid gifts of the edifices: “two obelisks (of granite) rising to a height of 108 cubits, inlaid with gold throughout their length, made in their rays. . . .”^{*} These obelisks have long disappeared. The other obelisks of this king which remain, are those of Alexandria, Constantinople, and Rome.

The one erected in the earliest part of the reign is that of the Atmeidan, or Hippodrome of Constantinople, in the time of Theodosius. It would appear from the inscriptions that it was probably set up before the granite sanctuary of Karnak; for besides the titles of the king, it states that “he made it as a gift to his father Amon-Ra, lord of the foundations of the earth”, or to the Theban Jupiter. The political information it affords is, that the king “has gone round (the great waters of) Naharaina”, or Mesopotamia, and that “he has made his frontiers to the tips of the earth, his seats to Naharaina”,[†] or Mesopotamia, which coincides with the account of the statistical tablet thence taken.

This obelisk is probably the first erected by this monarch, because it has no lateral inscriptions or restorations by subsequent kings; and it mentions the conquest of the Naharaina as a novel event, which could not have happened earlier than the thirtieth year, as appears from the Karnak tablet. It is imperfect, the lower half not having been set up, and probably still remaining under ground.

Of the other obelisks, the priority must probably be given to

^{*} Lepsius, *Abth.*, iii, tab. 27, 11.

[†] *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.*, New Series, vol. ii, p. 218; Kircher, *Œdipus*, iii, p. 305; Niebuhr, *Reise nach Arabien*, 1774, tab. 4.

those of Alexandria, one of which is erect ; the others follow because they are restored by later kings.

On the pyramidion of the erect obelisk, the so-called Needle of Cleopatra, Thothmes is represented as a sphinx adoring the Ra, and Tum, the midday and the setting sun, the two deities of Heliopolis. No important political information is mentioned, except "that he has smitten the numerous lands of the Heka", or Hykshos ; there is a general allusion to an extension of the frontiers of Egypt. From the text of the restoration of Ramses, it must have been placed at one of the gates of Heliopolis.*

The most remarkable and best known of the two is the fallen one, three sides of which are alone visible, two only legible, the third being in a very bad state. It was originally erected by Thothmes III, who is again here seen on the pyramidion, under the form of a sphinx seated on a tall pedestal, offering wine and water to the god Tum, or Tomos, and incense to Ra.† The obelisk again indicates that it was set up on the occasion of some festival ; for besides the usual name and titles, the legend on the first side declares that the king "erected it as a gift to Ra ; that he set up two obelisks capped with gold, when he celebrated the festival as he wished". Upon the next it is declared that the god "has given him the celebration of festivals upon the noble persea (*asht*), in the midst of the garden" (*m chennu bak*). On the third, the legend states that the king "has set it up to Tum", or Tomos, "who has given to him a great name, augmenting his kingdom in Petenu, in that he has placed to him the throne of Seb, the dignity (*aau*) of *Cheper*". Even of the fourth side, what remains alludes to "the celebration of very many festivals". This shows that the obelisk was set up late in the king's reign, probably not earlier than the thirtieth year. On the Karnak tablet, in the account of the

* Norden, pl. viii, ix, *Descr. de l'Egypte*, A. vol. v, pl. 33.

† Burton, *Ecc. Hier.*, pl. li ; Kircher, *Œdipus*, iii, 341, for N. W. side ; Norden, pl. vii.

twenty-ninth year of Thothmes, mention is made apparently* of a daily sacrifice, “as it is in the festivals of Egypt”,—the word *heb*, or “festival”, being given by M. Lepsius from Champollion’s copy. It is singular to find this account in a narrative of what the king is represented doing out of Egypt, and it probably relates to his triakonteris, or circle of thirty years, religiously celebrated abroad. That the hierarchy attached the utmost importance to the due performance of the rite is clear; and the elevation of triumphal obelisks gave *éclat* to the epoch.

Last, but not least, of the obelisks of this monarch, is that at present on the Lateran hill at Rome, generally called the Obelisk of St. John of the Lateran. Like all its fellows, it has suffered much from its removal, and, transplanted from the ever serene skies of Thebes to even the Italian atmosphere, has lost much of its original colour. It is placed on a high pedestal not well adapted for displaying its beauty. It has been often published; and there is no obelisk, the inscription of which is more curious and historically important. It was commenced by Thothmes, but not set up by him, the glory being reserved for his son and successor, who is by no means slow to claim the honour. This obelisk was a Theban one. The king appears on the cap, or pyramidion,† receiving life from Amon-Ra and Tum, while on the base he offers wine and water to the god. The central line alone refers to his erection of the work, the lateral ones being added by his son. Thothmes III gave it “as a gift (*men*) to Amon-Ra”. It also seems not to have been in the Karnak quarter, but upon the western bank of the river, either at Medinat Haboo or Gournah. On the south side the inscriptions allude to the height of the monument: “he set up an obelisk, towering on high above the other edifices of Thebes, when he first set up an obelisk in Nasr”. On the eastern side it mentions, “presenting it to Amon-Ra, in his house belonging to

* *Auswahl*, taf. xii, l. 7.

† Ungarelli, *Interpretatio Obeliscorum*, 8vo., Romæ, 1842, tab. i; Kircher, *Œdipus*, iii, 164.

his gifts, beyond what had been given before". On the western side, "the lord celebrating millions of festivals" is mentioned. This closes the obelisks of the great Thothmes; and it is singular that none of his successors of this dynasty erected any obelisk worthy of the name, for they either only completed the others which he had commenced, or left the erection of such monuments to their successors. One obelisk, indeed, of very small proportions, exists of Amenophis II, discovered in a village of the Thebaid, and presented by the Pasha, in 1838, to the Duke of Northumberland. It is of the usual red syenitic granite, and is inscribed upon its front face. Immediately under the pyramidion, Amenophis II is represented offering upon his knees a conical cake to the god Num-Ra, the Chnumis, Chnemis, or Ammon Chnebis. Down the shaft is a perpendicular line of hieroglyphs, stating that the king has made two obelisks to his father, Num-Ra, "either at a place called "*Sha-t*", or "at the altar". This obelisk also bears traces of the violence of the Sun-worshippers, the name of Amenophis has been anciently obliterated; but those who reinserted it, substituted for that of Amenophis II, the divine ruler of Peten, "that of Amenophis III, the divine ruler of Naser", or the western bank, for some reasons not known; either in forgetfulness, or in the hurry of some great public change.*

The great obelisk of the Lateran was not finished by Thothmes; and Amenophis II does not appear to have taken any part in its completion. Thothmes IV, who is commonly supposed to be the grandson of the great Thothmes, however, terminated the work, adding lateral inscriptions, in which he not only mentions this, but also some other curious facts. On the left line of the south side he states: "When his majesty finished the great obelisk brought by his father, the king, the Sun establisher of creation (Thothmes III), when his majesty.....

* M. Bonomi, *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.*, New Series, vol. i, p. 170. M. Prisse, *Rev. Arch.*, iii, 731.

this obelisk remained (?) still for the thirty-fifth year in its place, in the hands of the workmen at the southern quarter of Thebes ; as ordered by my father to set it up, I, his son, assented." On the line of the right side he states that he "set it up in Thebes, capping it with gold, illuminating Naser with its beauty, cut in the name of his father, the perfect god, the Sun placer of creation ('Thothmes III), in order that the name of his father should remain sacred (*uah*) at the temple of Amon-Ra". The inscriptions on the east side are still more remarkable ; for there the king speaks of his gifts to the temple of Amon-Ra. On the left columns he mentions, "multiplying gifts, in Thebes, of gold, tin (*chesbet*), copper, and precious stones, and a great barge (*bari*) of Amen, who defends the chiefs (*usr hau*), on the river, produced from the true acacia(*ash*)wood, which his majesty cut in the land of Rutech, inlaid through its length with gold : all its decorations being of gems, to receive the beauty of father Amon-Ra, when he goes on the river, made by the son of Tum, Thothmes, the crown of crowns".* Of these barges, or rather floating shrines of the gods, much is already known. Although in hieratic strain, the inscription on the right side is equally remarkable ; and, as no very intelligible translation has been given of it, I here venture to do so. It calls the king "the good god, powerful warrior, the chief who leads those who belong to him, who sends terror into the Mena (Shepherds), who roars in Phut, whose kingdom is permanent, brought up by his father Amon : the chiefs of all lands dance to his spirits, speaking with his mouth, making with his hands, he has ordered all of their creation ; the king, the Sun establisher of created beings, establishing, as king, his name in Thebes". Hence it appears that this monarch also had signally embellished Thebes. On the north side, indeed, the notions are rather religious than

* Cf. Ungarelli, *Int. Ob.*, tab. i, and the unintelligible translation he has given, p. 37-41. This is probably the barge of Sesoosis, made of cedar, gilded outside and silvered inside, 280 feet long, which he dedicated with an obelisk, 120 cubits high, and other gifts. (Diod. ii, 57.)

historical. It calls him "the king, beloved of the gods, honoured by the spirits, the excellent, who hails the sun in the cabin, and adores Tum in the ark ; the lord of the earth, building Naser for ever ; making his monuments in Thebes, to the gods of the temple of Ammon. Moreover, he was made the veritable son of Amon-Ra, crowned on his throne ; Thothmes (IV), crown of crowns, beloved of Amon-Ra, the everliving !" The line on the right side also contains the title of king, "the perfect god, the image of rulers, whose dominions are established like those of Tum, the powerful soldier, afflieter of foreigners, Sun placer of creation, who captures by his power, like the lord of Nasr, very glorious like Mentu (Mars), to whom Amon has given his power over every country ; the annihilated lands come to him, his respect is in their bellies, the son of the sun, Thothmes (IV), crown of crowns, beloved of him who is the male and female, living like the sun for ever !" This was, probably, the last side executed, for while on all others Thothmes III offers to the hawk of the Horus, on this, the offering is made by Thothmes IV. On the western side more information is accorded of the position of the obelisk, the king again alluding to his constructions, to the usual trampling of his enemies under his sandals, and his going in a good path ; "his majesty is proved", it states, "how beautiful are his memorials ; he is the king himself, who gives the choicest of his works, like the wall of the south (Phtha) ; he has set it up in the region of the Hours", *i. e.*, the heaven ; "he has rejoiced his heart in making it". In another part it states that "he has reckoned what he has planned". On the right lateral line, it states that "every one rejoices in seeing its great beauty, he has given it from his heart, the chiefs dance to his spirits ; he has made it as a memorial to his father Amon Ra, erecting a very great obelisk at the upper gate of Thebes, facing Naser,"* or the western bank.

* Cf. M. De Rougé, *Tombeau d'Akmes*, p. 73, reads *Tâme* for the name of this region ; I read, *Shaa em Nasr*, "crowned in Nasr" ; Champollion, *Mon.* t. iv, pl. ccxii, if this is not a variant of the word, *ssr-usr-gsr*.

None of the monarchs of this dynasty, who succeeded, have left obelisks behind them. This is the more extraordinary, because one, Amenophis III, executed architectural works of equal magnificence and difficulty, and the temples of Luxor and Gournah ought to have been provided with them. It is, indeed, possible that the rival sects of Amon and Aten, who succeeded him, may have destroyed all such, and that in the confusion which followed there was no time for aught but public disturbance and religious hatred.

But as the fortunes of the monarchy once more revived, the desire to perpetuate the memorials of great deeds on imperishable monuments reappeared also; and conquests and the arts marched hand in hand. The time of the first monarch was amply engaged in chasing the enemies of Egypt from her soil, and he left the unfinished task to his successor, who once more restored the limits of the empire and who undertook public works on a style still more magnificent. One obelisk, the Flaminian,* remains of Sethos I, and that he did not live to complete, for the inscriptions of three sides only bear his name, those on the fourth being added by the great Rameses, his successor, who also placed lateral lines to the other, to show that he had dedicated the monument. On the north, south, and west sides, the scenes of the pyramidion represent Sethos, as a sphinx, worshipping, either Ra, or Tum, the gods of Heliopolis; in the scenes below and at the base he repeats the offerings. In this obelisk there is nothing of a political interest, except that the king has "afflicted the Mena or Shepherds", and of the position of the obelisk, only general terms alluding to Pen or Peten occur: "glorious are his gifts in Pennu, placed for ever, opening to the props of the heaven, remaining perpetually to....the temple of the Sun", which is detailed on the north side. On the west is mentioned his "filling Pennu with obelisks in the

* Bp. Gibraltar. *Tr. R. Soc. Lit.*, vol. i, new series, p. 176 and following. Ungarelli, *Int. Ob.*, tab. ii.

light of the beams of the temple of the Sun", a second allusion to the monoliths, considered as the sunbeam.

The greatest number, however, were erected by the great Rameses; and the consideration of his works reopens the question of whether there were two or three monarchs of that name in the 19th dynasty; to settle which it is necessary to commence with those of Luxor. Now, it will be remembered that there are two obelisks before the propylæa at Luxor, one of which has been removed to Paris, the other still remaining in its place. Both differ considerably from those of the eighteenth dynasty. On three sides of the Paris obelisk there is a central line, which is always that of the original dedicator, flanked by two others, in the name which supplies the triple inscription on the fourth side. Yet the difference is wholly in the prenomén, or solar name, of the king, for both were called Rameses, the one of the original legends, *Ra user ma*, which Hermapion has translated for ὁν ἄλκιμος Ἄρης ἐδωρήσατο, while the subsequent form, which appears in the cartouches of Rameses, *satp en Ra*, is translated by the same ὁν ἥλιος προεκρίνεν. It is difficult to conceive, if the central and lateral dedications are by the same monarch, why the same king should have added the latter, contrary to the principle of every obelisk extant, and this obelisk, in fact, exactly resembles the Flaminian, the original dedications of which were by Sethos I, with the restorations of Rameses II. The pyramidion of this obelisk is imperfect; but the scenes on the top of the shaft shew Rameses (*Ra user-ma*), offering wine to Amon-Ra and Rameses (*Ra user-ma satp en Ra*), offering water. Very little information is afforded, either of a political or architectural nature, by this inscription. In one standard the king mentions his conquests over the Mena, or "Shepherds"; in a religious style he is flattered as "being of the same substance as Tum"; or, "the matter (*maai*) divine of his father Amon Ra".* There is, indeed, on the south side,

* Champollion, *Mon.*, tom. iv, pl. cccix; Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscr.*; Rosellini, *M. R.*, No. cxvii; Norden, pl. cvi, *Déscr. de l'Eg.*, A. vol. iii, pl. 11, 18.

a remarkable expression, for in it the king has made "the place of the great soul to rejoice", possibly alluding to Amon-Ra, who, as Num, was the greatest of created beings, the soul of the universe, and that "he has rejoiced the gods of the great temple". All this, however, contains little or no information as to the obelisk or its site; but these will be found in the entire legends of the west, and in the lateral ones of the other side. In the central line of this side, the king, Rameses II, particularly refers to "building a house for periods of years", *i. e.*, for the celebration of the festivals; and "making his work in southern Thebes", the name of the Karnak quarter.

As before, he states that "he has been crowned by Amon, on his throne upon earth, for a great lord to take every country". The allusions to his conquests are comparatively vague and insignificant. On the eastern side, it is stated, "the chiefs of all countries are under his sandals", and on the north, "that every country comes bearing gifts". Even the hatred of the disk seems forgotten; "thy name remains," says the west side, "as the heaven, thy day like the disk (*aten*) in it". On a band round the line of the obelisk, it is said, that Rameses II made it.

The standing obelisk* contains more information. On the shaft, below the pyramidion, the king kneels, and offers incense, wine, and a figure of Truth to Amon-Ra. On the first face on the north, the king is described as "the constructor of memorials, in Southern Peten, to his father Amon, who has allowed him to be on his throne"; also, that he "has made it as a memorial to his father, Amon-Ra; he has set up two obelisks of granite, placing them for millions of years at the divine residence of Rameses, whom Amon loves, at the house of Amon-Ra". It also makes allusion to his constructions at Naser, on the western bank, and the vaguer expression, of making edifices in Thebes. On the third side he states "that he has arranged the temple of Amon, and purified Naser, placing his name for

* Champollion, *Mon.*, t. iv, pl. cccxx-xxi.

ever in Thebes, and to remain perpetually in Apt"; and on the fourth side, that "he delivers the intelligence of his father, Amen, from the place of truth (tribunal), he makes all in Naser stand astonished at his monuments for ever"; also, he "has made monuments in Naser for the children of his father, Amon-Ra". This obelisk, perhaps, was erected later in the reign, for "he is called lord of the triakonteris, like Phtha, having a long time, lord of the triakonteris; and that Phtha has placed his kingdom on the great perseæ, in the temple of Phtha-ka, for a king to take all countries".

Although Rameses II is, perhaps, the king whose name occurs the most frequently upon obelisks, he is rather distinguished as a restorer or completer, than an actual maker of obelisks. In Egypt there are two obelisks, at San, the ancient Tanis, and the standing obelisk of Luxor still remaining of this king; in Europe, that of the Boboli gardens at Florence, and the Mattheian and Mahutæan obelisks at Rome. Besides these, are restorations made by Rameses II of the Flaminian and the Alexandrian. The inscriptions of the Luxor obelisks have been already analyzed, and it is now necessary to enter upon a consideration of the obelisks at San, both which, now fallen, were originally erected by Rameses II.

Under the pyramidion of one side, the king adores the god *Mau*, or "light". The inscriptions state, in general terms, that "he makes his frontiers wherever he wishes, none stand before him, he guides his soldiers, all lands come in submission to his power". At the foot are two scenes, the king giving wine to *Mau*, and a viand, called *shens*, to *Tum*,* the *Tomos* or *Thom* of the Greeks, the local deities.

The other obelisk at this site is broken and imperfect. On the pyramidion is seen the king adoring *Ra* and *Tum*. One vertical line descends each side of the shaft, containing the usual names, and titles, and certain indications of conquests. On

* Burton, *Exc. Hier.*, pl. xxxviii-xl; *Déscr. de l'Égypte*, A. vol. v, pl. 29.

the first face the king is said to be "the smiter of the shepherds of the waste (*Mena nu sha*), bruiser of foreigners, making all lands as if they were not". On the second the king is styled "the excessively youthful" (*renpa en her en her*); and on the third, "him, whose heart prevails on the day of battle, Mentu (Mars) in his slashes", (*suak*) "the youth (*mahur*) of Anta", or, Anaitis, and "king over Kami and Tesher".*

Less information is afforded by the Mahutæan† obelisk, which, after all, is a truncated shaft, the lower part imperfect. There are no pictures on the pyramidion, it has instead only the name and prenomen of the king. There is no trace on this, as upon the other obelisks, of the monarch being in his youth, for he is called "the chief of festivals (*ur en hebi*), like Ra, upon the throne of Tum"; also, that he has made many gifts to the house of the Sun". This obelisk, consequently, must have been placed before one of the gates of the temple of the Sun. Still less important are the inscriptions of the Mattheian obelisk,‡ containing only the name and title of the king.

I now pass to the inscription of the obelisks of the Boboli gardens, at Florence. At the apex is a winged scarabæus thrusting forward the Sun. Below are the name and prenomen of Rameses II, by whom the obelisk was erected. The inscriptions, his titles, are "great master, powerful in all countries, the king, the son of Tum, and the intelligent son of Ra". The king is also said to be "beloved" by Tum and Ra. This shews that the obelisk came from Heliopolis. There is only one line, and the tip is wanting.§

Both the erect and the fallen obelisk at Alexandria were restored by Rameses II, probably during his youth; at all events it is difficult, even as honorary epithets, to understand such phrases in the lateral inscriptions as, "he has come out of the body, to take the crowns of the sun, born to be great lord", which occurs on the right flank inscription of the second side;

* Burton, E. H., xxxix, pl. xl.

† Ungarelli, *Int. Obel.*, tab. iii.

‡ Ibid.

§ Migliarini, *Annali*, 1842, p. 161-187.

and "the noble youth, much beloved, like the disk when it gleams out of the horizon", an allusion to the nascent sun.* On the third side, indeed, the king is called "the lord of the triakonteris, like Phtha, whom the sun has produced to make the festivals of Peten-nu, and supply the temple, born lord of the earth"; but these may be merely general expressions. Rameses II also restored the fallen obelisk of Alexandria: the inscriptions, however, do not throw much light upon its object, being filled with the usual flattery of the king. On first side, left lateral line, he is said "to make his frontiers wherever he likes, being at peace through his might"; on the other side, "his eyes annihilate those he looks at, none can speak to his brow"; on the next side it is stated that, "he is a powerful hero, like the son of Nupe (Osiris), none stand before him",† in the left line; while the right states that "he has chased the southern foreigners to the sea, the north to the poles of heaven". In the left lateral line of the third side, the inscriptions state "that he has brought his work into the house of his father Tum, never was such seen in the house of his father". The inscriptions of this obelisk, as given by Burton‡ and Champollion,§ are so widely different, as regards this last side, that it is impossible to reconcile them. I have followed Burton. A mere fragment of another obelisk of this monarch, containing his name and titles, existed at the Collegio Romano in the time of Kircher.||

As in the case of the standing obelisk of Luxor, the Flaminian obelisk has the triple inscription of the fourth side, and the lateral ones of the rest, added by Rameses II, in his second prenomen. Now it is natural to conclude that this must have been done early in his reign, when he was busied with finishing what his predecessor had already left unfinished, as he proceeded with the temples of Heliopolis and Thebes. The in-

* Champollion, *Monumens*, t. iv, pl. ccccxliv.

† Ibid.

‡ *Exc. Hier.*, li.

§ *Mon.*, tom. iv, pl. ccccxliv.

|| Kircher, *Œdipus*, iii, p. 383.

scriptions, however, of Rameses are neither illustrative of the object of the obelisk, nor of the political period. On the pyramidion, Rameses adores Atum, or Tum, as a sphinx; on the shaft, he offers truth to the god. In very pompous style he speaks of "making monuments like the stars of heaven, his deeds surpassing heaven, shining rejoicing over them at his house of millions of years of his majesty; beautiful has been this monument for his father, as he wished, placing his name on the house of the Sun." In the line on the left, the king is said "to ennoble Peten with great monuments, born of the gods, in their shape, in the great house". The right line states, that "all in Egypt (*Kami*) will rejoice† at the beams of the horizon, when they see what he has done". From this, indeed, it may appear that it was set up at Heliopolis. The inscriptions at the other sides are of less precise interest. On the left line of the side he is called "the youth whom the gods have led, building their temples"; on the right line, "he gives joy to Peten", or "Pen, while he reigns"; on the western side there is none, except the set phrases of "ruler of Egypt, chastiser of foreigners, greatest of the powerful". On the north side, indeed, some similar ideas occur: "great is his name in all lands, through the power of his might, and he has filled the . . . (*ta* or *ka*), with his glories".‡

Every king of Egypt especially prided himself upon his obelisks. In the Sallier Papyrus,§ containing the poem of Pentur on the grand campaign of Rameses II against the Khita, the king, addressing Amon, says: "Do I not make for thee edifices, and tablets very many....filling thy temple with captives, building up for thee a place for a million of years, placing altars in the temple, entirely giving first-fruits of all lands....supplying thee thy sacred food, sacrificing to thee thousands of bulls. I

* Ungarelli, *Interp. Obelisc.* tab. i; Kircher, *Œdipus*, iii, p. 180.

† Ibid., cf. *Chæremón in Tzetzes Exeg. ad Homer.*, a Hermann in *Draco*; 8vo., Lipsiæ, 1812, p. 99.

‡ Or "made it by his wisdom", or "blessing", *shet ta em naif bash t*. This part is much mutilated.

§ *Select Papyri*, pl. xxv, l. 8, 9.

build for thee great pylons of stone, storing for thee eternal granaries, leading thee obelisks from Abu (Elephantina ?)".

After the death of Rameses II, none of his successors appear to have had either time or inclination for such works; and if the great builder of Medinat Haboo lived to erect such shafts of stone, none have survived the devastations of time. Under the reign of his successor, Menephtha, however, they are mentioned. In an historical papyrus of the British Museum, of this date, the details of an obelisk are described, of 110 cubits. It was cut, according to the writer, in the name of his majesty. The height of its shaft was 110 cubits; that of the pedestal, 10 cubits; the circuit from its base, 7 cubits, in all directions, going to a point for two cubits. Its cap was one cubit in the perpendicular; its slope was* One of the successors of Rameses, Miammun the Rameses (vi of Rosellini,† and the v of Bunsen), made an addition to the inscriptions of the obelisk of Thothmes I, standing at Karnak. The inscriptions upon the east side are the usual set phrases, except that the king particularly alludes to Naser, or the western bank, "doing things in Naser" is the expression. On the south side left lateral line, he speaks of "rejoicing", or "raising up Naser like the heaven, giving temples to the earth"; while on the right line he states that "he makes S. Peten or Pen (Karnak) like heaven's horizon". He repeats the same on the left lateral line of the western side, "making monuments," he states, "in Naser, Thebes is like the heavenly horizon," *i. e.* shining, lucid. At the head of this line he states that "he rises to open the eyes of the good".‡ Interesting as all this is, little more can be gleaned from it than that the king executed some repairs upon both banks of the river; but the temples must have been

* *Select Papyri*, xlix, 15 l., qy. 5.; Dr. Hincks, Brit. Archeol. Assoc., Winchester Meeting, p. 253. All these technical details are difficult to make out.

† Rosellini, M. R., No. xxx.

‡ Some such expressions probably gave rise to the story of Pheron, Herod. ii, 110; Diodorus, i, c. 59.

always being added to. A long interval now divides us from any obelisk. An unknown king, probably one of the twenty-first dynasty, has cut, in a very humble manner, his name on the standing obelisk at Alexandria.* No room remained for any elaborate statement, so he just endorsed his name and pre-nomen on the monument: the name is gone, and the pre-nomen, which, according to Burton, reads *Ra usr cheper satp en Ra*, "the sun who defends creation, whom the sun has chosen"; is, according to Mr. Harris, who has most kindly inspected it for me in July last, *Ra neter cheper, satp en Ra*, "the sun god of creation, whom the sun has selected". This is, however, unknown. Hence, till the time of the twenty-sixth, there are no obelisks; and the first which we have is that of the Campus Martius at Rome, called the Obeliscus Campanensis, erected by Psammeticus I, a great reviver of old usages at the time of the Egyptian renaissance. It differs from those as yet described, by having a double line of hieroglyphs down each side, three of which, much mutilated, only remain. On the pyramidion, the king, figured as a sphinx, adores Ra and Tum, the gods of Heliopolis, where the obelisk was set up. He is styled, on the south side, "beloved of Tum, lord of Petenû", and "of the spirits of Pennu".† He seems also to allude to his taking (*ti*) of the crown, and of the Pschent, referring to the extinction of the dodecharchy; and again occurs that ever-mentioned "first time of celebrating the festival".

Sais was also embellished with obelisks,—the one called the Minerveus,‡ at Rome, small, indeed, but highly interesting, being dedicated to Tum, who dwells in Sas or Sais, and in what was called the region *Anch*, or "life", the mystical name of the west, and to Nit or Neith, also indwelling in the same region, and in the royal residence of Northern Egypt, which means Sais. Henceforth there are no extant obelisks till the reign of the Lagidæ.

* Burton, E. H., li. † Ungarelli, *Int. Ob.*, tab. iii; Zoega, pl. 1, 2, 6.

‡ Ungarelli, tab. iii; Kircher, *Œdipus*, iii, p. 379.

Let us pause awhile, as we have reached the period of the Persian conquest, and the opening of Egypt to the Greeks. What the age wanted in skill, if Theophrastus is to be believed, it made up for in material, for the king of Babylon sent an obelisk of emerald, 40 cubits high, composed of four pieces. It requires great faith in the authors to believe it.* According, indeed, to Herodotus,† Pheron, the son of Sesostris, dedicated two obelisks, on account of the recovery of his eyesight, at the temple of the Sun, but whether at Heliopolis or Thebes, is not stated. Herodotus also saw two large obelisks at the temple of Sais, in the courtyard, which he calls the temenos.‡ This Greek, as usual, follows the legend which he heard from the interpreters, and has confused even what he heard.

There are, however, between the period of the Greek and Persian rule two small obelisks, formerly removed from a house in Cairo, and now in the British Museum.§ They were erected by a monarch named Harnechthebi, or Nechtharhebi, to the Trismegist Hermes, or Tot; and these have been either taken from the small pylon of an ancient temple of the god at Memphis, or from some other neighbouring site. As the last of the Pharaonic obelisks, they are interesting. On two sides of each, the king speaks of himself as “beloved of Tot”, or “Thoth, who is set over pure spirits”, and “the lord of hieroglyphs”. On the other he mentions that “he has set up an obelisk in his house of basalt; it is capped with black they have given him all perfect life, like the sun”.|| On the other obelisk¶ the king states that he is “beloved of Tot”, or “Thoth, lord of hieroglyphs, who dwells in the city of Hesar”; and in some other place, “presiding over truth, giving honour to the gods”; and the dedicatory inscriptions again mention their being capped with black that he may be safely crowned with a perfect

* Theophrastus, *De Lapid.*, i, c. 2; Pliny, N. H., xxxvii, c. 5.

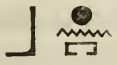
† ii, 110.

‡ ii, 170.

§ Nos. 523, 524; *Déscr. de l'Égypte*, A. vol. v, pl. 21, 22. || Ibid., pl. 21.

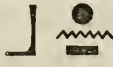
¶ Ibid., pl. 22; Bp. Gibraltar in the *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.*, vol. ii, p. 457.

life". There are some difficulties about these inscriptions; for other inquirers have come to the conclusion that the word *bachen**

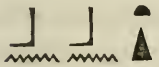


means basalt, as referring to the material of which the obelisks were made; while, if it describes the

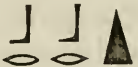
material, it occurs immediately after the temple or house, and refers to that: indeed, basalt was the favourite building material of the age. The word



however, often means tower, and is the Hebrew בֵּרוֹ. The word, *ben ben*,

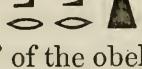
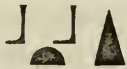


sometimes written *ber ber*,



or *bebe*,

also means "the cap, the tip, the horn", or "pyramidion" of the obelisk. The



cap, the

material with which all the other obelisks were capped, was gold; and Abdallatif, it appears, says he saw a cap of bronze gilt still remaining in its place. Here, however, the phrase is

hem-kam



The instrumental *m* before it, however, shews that it is a substance. It is, unfortunately, mentioned

elliptically, without any determinative; the latter syllable means "black", and, from analogy, some black substance. The nearest approach to this word occurs in the plate representing the tribute brought to Thothmes III from Phut, in the tomb at Thebes, and described in the hieroglyphic text as "the coming in peace of the chiefs of the south land of Phut Pent-han nefer",† or "Sent-han nefer, dancing on their foreheads, bearing their tribute, falling down before his majesty the king, the Sun placer of creation (Thothmes III), they see his power in every land".

The sixth offering, of the colour of vermillion,‡ reads *hemka*; but it is not sure that it is the same word. Jasper, indeed, is often written *shespu*. Whatever the material was, it was not gold, but some black substance, to harmonize with the basalt. The monarch who erected these two obelisks has been supposed

* Champollion, *Gr. Egypt.*, p. 100.

† This place is often mentioned in the texts. The *Kefa*, who appear in the same place, are stated to be the isles in the midst of the great sea. (*Cyprus*.)

‡ Hoskins *Æthiopia*, 4to., Lond. 1830, Tomb at Thebes; Sir G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, Series I, pl. iv.

to be the Amyrtæus, or Nectabis, *i. e.* Nectanebo II, whom his name rather resembles. He was after the Persian rule.

Some fragments of obelisks of the later period existed in the time of Kircher, at Rome. One, which he engraved in his *Œdipus*,* has the titles of the god Phtha Socharis Osiris, as “great god, lord of the tomb (*shta*), who dwells in the palace”,† as part of the title of a monarch “beloved of that god”; probably that it was set up at the Hephæsteum of Memphis.

After this period, no obelisks of sufficient consequence to attract the attention of travellers have remained, if, indeed, any were erected in the period; for Egypt, as a conquered province, had all her revenues carried out of the country, and nothing left for public improvement. These great works were connected with the national feeling, and required the energies and resources of the people to execute. Even the Ptolemies, the earlier of whom were deeply imbued with the love of art, were unable to execute these works, so low had taste declined. According to Pliny, Ptolemæus Philadelphus erected one at Alexandria, of 80 cubits in height, which Nectabis had cut in the quarry, but not sculptured with hieroglyphs. This obelisk was transported by the architect, Satyrus. It was placed in the Arsinoëum, by the king, as a mark of conjugal affection.‡ The Ptolemies, indeed, were more distinguished as renewers of obelisks than makers of them; at all events none remain of their temples, although they have raised some that vie with those of the older dynasties. One perfect obelisk, and the broken base of another, remain of those set up at the temple of Philæ, which stood at the entrance of the propylon, and which bear the names of Ptolemy Euergetes II, and his wife Cleopatra.§ A copy of them was first published in a privately-printed plate, by Mr. Banks, which has been subsequently given by M. Lepsius in his *Auswahl*,|| from collations and corrections

* Kircher, iii, 382.

† Place of the Bee

‡ Pliny, N. H., xxvi, s. 14.

§ See M. Lepsius, *Lit. Gaz.*, May, 1839, p. 279.

|| Tab. xvii.

made with the text. Each side has carved upon it a single line of hieroglyphs, which offer the curious anomaly of facing two ways, those which allude to the king, one way, and those referring to the deities, another. On it are the names of Ptolemy Euergetes and his wife Cleopatra; but the inscriptions are loaded with religious phrases, and scarcely express more than that the king has set up this obelisk to his mother, Isis. On the base is a petition, in Greek, to relieve the priests from certain charges made upon them by the different officers of state,* and the rescript of the monarch. The inscriptions of this obelisk have a certain interest, from the part they play in the decipherment of hieroglyphs, as it was from the joint names of Ptolemy and Cleopatra they were first discovered. In the religious portion of the inscriptions there is little of interest.

From this time till the Augustan age there is nothing relating to obelisks, except that Strabo,† who visited Egypt at the period, mentions obelisks at the tombs of the kings, and those of Helio-
polis.‡ The idea of transforming them into the gnomons of dials thence commenced, an idea which originated with the Alexandrian school, a great departure from their original scope. Augustus transferred to Rome the obelisk of Semenpserteus, removed by Ptolemy Philadelphus to the Arsinoëum at Alexandria; and Pliny speaks of the two obelisks of Alexandria, which were the work of the ancient king, Mesphres, by whom he means the king of Manetho's, eighteenth dynasty. These he reckons at 82 cubits; and, in his time, they stood in the Port at the Temple of Cæsar.§ The obelisk which was erected in the Campus Martius at Rome, also removed by Augustus, was nine Roman feet less, and made by Sethosis. This obelisk was converted into a gnomon of a dial by the skill of Facundus Novus, a mathematician of the time; but, after thirty years, it performed incorrectly.|| These obelisks were dedicated to the Sun. Tiberius dedicated another to Augustus.

* Letronne, *Inscript.*, Georg. i, p. 303.

† Lib. xviii, p. 1171.

§ Pliny, N. H., xxxvi, c. 9, s. 14.

‡ Ibid., xvii, 1158.

|| Ibid., xxxvi, c. ix, s. 15.

Caligula removed another obelisk from Heliopolis, and placed it on the extremity of the circus of the Vatican, at the end of the *Spina*.* According to Pliny, this obelisk had been erected by Nuncoreus, the son of Sesosis, for the recovery of his sight;† but he merely repeats the story of Pheron. To it Nero hung the crowns which he had gained in the chariot-races of Greece.‡

The first Cæsars were content to transport, as has been shewn, the magnificent obelisks of the old Egyptian period, and use them as *metæ* or *spinæ* in the hippodromes; but the last of the twelve, Domitian, who possessed a certain taste for the arts, allied with superstition, revived the Isiac worship at Rome. The rites of this goddess had, indeed, been introduced under the republic; but they were distasteful to the sterner spirits of the republic, and abolished. Under the empire the worship again revived, but it does not appear that it was well received by the state. Domitian, however, became attracted by its rites and doctrines, and in a spirit of paneclecticism built a Serapeum and Isium in the Campus Martius, instituted a college of priests, had daily offerings of Nile-water made to the goddess, set up at least an obelisk, which still remains at Rome,—the one called the Pamphilian Obelisk, which formerly stood in the circus of Maxentius, near the Appian way. The pyramidion is much destroyed; and upon each side the emperor stood adoring Ra (Serapis) and Isis. On each side is one perpendicular line of hieroglyphs, quite different from those of the Pharaonic time, distinguished by their leanness and the admixture of new and unusual signs. An attempt is, however, kept up to follow the ancient Pharaonic style of five titles.§ It also appears to have been set up early in the reign, for on the eastern side he commences by stating that “he received the kingdom of his father Vespasian, in the place of his true brother, when his soul mounted on high” (*ter ap ba fer hri*).|| He also claims to be “lord of festivals, like Phtha”, and “beloved of Phtha

* Pliny, N. H., xvi, c. 40.

† Id. xxxvi, c. 14.

‡ Dio., lxiii, c. 21.

§ Ungarelli, tab. iv.

|| Id., p. 143.

and Isis". The expression in the standard of the north side, "the powerful youth", shews the commencement of the reign; he also states that "he has been crowned with the dominions of his father"; and, that "he has set up an obelisk of granite to his father, who allows those that have eyes to see, he has done all that he wishes, establishing the name of the kings of the upper and lower world on the great throne, on the throne of Horus, with those for the *Kans Pluia (gens Flavia)*, inscribing the victories of his ancestors". The rest of this inscription is not very intelligible, and is rather in a religious than historical strain. The general information is, that Domitian erected it at the Serapeum.

A further proof of the devotion of Domitian to the Isiac worship, will be seen in the obelisks erected before the temple of Isis, at Beneventum. They were a pair; one, the most perfect, still remains in the town; the other fragment at the Bishop's palace. The first side of the perfect obelisk is probably that marked II in Ungarelli,* which contains in itself the purport of the whole, stating, that "the noble temple of Isis, mistress of Benemts", or, "Beneventum, and of the parhedral gods, was founded by one Lucillus Lupus", or, "Rufus,† an imperial officer";‡ the same idea, with variations, occurs on the other sides, "whose good name", or appellation, is "Lucillus", etc. "To all the gods and the gods of his country of Benemetus", or, "Beneventum". The second, or mutilated obelisk,§ has four lines, one upon each side, repeating the same idea. The emperor is called the ruler of all the tribute countries coming to his house, who takes the country of Rome.

There are two other obelisks of this age, one called the

* Ungarelli, *Int. Ob.*, tab. v, A.; Zoega, p. 84; also a private plate of Cardinal Borgia.

† This name has been hastily read Rufus (Champollion, *Précis*, p. 95); but the sound of the standing lion is by no means known. The seated lion is, of course, an L or R.

‡ *Uga nen*, etc., on side II, III, IV, literally, "bringer forth of what is brought"; but whether in the active or passive sense is uncertain.

§ Ungarelli, tab. v, B.

Borgian, the other the Albani, which are scarcely known, except from the plates of Kircher* and Zoega;† the first is in the Museo Borbonico of Naples, but the second has unfortunately disappeared. There is every reason to believe that they were a pair, which stood before some temple. The Borgian obelisk bears the Roman name Tacitus,‡ or Severus Tacitus,§ perhaps the prefect of Egypt; while other names, Sextus and Africanus, are legible upon both obelisks.|| It is impossible, however, from mutilated inscriptions, to make out the reason of the erection of these obelisks, although it is probable that, like those of Beneventum, they were destined for some temple erected in Italy.

The aged Nerva, and the rude Trajan, seem to have cared little for the religion of Egypt, which continued to draw forth the sarcastic bitterness of the Roman aristocracy; and was regarded as the most degraded form of pantheism, notwithstanding the philosophical explanations. Even caricatures were indulged in against the Egyptian gods in Egypt itself. The sceptical Hadrian mourned his deceased favourite upon an obelisk. His death in Egypt, upon the Nile, suggested the idea, and the emperor, who probably looked upon the religion as a policy, endeavoured to revive the decaying feeling for paganism by imposing it in all points of view.

It is much to be regretted that the critical knowledge of the hieroglyphs is not so far advanced as to clear up the mystery which envelops the death. This monument must have been erected about A.D. 122, and it is the taste of its age. The hieroglyphs are in two vertical lines, like those of the obelisk of Psammetichus, but of an execution far inferior. This obelisk is said to have been discovered on the site of the circus of

* *Obeliscus Minerveus*, p. 176.

† *De Obelisc.*, p. 192. It is only followed by the expression, *shaf*, "sets up".

‡ Champollion, *Précis*, p. 98, pl. vii, 9-11.

§ So, I think, is to be restored the mutilated group, *Sev. Tkts.*

Champollion, l. c.

Aurelian ; but it was probably removed there, for its legends point to another destination.

It is rather difficult perhaps to decide which side commences this inscription ; but the north, which, although mutilated, contains the titles of Hadrian, and which has the emperor represented on its pyramidion, is the first to all appearance. The emperor has a prenomén of some significance, “beloved of the Nile and the other gods”. In the second line, which continues with the titles, are some remarkable expressions:—“he has penetrated (*peh-naf*) every where (*au-ateru*), he has trod this earth in its four directions (*chent naf ta pen her aft f*); the bulls and their cows (*females*) responding with joy ; he rejoiced his heart with his dearly beloved empress, the regent of the earth, Sabina, the ever-living Augusta.” After this occurs, “the Nile, the father of the gods”....: (*au ter sau*) “it was the time of pouring forth the water”, refers, undoubtedly, to the inundations ;* but why mentioned is by no means clear ; whether describing the death, or festival, of Osiris-Antinoos. The eastern side commences with the name of “Osiris-Antinoos, the justified”, coming out of the flesh ; the good youth lamented, or “fêted daily”, must allude to his death : as that “letting fall his arms he received the commands, which are those of the gods”, may to his throwing himself into the Nile, at Besa, for the welfare of Hadrian and the empire ;† and there is an allusion in it to Thoth, as lord of Hermopolis, near which he perished. The remaining expressions of this side allude to his condition in the future state ; “in”, it says, “their time of the night, constantly and daily, as he wishes in the heart of his (Osiris’s) servants, he has gone discoursing all that he thinks or wishes, like the beatified souls (*reeh*) offering his adorations, taking his place in the fields of the wise spirits (*bach akar*), who belong to (*em necht*) Osiris, in the midst of the hills (*taser*). They make his

* Ungarelli, *Int. Ob.*, tab. v, Kircher iii, p. 371. Zoega, pl. 3.

† Dio Cassius, lib. lxix.

justification, they make his words true in the whole earth, they delight him, allowing him to go wherever he wishes. The doorkeepers of hell say to him, Hail to thee! they draw their bolts, they open their doors. He begins to be in millions of millions of years, his time is....” In the southern inscription the apotheosis of Antinoos is more distinctly described. He is there called Ntiam or Divom. The part immediately following this is not very clear; it states that Antinoos “has made his.... (*heka*) in the midst (*em chen*) of the city,* which is....is its name (*fem*), is his name victorious over those on this earth, with the leaders of the boat, with the of the earth, throughout all mankind, as it were....” This is followed by the speech of Thoth and Truth, who announce that they have conferred the usual benefits at his tomb. The left line continues,—that he has been adored by the influence of Thoth and Truth going by his spirits he has gone in his city....of the whole earth because he has heard the lament (?) *neh*, he has cried, he has...., he has not failed in his career, holding up his head, doing his work while being; he has made all the transformations to offer his heart, because he has made himself a god, he is the issue of.... Subsequently it mentions his mystical birth from his mother. The transformations to offer the heart is a purely Egyptian notion, often found in the ritual.†

The western side contains information of a more important character, and it is remarkable that no previous decypherer has discovered its meaning. This part commences with “the Antinoos divine, who is at rest in this city, which is in the midst of the fields of the district of the powerful lord of Harama (Rome). He is recognized for a god in the divine city which is in Egypt. Temples have been built to him; he is

* If this ambiguous part referred to Hadrian and Sabina, as Ungarelli, p. 180, supposes, it would connect with the north side, but it cannot.

† Cf. Lepsius, *Todt.* tab. xv, c. 26. The chapter of taking the heart in the Hades, and of avoiding that the heart should be taken away, c. 27, 28; that he should keep the heart (c. 29), or detain it (taf. xvi, c. 30); also taf. xxviii, c. 76.

adored as a god by the prophets and priests of the upper and lower country of Egypt. Likewise a nome has been inscribed to his name, he has been called most honoured (*atimiti*) of the Greeks of Seth and Ra (*Sethroites*), who are in the city Baka (*Besa*). Those who come to this nome have given to them splendid fields, they are good, and live, opening the temple of this god, which has been made to him under his name of the Osiris Antinoos, the justified, built of good white stone, surrounded with sphinxes, having very many caryatid statues,* both those made of great men before (Egyptians), and of the Greeks, and of all the goddesses, who gave him the breath of life which he breathed in his youth."

On the northern side of this obelisk the emperor is seen adoring Amon; on the others, Antinoos, wearing the head attire of Phtha Socharis, worships Amon and Ra.

The fields of the *tash*, or quarter, of the powerful lord, are probably the Campus Martius, and it is evident, from the expressions, "he is at rest", that the ashes of Antinoos were carried back to Rome and deposited in a sepulchre of the most magnificent description, surrounded with statues, but of what nature it is not quite certain. The probability is, that the statues of the Villa Albani, which are portraits of Antinoos, are thence derived.

Another obelisk stood in the circus of Caracalla.† Very conflicting statements are found in the Roman topographers as to the number of obelisks extant in the city. According to P. Victor‡ there were two in the Circus Maximus, the one erect, the other fallen. In the recapitulation§ he gives six great obelisks; two in the Circus Maximus, one of 120 feet, another of $88\frac{1}{2}$ feet; one in the Vatican of 72 feet; one in the Campus Martius of 72 feet; two at the Mausoleum of Augustus $42\frac{1}{2}$ feet; and another in the Insula Tiberina; besides forty-

* *Tut, uch*, or *chu*, determined by a sceptre. The meaning of this is uncertain, but perhaps it is the Coptic *shau*, "a trunk".

† Dio, lib. lxxviii, 9. ‡ *De Rec.*, Grævius, Thes. iii, p. 108. § Ibid. iii.

two small obelisks with inscriptions. An uncertain author, in the description of Rome, mentions *five* obelisks; one in the Circus Maximus, $88\frac{1}{2}$ feet high; one in the Vatican, 71 feet high; one in the Campus Martius, $82\frac{1}{2}$ feet; the pair at the Mausoleum of Augustus, $82\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Another gives *six* obelisks; the two in the circus Maximus of 122 and $88\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. The one in the Campus Martius, 75 feet high; two in the Mausoleum of Augustus, $42\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. Another version is two in the Circus Maximus, 122 and 79 feet; one in the Campus Martius.*

In the reign of Constantius, A.D. 354, another obelisk was brought from Thebes, and erected in the Circus Maximus, and set up with a brazen sphere upon its apex. Ammianus Marcellinus† gives the translation of this obelisk from Hermapion; but its description does not at all coincide with any of the Roman obelisks, and rather resembles that of the obelisks at Luxor.

The last of the obelisks is the so-called Sallustian, which was found in the gardens of Sallust. It looks like a barbarous imitation of the Flaminian shaft, probably cut in Egypt, but the hieroglyphs executed by unskilled hands at Rome. As to interpreting its legends, it is an insult to the imagination to attempt them.‡ Strange notions, indeed, prevailed amongst the later philosophical writers as to the nature of obelisks. Porphyry§ states that they referred to fire, and that they were therefore dedicated to the Olympian gods. Cyrill thinks that they touched on scientific matters.|| In the false book of the *Kore kosmou* of the Trismegist Hermes,¶ the god says that his learning is inscribed upon obelisks. Tertullian** mentions an obelisk which was in the Circus of the Sun: "this enormous obelisk", says he, "as Hermoteles affirms, has its

* Zoega, p. 29; *Inc. Auct. Descr. urb. Rom. apud Bandinium de Obelisc. Cæs.* p. 64.

† Lib. xvii, 4; for its metrical inscription in Greek and Roman, see Zoega, p. 53.

‡ Ungarelli, tab. vi. Zoega, tab. iv.

§ Apud Euseb., *Præpar. Evangel.*, iii, e. 2, 7. || Adv. Julian. lib. ix, p. 299.

¶ Fo. 1791. Stobæus, *Eclog. Phys.*, p. 124.

** *De Spectacul.*, c. 8, p. 418. Obelisci enormitas, ut Hermoteles affirmat, Soli prostituta.

sculpture dedicated to the Sun, which gives a notion of the superstition of Egypt”.

An obelisk appears to have existed in the Strategeum, or hippodrome, of Constantinople, removed from Athens by Proclus, a Patrician, under Theodosius the Younger.* In the fourth consulate of Valentinian, and the first of Neoterius, A.D. 390, an obelisk was placed in the Circus. According to Cassiodorus,† the greater was dedicated to the Sun, the lesser to the Moon. Julius Valens mentions two obelisks, dedicated by Sesonchosis to Serapis, in the temple‡ of that god at Alexandria.

I have not here endeavoured to identify the existing obelisks with the descriptions of authors; the task is replete with difficulties, and has already been fully weighed by others. To recognize an Egyptian monarch in a Latin or Greek author, is like detecting a known face in a masquerade; and the question is purely for the topographer. Those who wish to trace them can consult the works of Kircher, Zoega, M. Bunsen, and Nestor L'Hôte. Neither have I treated on the machinery they required, the restoration of them by popes to proper sites, or their consecration to the saints; nor have I critically discussed with others their interpretations, sometimes more singular than true, from the time of Kircher to P. Secchi. The critic who ferrets out the sense of these hidden characters, may collate what I have written with the translations of the Jesuit, the labours of Champollion, Rosellini, Ungarelli, and last, but not least, M. Secchi, who threatens to renew the labours of Kircher. It is, however, to be hoped that he will take care that his novelties are true, and his truths really new. I have availed myself of the best philological resources in my power; a more complete labour must be left to those who have genius, leisure, and a hieroglyphic type at their command.

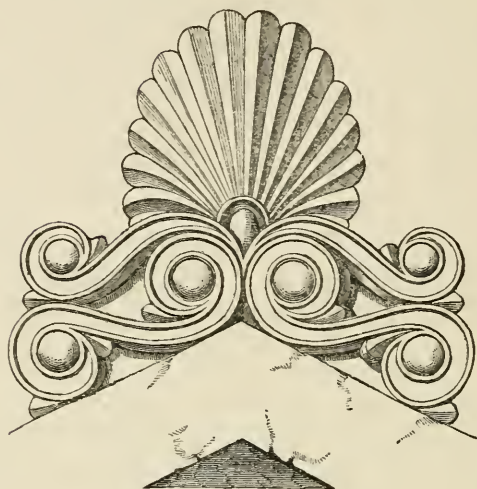
S. BIRCH.

* *Inc. Auct. Descr. Const. a Guid. Pancirolo*, 8vo., Venet. 1602. *Banduri Imp. Archiv.*, iii, p. 28-42.

† *Variar.* iii, c.

‡ *Mai., Auct. Class.*, vii, p. 99-100.

XIV.
ON ACRÆ,
A SYRACUSAN COLONY IN THE SOUTH OF SICILY,
AND ITS PRINCIPAL ANTIQUITIES.



Acroterial ornament at Acræ.*

SINCE many English travellers annually either visit parts of Sicily, or else make the circuit of that beautiful island, it is not a little remarkable that very few seem to pass through Palazzolo, which is distant between twenty and thirty miles to the west of Syracuse; but, if they have reached that small town in their wanderings, none of them have yet given to us in England any full or correct account of the important remains of ancient Acræ, which have, of late years, been excavated at Acremonte, near Palazzolo. In order to make up this deficiency, I purpose, in the present communication, to describe, although briefly, some of the chief architectural and other interesting monuments still existing in that ancient locality.

* See the author's paper on "Floral Ornaments", in *Trans. R. S. Lit.*, vol. ii, New Series, and pl. 1, figs. 10, 12.

The earliest author who mentions Acræ (^{Ἀκραι}) is Thucydides (lib. vi, cap. 5); and, from his statement, we learn that it was built by the Syracusans seventy years after their own city had been founded; and this would correspond with the year 665 B.C.

As I travelled directly from the old parent state to Palazzolo, on making the tour of Sicily in 1826, I think it will be not altogether uninteresting to commence this notice with the following extract from my diary; then to translate the Duke of Serradifalco's descriptions of the theatre and odeum, which had been discovered near that town three or four years before my visit, adding some comparative details of other like edifices; and to conclude with an account of the more important antiquities that have been there disinterred.

June 1st, 1826.—We left Syracuse, passing over several draw-bridges, at twenty minutes past 5 o'clock, A.M. We rode up to see the ruins of the castles Labdalum and Euryalus, situated on a hill or ridge, now called Mongibellisi,* in the quarter formerly named Epipolæ. Of these castles, I only remarked pieces of ancient Hellenic walls, built with solid blocks of limestone, without cement. On one side was a strong square tower. There are also one or more subterranean passages cut in the rock. We enjoyed here a fine view of the Hyblas, much cornland, the town of Augusta, and the glorious Etna, on one side; and on the other, Syracuse, the bay, and the blue sea extending towards Cape Passaro, or the promontory of Pachynus. We descended from this table land, and continued our journey towards Floridia. The sun was already very hot. Some persons were engaged in grafting the good olive on the wild olive stock. This sight brought to my mind the beautiful description in Romans xi, 17-24. Arriving at the small town of Floridia, at twenty-five minutes past 9 o'clock, we halted two hours, and breakfasted there. Fahrenheit's thermometer, in the shade at 10 A.M., stood at 74°. Remounting our mules, we rode through a narrow pass, with limestone rocks on each side, along the bed of a river. We then ascended the broad top of Hybla major. Passing some oaks, and trees of ilex and cork, we noticed plenty of the common wild honey-bees. The ground was frequently carpeted with aromatic flowers; but the hills were covered only with grass. Many boys were tending cattle and flocks of goats, and amusing themselves with their little pastoral pipes; some of them were sitting or lying down in caves in the limestone rocks. The road

* This is a Siculo-Arabic word, being compounded of an abbreviation for *Monte*, and of a corruption from *Gebel*; both signifying a *hill* or *mount*.

was bad, and the sun, in the afternoon, intensely hot. Our path became much worse as we approached Palazzolo, a small town built on the top of a hill. We arrived there at 6 o'clock; and, as there was no inn, our guides obtained a bedroom for us in the Franciscan convent.

We went to call on the Baron Judica, and to see his collection of antiquities. This elderly nobleman was fortunately at home, and he kindly shewed us his interesting relics. Having been engaged for the last sixteen years in making extensive excavations in the site of Acræ, near Palazzolo, his labours had been rewarded in discovering many curious remains, which he explained to us with considerable pleasure. Among these were numerous bronze figures, instruments, and utensils; casts for lamps, in terra-cotta; a head of Cupid, small, of Greek sculpture; a little Greek statue of a Faun, very good; a small head of Minerva, also Greek; a vast number of Græco-Sicilian fictile vases, with figures, or representations, but mostly of coarse execution; several Greek inscriptions, some few of which were of early Christians; glass bottles, coloured blue, green, etc., found in some of the sepulchres, which the Baron erroneously called Phœnician; some *manubria*, or handles of pottery, inscribed with Greek proper names; an iron ring, like a serpent, which had been covered with silver, and used for an armlet by some fair Acræan; and a few engraved gems.* The worthy Baron also showed us his work, entitled *Le Antichità di Acre*, which was published at Messina in 1819, and wherein he had given roughly-etched plates of many of his antiques.

We bade adieu to the learned Baron, and returned to the convent, where the good monks gave us a very fair supper; and on going to bed at 10 o'clock, I found the height of the thermometer to be 62°.

June 2nd.—At 5 o'clock, A.M., we started, to visit the excavations of Acræ and the theatres. These are situate on a hill, about a quarter of a mile south of Palazzolo, which bears the old name, partially modernized, of Acremonte. The small Greek theatre first arrested our attention. It is in part excavated from the natural rock, and has twelve rows of seats, with eight staircases, which divide the *coilon*, or *cavea*, into nine *cunei*. Portions of the *scena* and *orchestra* remain. I stepped the internal diameter of the orchestra, in front of the scena, and found it to be twenty-three of my paces, or about 64 English feet.† This

* Also in the collection was a winged lion, in terra-cotta, representing a double *φαλλός* (see *Antich. di Ercolano*, tom. vi., tab. 97; and for the *wings* of a *φαλλός*, note 2, p. 405), the head forming one, and the tail the second. I observed upon it the two Greek words, ΚΑΙΣΥ, καὶ σὺ, and *you!* Perhaps meaning, “And *hail* thou!”

† Serradifalco states, in his account (*vide post*, p. 246), that the internal diameter does *not* exceed 63·5 Sicilian palmi; but from his plan (fig. 1, tab. 32, vol. iv), the diameter is about 75 s. p., which is much nearer to my measurement; and the latter corresponds with the scale on which the same theatre is again drawn in tab. 44, vol. v.

neat theatre was discovered in 1825; its seats were built upon, not dug out of, the rock. Its back is placed against the hill, and, looking north, it commands a good view into the neighbouring valleys. Next the theatre is a fine cistern. Its appropriate *odeum* is close adjoining, towards the west, but lower; and it has the remains of five rows of seats, divided into three *cunei* by two staircases; and I found the internal diameter of the orchestra to be seven of my paces,* about 19 English feet. This very pretty edifice was discovered in 1822; but, being so small, it resembled, in my mind, more a model of a theatre, than one which had actually been erected for use. I then observed a piece of a hand-mill, in lava, like those which are commonly seen at Pompeii. Some remains of architecture belonging to temples and pedestals were noticed; of the latter, one inscribed *CVER*, supposed to mean *C. VERRES*, the plunderer of Sicily, was worthy of remark.†

Our guide showed us some *latomia*, and very many ancient sepulchres,—some having clearly been made by early Christians. The places for the bodies were hollowed out of the rock, like those in the catacombs at Syracuse. I saw a few common Greek characters scratched about on the walls. At the base of a hill, near the rock (*Acremonte*), are some remarkable and ancient bas-reliefs, sculptured on its surface. They have once been of good execution, but many are much decayed. Some of the figures represented are of large size, particularly one, a female, draped, and sitting down. I thought one of the subjects referred to a sacrifice; and others, to certain rites of the dead, or the reception of souls in *hades*, or the infernal regions.

From the grassy mountain there is an extensive view of the sea near Syracuse; also to the south, and the intervening country. In descending, I observed some huts covered with thatched roofs; these, our guide said, were houses for the preservation of ice, for the supply of Syracuse and other towns. Much snow falls there in the winter; so, at the present day, the words of *Silius Italicus*‡ are verified,—

— “ non è tumulis glacialibus Acræ
Defuerunt.”

* *Ακρα* signifies the *point* or *tip* of any thing; § here, doubtless, the *summit* of the mountain. The name likewise occurs as a part or division of the ancient

* Serradifalco's plan measures about $22\frac{1}{2}$ Sicilian palmi.

† I asked Baron Judica if he knew to what deities the chief temples had been dedicated, and he told me that there was evidence, from inscriptions, of the former existence of a temple to Venus; of a second to Ceres, of a third to Proserpine, and of a fourth to Diana.

‡ *Punic.*, lib. xiv, v, 206.

§ It also means a *castle*, *fort*, or *palace*: indeed, some derive the Latin word *arx* from *Ακρα*.

city of Jerusalem,—probably for the same reason; and other Acræ are recorded in Greece.

We returned to breakfast at the convent about half-past 6 o'clock.

It will be unnecessary to dwell on the early history of Acræ, since little is known of it, except in connexion with Syracuse; and, after the island of Sicily passed into the Roman power, it of course became a tributary city,* but as it was placed on an eminence, and near lofty hills, it probably had once proved a useful stronghold. It is mentioned, in addition to Thucydides and Silius Italicus, by Diodorus Siculus,† Livy,‡ Plutarch,§ and others; and the inhabitants are called by Pliny,|| Acrenses, and by Ptolemy,¶ *Ἀκραῖοι*. In later times, the able Sicilian antiquary, Fazzello, correctly pointed out the neighbourhood of Palazzolo for the site of the lost Acræ. He writes: “*Palazzolus oppidum Acræ olim appellatum...ejus egregium adhuc ad cœnobium minorum S. Mariæ de Jesu cognominatum jacet cadaver: quod ipsum illius esse et nominis apud seniores vestigium, quod Acremons adhuc est*”,** in which opinion the learned Prince of Biscari coincided. In the third edition of his book on the antiquities of Sicily,†† the Prince, mentioning “la terra di Palazzo” (doubtless intended for *Palazzolo*) observes: “One meets in this territory with the mountain named *Acrimonte*,—a name, perhaps, retained from the destroyed city of *Acri*, which is believed to have been situated in this district, according to the statement of Fazzello.”

The site of Acræ in that place has at length been fully

* Pliny calls the people of Acræ, “stipendiarii”.

† Diod. Sic. *fragm.* lib. xxiii.

‡ Liv., lib. xxiv, cap. 36.

§ Plutar., *Dion.*, c. xxvii. In Reiske's edition (Lipsiæ, 1776), vol. v, p. 299, the note (54) states that, as there is no place named *Μακρὰς* (the word used in the text) in that part of Sicily, *Ἀκρας* must be intended; and in the English translation (edit. Tonson, 1758), vol. vi, p. 27, it is properly rendered,—“this news being brought to Dion, while he lay near *Acræ*”.

|| Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, lib. iii, cap. 8.

¶ Ptol., iii, iv, s. 14.

** *De Reb. Sic.*, Prior Decad., lib. x, p. 207; edit. Francof., 1579.

†† *Viaggio per tutte le Antichità della Sicilia*, Palermo, 1817, p. 100.

confirmed ; and since the distinguished archæologist, the Duke of Serradifalco, has published, in his recent beautiful volumes on the *Antiquities of Sicily*, able and interesting accounts of Acræ, and its ancient remains,* I will insert some extracts from them ; particularly as the work itself is expensive, and not easily obtained by the general reader.

“It remains to speak of Acræ, the only one among the Syracusan colonies of which there exist any valuable remains and important records. Various controversies arose at different times among antiquaries about the site of this city, but the monuments, which, by the excavations effected by Baron Judica, and recently by the Sicilian commission of antiquity, were discovered in Acremonte, near Palazzolo ; as well as the distance of 24 miles that separates it from Syracuse, and which exactly answers to that indicated in the itinerary of Antoninus, and to the Roman Tables, do not leave any doubt that *there* stood the ancient Acræ.† We have already remarked that the epoch of its foundation was (665 B.C. ; or) in the fourth year of the 28th olympiad : little, in fact, is preserved of the history of its events, connected as they always were with those of the mother country, to which it remained united up to the time of Hiero II (who died 216 B.C.,) when, through the treaties between the Romans and this prince, it was comprehended among the cities that formed the kingdom of Syracuse;‡ and when the latter fell into the power of Marcellus (212 B.C.), it followed the lot of all the cities of Sicily, and was numbered by the Romans amongst their tributary places.§

“The *cavea* of this theatre shews that, according to ancient custom, it was cut out of the rock, but the seats were placed upon it, and have therefore for the most part disappeared. The Greek architects were accustomed, in order that those who assisted at the spectacle might be recreated with a pleasant

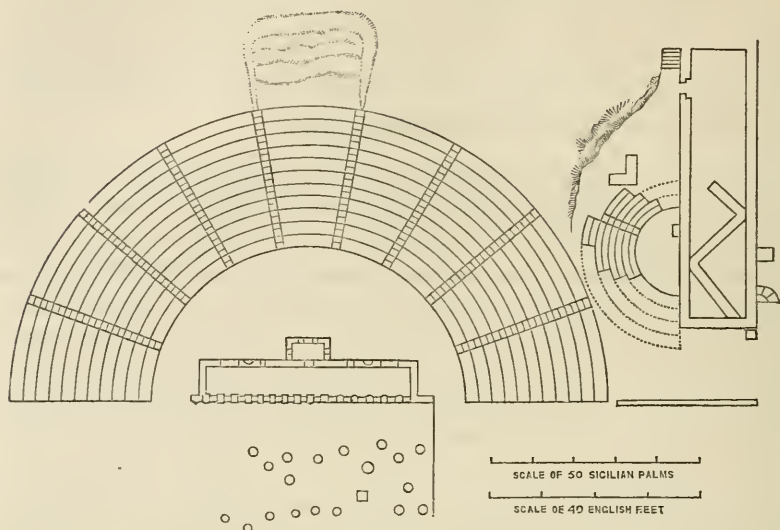
* Vide *Le Antich. della Sicilia*, per Domenico Lo Faso Pietrasanta, Duca di Serradifalco, vol. iv, pp. 158-66 ; Palermo, 1840.

† Fazzello (Decad. i, lib. x) determined the site of Acræ to be *near* Palazzolo. Cluverius, taking upon himself to oppose the opinion of Fazzello, established it where, at this day, is the convent of St. Mary *of the Arc* ; which, the better to sustain his own assumption with the resemblance of the name, he denominated arbitrarily, *of Arcia*. But Bonanni (*Siracusa Illustrata*, p. 190) refuted his error with the best reasons, and supported the opinion of Fazzello, which is now no longer doubted.

‡ Diod., in *Excerpt.* ex lib. xxiii, 5 : Συρακουσίων καὶ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν πόλεων, Ἀκράων, κ.τ.λ.

§ Plin., *H. N.*, lib. iii.

prospect, to place the cavea in that direction which would afford the most delightful and cheerful landscape. Nor, indeed, could any one desire a better



Plan of the Theatre and Odeum of Acræ.*

site than that which the inhabitants of Acræ had selected for their theatre, inasmuch as it commands the fertile valleys and verdant hills of Acræ; and the majestic Etna, erecting its crest above the clouds, closes the picture.

“The theatre is divided by staircases into nine wedges (*cunei*), in each of which are comprised twelve rows of seats. There is no doubt, however, that the *cavea* of the Acrensian theatre possessed greater extent; for traces of some seats that are discernible all along, in the plane of the rock which is inclined from the south side, convert the conjecture into certainty. The edifice, of which the internal diameter does not exceed the measure of 63·5 Sicilian palmi,† presents no trace of an inclosure; the smallness of which attests that it was not necessarily made by chance. Moreover, there exist remains of the *pulpitum* and *proscenium*, in the front of which two niches are to be seen. On both sides of the *scena*, traces of two doors are still visible, by which, like those in the theatre of Pompeii, access was had to the *orchestra*. On the other side of the *scena* one there finds some places for preserving water and grain.

“On the west are to be seen, hollowed out in a great measure under the rock whereon the theatre is situated, the remains of another *smaller theatre*,

* Reduced from Serradifalco, vol. iv, pl. 32. A picturesque view of some architectural fragments, and of the theatre of Acræ, is given in vol. iv, pl. 31.

† But see my measurement *ante*, p. 242, and note †.

which every thing demonstrates to have been entirely covered. This is divided by two staircases into three wedges, or *cunei*, the seats of which were placed over. Upon the diameter of the *cavea* there exist, all along, the foundations of a rectangular building that is prolonged towards the south, where, at the end of the semicircle, are the remnants of stairs, by which one descended from the upper floor, where the theatre stood.

"It is known that ever since the time of Pericles, the Greeks had, besides the theatre, another sort of edifice, wherein poets and musicians contended for the prize, and which bore the name of odeum,* from the use to which it was destined. Not yet, indeed, has any writer on this kind of edifice handed down to us a complete description of it; and Vitruvius himself, who minutely explains so many buildings of less importance, is silent respecting the rules for the proper construction of the *odea*. It is, therefore, our business to investigate what traces of them exist in the neglected passages of ancient writers.

"Pausanias, describing the monuments of Athens, says, 'before the entrance of that theatre which is called the *odeum*, are the statues of Egyptian kings'.† Accordingly, as his words denote, the form of the odeum was in a great degree similar to that of a theatre. And to strengthen the argument, a passage of Plutarch assists much, wherein, speaking of the odeum at Athens, it is related that there were seats in it,‡ exactly like those which are to be seen in a theatre. Finally, the scholiast of Aristophanes (in *Vespis*), does not permit of any further doubt on this subject, where he says, that 'an odeum is a place in the form of a theatre, in which poems used to be recited, previous to their being acted in a theatre'. In fact, all those who have preceded in these researches, have constantly affirmed that odea possessed a form like that of theatres, if not for the very same purpose for which they were at first designed, and they have argued that they were only *smaller theatres*.

"Vitruvius, treating of porticos and covered passages, that were usual behind the theatre, speaks incidentally of the odeum, which Pericles built in Athens, adding, that it was covered with the masts and sails of the Persian ships:— 'et excurrentibus è theatro sinistrâ parte odeum, quod Athenis Pericles§ columnis

* Suidas, v. ὤδεῖον, says that this word was derived from ὦδῆ, a song.

† Pausan., lib. i, c. 8, s. 6: Τοῦ Θεάτροῦ ἐξ ὧ καλοῦσιν ὤδεῖον, ἀνδριάντες πρὸ τῆς ἐφόδου βασιλέων εἰσὶν Αἰγυπτίων.

‡ Plutarch. in *Pericl.*

§ Dr. E. D. Clarke (in note 1, p. 254, chap. iv, vol. vi, 8vo. edit. of his *Travels*) considered that this account of Vitruvius "caused the odeum of Herodes to be confounded with the theatre" of Bacchus. He observes: "There were three different monuments which had received the name of odeum; one at the south-east angle of the citadel, which was the Odeum of Pericles; another at the south-west angle, which was the Odeum of Herodes Atticus; the

lapideis disposuit, naviumque malis, et antennis è spoliis Persicis pertexit';* and Plutarch remarks, that this covering was made for the entire height, because, as report said, it resembled the tent of Xerxes.† From this we learn that the odeum differed from a theatre, in being furnished with an awning or roof; nor could this have been otherwise, when we consider that a covering was convenient‡ for an edifice intended for the contentions of poets and musicians; so Vitruvius calls this to mind where he mentions the porticos and covered passages that were erected behind theatres, and lastly, that the small dimension of the odeum made it very easy to cover it with a roof.§ I must say, indeed, that there is no author who attributes a scena to the odeum; and, in truth, from the purposes of this kind of edifice, it need not be argued for what the scena might have served, because the pulpit was alone sufficient, as poets and musicians made in it a trial of their power. Hence we must conclude, 1st, that the odeum had the form of a theatre; 2dly, that it differed from it in being furnished with a covering; 3rdly, that it wanted the scena, having only the pulpit; and 4thly, that being erected near a theatre, it might, with its porticos and covered passages, serve for shelter to those, who being present at the spectacle, might be surprised by showers.‖

odeum mentioned by Pausanias, again, is considered as a third. The Abbé Barthelemy believed the *Pnyx* to have been called *Odeum* by Pausanias. The subject is, indeed, somewhat embarrassed."

* Vitruv., lib. v, c. 9. The same writer adds that this odeum having been burnt, was afterwards restored by Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia. This was destroyed by fire on the occasion of Athens being captured by Sulla, in the year 86 B.C., and was rebuilt by Ariobarzanes the second, between the years 63 and 50 B.C.

† Plutarch., in *Pericl.*

‡ And, indeed, necessary for the better retention of the sounds of the music and singing.

§ Plutarch says Pericles had a head like a *σχίνος*, *squill*; wherefore Cratinus, alluding to the conical figure of the roof of the odeum, thus ridiculed him:

‘Ο σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς ὅδε προσέρχεται

Περικλέης, τῷδεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ κρανίου

* Εἰων, ἐπειδὴ τοῦστρακον παροίκεται.

(Plut. in *Pericl.* tom. i, p. 353.)

The *squill*, or *sea onion*, in Athenian vernacular dialect, was sometimes called *σχίνος*, instead of *Σκίλλα* (Dioscor., lib. ii, cap. 202), or *Σκύλλα* (Theoph., lib. vii, cap. 12). The large globoso-ovate bulb of this plant, abundant on the shores of the Mediterranean, “is frequently as big as a child’s head”. It is the *Scilla maritima* of Lin. (See fig. 918, vol. xxiii; Curtis’s *Bot. Mag.*; and the author’s memoir on the Classical Plants of Sicily, No. 141.

‖ Vitruv., l. c.

“Proceeding next to examine the Acrensian monument, it will be easily seen how all these circumstances concur, and quite agree in it; because it is clear that it is a little theatre, covered, in a great degree, by the same rock wherein it is excavated; deprived of the scena, but furnished with a pulpit; that being prolonged to the south it presents space enough for the construction of porticos; and lastly, adjoining to the theatre, with which, as we have observed, it could communicate by the staircase, of which there remain several steps. Hence then, without fear of mistake, we are able to esteem the identical edifice an *odeum*.

“But since the importance of this monument is considerable, it is necessary to take a view of those edifices, of the same kind, of which ancient writers have preserved the memory. The first odeum, of which any notice is left, is that which Pericles caused to be built* in Athens, wherein the choristers of the different tribes exercised.† This noble example was copied by many cities of Greece. Pausanius records the odeum of Corinth, near the fountain Pirene,‡ another at Smyrna, worthy of note for the famous picture by Apelles, representing the Graces,§ and finally, the odeum of Patræ; and there, by a digression, he alludes to that which, in his time, Herodes Atticus constructed in Athens, for the purpose of honouring his consort Regilla.||

“Rome had similar monuments at a later period. Fabricius, in his description of Rome, interpreting erroneously a passage in the letters of Cicero to Atticus, supposes that in Rome even four odeæ¶ existed, though the learned allow but two;—viz., one built by Domitian,** and the other, which was erected when Trajan was emperor,†† by the celebrated architect Apollodorus.‡‡ Of these indeed the memory alone remains.

“Coming now to the examination of the existing monuments, we must first of all consider that the resemblance in form between theatres and odeæ was the

* About the middle of the fifth century before Christ.

† To understand what importance the Greeks placed on these musical contests, it is well to remember the Choragic Monument that is seen in Athens, raised in honour of Lysicrates, on account of the victory which the tribe of Acamantis obtained in the contests of the Choruses, when Evænetus was archon. (B.C. 335.) See Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens*, vol. i, cap. iv, plate 23.

‡ Pausan., lib. ii, cap. 3, s. 6.

§ Ibid., lib. ix, cap. 35, s. 2.

|| Ibid., lib. vii, cap. 20, s. 3. This author writes, “in memory of his deceased wife”; and see Dr. E. D. Clarke's account of what he calls the Odeum of Regilla. (*Travels*, vol. vi, p. 253, 8vo. edit.)

¶ Fabricius, *Descrip. Urbis Romæ*, c. 12, p. 510, apud Grævii, *Antiq. Rom.*, tom. iii.

** Sueton. *in Vit. Domit.*, c. 5. †† Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xvi, cap. 10.

‡‡ Xiphilin. lib. lxix, p. 336, tom. iv.

reason, as the eminent Quatremère de Quincy* has opportunely remarked, why artists and travellers have frequently confused the one with the other; and, perhaps, the same thing happened to Stuart,† when he gave the name of the Odeum of Regilla to the ruins of that vast theatre at Athens, which Spon and Wheeler esteemed the Areopagus, and which Dr. Chandler supposed to be the Pnyx;‡ and who, it seems, ought not to say the same of the little theatre of Laodicea, which some have judged to be a Greek odeum,§ and which Chandler ascribed to the time of the Romans.|| The want of characteristic circumstances, therefore, wherein odea differed from theatres, is the real cause why the ablest men have held different opinions concerning those monuments which they have visited, omitting to detain themselves on the odeum of Pompeii, because it is Roman; and on the smaller theatre of Catania,¶ of which we shall say that it possibly might, in its day, have been an odeum, and of the Grecian, or Roman period as Millin** judged. So it does not seem that we have raised our hopes too highly by flattering ourselves that we have evidently demonstrated, in this Acrensian monument, the first distinct example of a Grecian odeum; because, until now, in it alone concur the conditions of being small, covered, deprived of the scene, and adjacent to the theatre.”

The preceding accounts of the theatre and odeum,†† I have translated in full from the Italian of the Duke of Serradifalco, because of their great architectural interest. That of the latter especially, I consider to be the most complete of any on the same subject with which I am acquainted; indeed, in this

* *Dict. d'Architect.* v. Odéon.

† *Antiq. Athen.*, iii, c. 8, p. 51; and see the former note § at p. 247 *ante*.

‡ *Travels in Greece*. See also Dr. E. D. Clarke's description of the Pnyx, *Travels*, vol. vi, chap. v, p. 299; 8vo. edition.

§ *Antiq. of Ionia*, ii, p. 32.

|| So Millin thought of it; vide *Dict. des Beaux Arts*, v. Odéon.

¶ On the theatre of Catania, the memoir of the able architect, Musmeci (*Illustrazione dell' Odeo di Catania*, 1822) may be consulted with advantage.

** Millin, *Dict. des Beaux Arts*.

†† I may as well remind the reader of the *three* kinds of ancient edifices for spectacles and music:—1, the *theatre* (θέατρον) was the most ancient, and was used for *seeing* plays acted, or *spectacles*; 2, the *odeum* (ὠδείον), was an edifice for *music* and *singing*,—and was so named from the Greek word, ὠδή (*odè*), a song; 3, the *amphitheatre* (ἀμφιθέατρον), literally a *double theatre*, exactly resembled two theatres joined together at the diameters of their orchestras. It was the latest kind of building invented by the Romans, for spectacles, and in which the visitors could perfectly *see all around*.

country, I do not know any description of the ancient odeum so ample and instructive.*

In Messrs. Spratt and Forbes's *Travels in Lyceia* (vol. ii), there is a plate representing the comparative sizes of some Lycian theatres, and of one odeum. The latter was discovered at Cibra; and, with regard to its close position (about 100 yards) on the south of the theatre, it may be compared with that of the Acrensian structures. In the description of this odeum, the authors observe: "On the inner surface of the high wall or front connecting the two sides, are several *rows of small holes* pierced in the stones, as if for the purpose of hanging shields or trophies."† These holes, however, appear to me rather to have served for *rods*, or *cords*, for the purpose of supporting or fastening the tent-like *roof* or *covering* of the odeum. Another small odeum is shewn in the same work (vol. i, p. 1, letter F) as existing at Pinara, 86 feet in diameter, but this is large in comparison with the odeum at Acræ, which is the *smallest* of all such edifices that have, as far as I know, yet been discovered. The one nearest to it, which I have seen, is the "little theatre" at *Pompeii*, the internal diameter of the orchestra of which is about 23 feet; but this is owing to there being four rows of seats placed within the space usually reserved for the entire orchestra. The theatre in all other respects is very much larger than the odeum at Acræ; and this "little theatre" at Pompeii must, notwithstanding the different opinions of some travellers, be truly considered as an odeum; for in an inscription found there, and given in Sir Wm. Gell's *Pompeiana* (vol.

* For a comparative view of different Sicilian theatres, as well as of another odeum at Catania, which, in fact, nearly equals in size the theatre of Acræ, I will refer the reader to Serradifalco (vol. v, plate 44), and to Col. Leake's *Tour in Asia Minor* (p. 328), for the diameters of many Grecian theatres and of two odea. Also the student's attention should be directed to the same learned author's exposition (*ibid.* pp. 323-8) of Vitruvius's construction of the Roman theatre, and of the orchestra of the Greek theatre.

† Spratt and Forbes, vol. i, p. 256. See the plan of the ruins of Cibra, by Capt. Spratt.

ii, p. 247), it is called "*Theatrum tectum*"; also, its immediate proximity to the real, or "great theatre", with which it communicated by a portico, clearly determines that it was so.*

Among the sepulchral monuments represented in the work by Serradifalco† is one of a somewhat pyramidal form, "crowned,"



Stela at Acræ.

as the duke writes, "by a Doric entablature with a dentilled cornice, and by a gable with angular antefixes. In the front of this monument, a large square case (shrine) is seen, in the bottom of which there is a hollow, which denotes the outline of an allusive statue of pottery,‡ which occupied it; and in the plain cornice of the case are to be seen two other small circular hollows that contained votive rings.

* See plate 73 in Gell's work, for a good view of the interior of this odeum; and for the plan of it, and scale on which it is drawn, consult *ibid.*, plate 64.

† Vol. iv, plate 33. The statue is shewn to a larger scale in the vignette, p. 156, No. 3.

‡ From these may have originated the small shrines with the figures of the Madonna, so common in Sicily, Italy, etc.

“This monument becomes a most important one, because it distinctly shews the use for which the frequent little Doric entablatures might have been intended, all designed after the like fashion, that have been discovered in Acræ;* as besides, it points out for what these statues of pottery might have served, which evidently represent portraits, and have been recovered at different times in Acræ.”

But in further considering the use of these statues, or images, and ornaments, these questions have occurred to me: Can these statues have been designed for what many of the Greeks, and particularly the Athenians, called *ἑκαταία*, little statues of Hecate, which were placed in small cells, in the public roads, and before the doors of their houses?—inasmuch as they were wont to esteem her the overseer of their families, and the protector of their children: consult Potter, *Arch. Græc.*, vol. i, p. 386. Or were they merely the images or portraits of deceased relatives or friends?

The rings were probably funereal, *κόσμοι*, ornaments: and the late Dr. E. D. Clarke has “stated that the sepulchral terracottas have sometimes the form of images.” He likewise observes, that “the nature of the *κόσμοι* has never been explained; any more than that of the *νεπτείων ἀγάλματα* (Eurip. *in Alc.*, v. 612), said to be carried by those who followed the corpse; by some translated *imagines*; by others, *grata munera*.” Fine pottery, or “pure clay, was an offering to the gods.”†

In the neighbourhood of Acræ are several remarkable figures in *alto-rilievo*, executed in the natural rock, and which, though long known to the traveller, have not yet been sufficiently studied by the antiquary. M. J. Houel, so long ago as 1785, engraved in the third volume of his *Voyage Pittoresque en Sicile*,‡ some of these sculptures; he supposed them to be allegorical figures, but did not attempt any explanation of them.

* Serradifalco, vol. iv, pl. 34, gives some architectural fragments also of the Doric order.

† Clarke's *Travels*, vol. vi, p. 464, 4th edition, 8vo.

‡ They are also shown in Serradifalco, plate 35.

The place where they are to be seen is commonly named by the Sicilians, *La Cuntrata del Santicedda*, "the street of the holy cell", which is a small hill near the mount of the ancient *Acraë*. At the base of this hill, and in the natural stone, are cut in high relief many well-executed figures of good design, which the common people have called *Santuni*, *i.e.*, the "Great Saints".

Houel writes: "If these sculptures have been made in the time of Hiero II, when his palace occupied the summit of the hill, of which they ornament the foot, they may have pertained to a temple of the infernal gods, or to some monuments of the dead."* And Sir R. C. Hoare, who travelled in Sicily in 1790, says,† in "*Acre Monte*, I was shewn a subterraneous passage, said to belong to a palace‡ of king Hiero; and was informed that a Greek inscription, with the words *Βασιλεὺς ἱερών*, had been used by the Dominicans in some building. In a small valley beneath, and near a spring which issues from a cavity in the rock, are some fragments of antiquity, which deserve notice for their singularity. They are unlike any others in Sicily, and seem peculiar to this district. In niches formed in the rock are figures cut in basso-relievo. The principal is a female, the size of life, and it is often surrounded with others of smaller dimensions. Most of them bear crowns, similar to those usually given to the goddess Cybele.§ I could discover no traces of any inscription. These sculptures have suffered much from inattention: the forms of several are distinguished with the

* *Voy. Pitt.*, iii, 114.

† *Classical Tour*, vol. ii (2nd edition), p. 305.

‡ From the supposed ruins of this *palace*, or *arx*, the modern name of *Acre*, or *Palazzolo*, has very probably been taken; indeed, Biscari has actually termed it *Palazzo*. (See *ante*, p. 239, and note §, at p. 238.)

§ This is a mistake, for the crown is not a *mural* one, or consisting of *turrets*, such as is assigned to Cybele, but the simple *modius*, or corn measure. That goddess also was generally accompanied by a lion, and *not* a dog. (See Tassie's *Gems*, vol. ii, plate 16, No. 800.) Capt. Smyth, in his work on Sicily, has continued the same error.

greatest difficulty, and all the faces are totally destroyed. They have been little noticed by travellers, and no one has attempted to explain their use or signification."

Some of the subjects so represented in the hard rock, allude, I have no doubt, to certain funereal rites, or were intended as sepulchral honours to deceased friends, who have been very likely interred in the neighbouring catacombs or necropolis. The most remarkable figure in nearly all these niches is a colossal female, often sitting down, covered with a long garment, and bearing on her head the *modius*, corn measure, or bushel ornament.

These reliefs contain nine principal, and several smaller groups, disposed in two rows, with some partly-effaced little niches, whose figures have either fallen out, or been removed. In all of them the same large figure of a female, clothed with long drapery, and crowned with the *modius*, occurs; and behind her are to be seen children, or little human figures, in different postures.

In the second large relief on the left of Serradifalco's upper row, in fig. 2, pl. 35, which is the same as Houel's third bas-relief, pl. 198, the colossal female is standing, and placing her right hand, as if in approbation or protection, upon the head of a little girl, and pressing with her left the right hand of Mercury, who holds the caduceus in his left hand. A dog,* between them, is turned towards the female; and some other figures, with a man upon a horse on each side, complete the tablet.

The Duke of Serradifalco supposes this colossal female to signify Isis, and the dog represented at her feet to be Cerberus. In answer to the latter, I must observe that, as the dog there sculptured bears only one head, I cannot think that it was meant for Cerberus; and instead of the former, or Isis, I conceive it more likely that the female was intended for Hecate.

In considering the greater probability of this large and dig-

* See note §, p. 249.

nified female figure having been executed at an earlier period than that in which the worship of Isis prevailed, and therefore meant for the goddess Hecate, it will be here unnecessary to discuss whether or not Libera, Cora, Proserpine, or the Grecian Persephone, or Ceres, or the Grecian Demeter, or Luna, Diana, or the Grecian Artemis, or the Egyptian Isis, are identical with Hecate, or merely different attributes and personifications of the same mystical goddess, or totally distinct and separate deities. It will be enough for my view of the subject to regard Hecate as a divine personage, more plainly delineated in the mythology of the earlier writers.

Cicero states distinctly that the whole of Sicily was dedicated to Ceres and Proserpine,—“Vetus est hæc opinio quæ constat ex antiquissimis Græcorum literis atque monumentis, insulam Siciliam totam esse Cereri et Liberæ consecratam”.* And Pindar had long before narrated that Sicily was the portion of Proserpine:†

Σπείρει νυν ἀγλαΐαν τινὰ νάσῳ,
 Τὰν Ὀλύμπου δεσπότης
 Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν Φερσεφόνα· κατένευ-
 σέν τέ οἱ χαίταις, ἀρι-
 στεύοισαν ἐνκάρπου χθονὸς
 Σικελίαν πείραν ὀρθώ-
 σειν κορυφαῖς πολίων ἀφνεαῖς.

“Now to the isle some tribute raise,
 Which Jove, Olympus’ sovereign lord,
 Pledged with a nod his sacred word,
 (When to *Persephone’s* command
 Was given Sicilia’s fertile land)
 To gild with wealthy cities’ towering praise.”‡

Also the scene of the well known and beautiful tale of Cora or

* *In Verrem*, Act. ii, lib. iv, cap. 48.

† Pind., *Nem.* i, v. 16-22. The Scholiast, on this passage, says, Jupiter gave the whole of Sicily to Proserpine, as a portion on her marriage with Pluto, and observes that the entire island was (ἐξ ἀρχῆς) under the rule of Ceres and Proserpine.

‡ Rev. C. A. Wheelwright’s *Transl. Pind.*, First *Nem.*, Ode v, 15-20.

Proserpine, the daughter of Ceres, having been carried off by Pluto, was laid, by some ancient authors, in the meadows—

“Of Enna, where Proserpine gathering flowers,
Herself a fairer flow’r, by gloomy Dis
Was gather’d”,*—

to the north-west of Acræ; and it is related that the transparent and deep fountain of Cyane, near Syracuse, issued forth from the place where Pluto descended with her into his realm below.† On this occurrence, Hecate, a daughter of Jupiter and Ceres, was sent by the former to seek for Proserpine. Moreover, Homer, in his hymn to Ceres, says that Hecate and Apollo (Helios)‡ witnessed from her cavern the carrying away of Proserpine, and also heard her cries; that, after Ceres had wandered for nine days, she met, on the tenth day, Hecate, who, with a lighted torch in her hand, accompanied her mother in searching for Proserpine; and, that after they had discovered her, Hecate, remaining with Proserpine—then the queen—was instituted a goddess of the infernal regions. Afterwards she ruled over, and wandered about with, the souls of the dead, and became the chief deity of purifications, and was usually followed by Stygian dogs. Her appearance was made known by their howlings;§ and the same animals formed part of the sacrificial offerings to her,—wherefore Lycophron has termed her *κυνόφαγῆ*, the “devourer of dogs”. And so the Sicilian poet very appropriately invokes this mighty divinity, of whom a more ancient bard (Hesiod) states (*Theog.* v, 415):

* Milton, *Par. Lost*, iv, 269.

† Vide Cicero, *in Verrem*, lib. iv, cap. 48; Diodor. Sic., lib. v, c. 3, 4, 5; Ovid, *Met.*, lib. v, v. 385-437; *Fast.*, lib. iv, v. 422, etc.

‡ Hom., *Hymn. in Cer.*, v. 25, 26, etc., Lips. 1787; and also see Rev. R. Hole’s translation into English verse. Lond. 1781.

§ ——— “Visæque canes ululare per umbram,
Adventante Deâ”.— (Virg., *Æn.* vi, 257.)

“And howling dogs in glimmering light advance,
Ere Hecate came”.— (Dryden, *Virg. Æn.* vi, 367.)

Ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖσι τετιμένη ἐστὶ μάλιστα.*

————— Ἀλλὰ Σελάνη

Φαῖνε καλὸν· τὴν γὰρ ποταείσομαι ἄσυχυ ᾄῳμον,
Τῇ χθονίᾳ θ' Ἑκάτῃ, τὰν αἰ σκύλακες τρομέοντι
Ερχομένην νεκρῶν ἀνὰ τ' ἡρία καὶ μέλαν ἅμα.
Χαῖρ' Ἑκάτα εὐσπλῆτι, καὶ ἐς τέλος ἄμμιν ὀπήδει.

————— "O queen of night,

Pale moon ! assist me with refulgent light ;
My imprecations I address to thee,
Great goddess, and infernal Hecatè,
Stain'd with black gore, whom ev'n gaunt mastiffs dread,
Whene'er she haunts the mansions of the dead :
Hail, horrid Hecatè ! and aid me still."†

The presence, then, of a dog in several of the Acrensian rock-reliefs, will tend to confirm my supposition that Hecate is the large figure there sculptured ; and, as the mighty ruler over the souls of the dead, conducted by the god Mercury (Hermes Psychagogos), she would be a proper deity to be thus introduced into sepulchral memorials to departed friends, by their survivors, and in the immediate vicinity of the necropolis of the city.

Hesiod further describes Hecate as affording victory and fame to warriors, assisting horsemen, and superintending the birth and nurture of children, *κουροτρόφος*.‡ Hence it appears that the small human figures in the sculpture (fig. 2, upper row of Serradifalco, already described) are intended for children, whom that goddess was wont to protect, and the men on horseback, travellers, or more likely warriors, to whom she had rendered assistance, or granted the rewards of victory :

Ἑσθλή δ' ἐπιπήσσει παρεστάμεν, οἷς κ' ἐθέλῃσι.

* So Virgil, *Æn.* vi, 247,—

"Voce vocans Hecaten, cœloque Ereboque potentem".

† Theocr., *Idyl.* ii, v. 10-14 ; and F. Fawkes's *Trans. of Theocritus*, *idyl.* ii, v. 11-17. This Greek poet, being a native of Syracuse, is most likely to have given a true, though a poetical, account of the invocation or worship of Hecate, as practised in his time in that part of Sicily.

‡ Hesiod., *Theogonia*, vv. 431-52.

Some, perhaps, may be inclined to hold that, as this large sculptured female is not a triple figure, it cannot represent the goddess Hecate; but I must remind them that we learn from Pausanias that the more ancient and original figure of this goddess had only one face and one body; and that Alcamenes was the first (about 440 B.C.) who made a triple statue of Hecate with three bodies joined together.*

In connexion with a portion of the preceding mythological narrative, I may mention that, as there was a famous temple dedicated to Ceres and Proserpine in the parent city of Syracuse;† or as, according to Cicero, there were, in the quarter of Syracuse called Neapolis, two celebrated temples, one of Ceres, and another of Proserpine,‡—so at Acræ, the daughter-city, it is known from inscriptions that a temple to each of those goddesses once existed.

These facts, then, will go to prove that the rare Acræan coin I am now about to describe, bears further reference to the same myth respecting Ceres and Proserpine.§ The Duke of Serradi-



falco does not describe this coin; but the Prince of Torremuzza (Castello)|| thus notices it: "This coin was first published by

* 'Ομοίως ἓν πρόσωπὸν τε, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα. Ἀλκαμένης δὲ (ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν) πρῶτος ἀγάλματα Ἑκάτης τρία ἐποίησε προσεχόμενα ἀλλήλοις. (Pausan., *Corinth.* p. 72, edit. Francof. 1583.) For a gem representing this mystical triple figure of the later Hecate, crowned with three modii, see No. 2053, pl. 29, vol. ii, Tassie's Catalogue of Gems, by Raspe.

† Vide Plutarch, in *Vit. Dion.* cap. 56; and Plutarch's *Lives*, vol. vi, p. 52, edit. Tonson, 1758.

‡ Cicero, in *Verrem*, Act. ii, lib. iv, cap. 53.

§ See Serradifalco, vol. iv, vignette, p. 156, No. 1; and Castello, *Sic. Vet. Num.*, tab. ii.

|| *Siciliæ Veteres Nummi*, Panorm. 1781, p. 4.

Haym in *Thesaur. Brit.*; and because he read the word ΑΚΑΙΩΝ upon it, he referred it to *Ace*, in Syria. Pellerin (*Recueil de Médail.*, vol. iii, p. 98) more fortunately observing the abbreviation, ΚΡ, restored it to *Acraë* in Sicily". On examining Haym's *Tesoro Britannico* (vol. ii, p. 85, Lond. 1720), the figure there given of a brass coin seemed to me to differ much from that represented by Torremuzza and Serradifalco. Haym calls it a coin of the *Achei*, the inhabitants of the town of *Acaja*, referring to the *Achaia* of Cellarius, in Syria. Now this Syrian town is properly termed *Ache*, (*Accho*, 'Ακχῶ, in the Septuagint, Judg. i, 31), more commonly *Ace*, Ακη; and still called by the natives, *Akka*, or by foreigners, *Acre*.

Haym has described it thus: "The head of Ceres: *reverse*, figure of a woman standing, with a sceptre in her left, and a cornucopia in her right, hand; ΑΚΑΙΩΝ, *Achaëorum*". But Pellerin,* I find, happily rectified Haym's error, and more correctly read the legend, ΑΚΡΑΙΩΝ, of the *Acræans*,—the second letter, Ρ being a monogram for κ and π. His plate (108, fig. 6) exhibits the coin as much more like Torremuzza's and Serradifalco's copies; and he states,—“thus it belongs to the city of *Acræ* in Sicily, of which there have been no medals published”.

Torremuzza, eighteen years afterwards, thus described the same very rare coin: “Head of Ceres, crowned with ears of wheat; and in *reverse*, Ceres herself stands, bearing torches in both hands.” But it is remarkable that his description does not agree with the engraving of the reverse of this coin, where Ceres is standing, and carries a burning torch in her left hand, and a *distaff* in her right. The learned Sicilian then notices the rhomboidal shape of the Ω in the legend, and says it is common in the inscriptions of Sicily. One of these I will refer to, namely an ancient epigraph bearing the name of the Segestans, in my paper on the Temple of Segesta, in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* (Second Series), vol. ii, p. 204.

* *Recueil de Médailles de Peuples*, vol. iii, p. 98, Par. 1763.

This will strengthen the idea that the coin was really of Sicilian workmanship, which, as it is not known to have been discovered in Acrae, or even in Sicily, may, to some, seem doubtful; and I may mention, in further corroboration of this, that Baron Judica showed me, at Palazzolo, an inscription, **ARΩN** (meaning **AKPΩN**), “of Acrae”, where the identical monogram, **R** for **κ** and **ρ**, was also quite distinct. Indeed, we find the same word, *Ἀκρῶν*, the genitive case plural of *Ἀκραί*, in Diodorus Siculus, *Fragn.*, lib. 23, col. v, p. 501.

To me, however, it appears that the head on the obverse of the coin is not that of Ceres, because it wears a *pileus*, or man’s hat,* which is not characteristic of a woman, neither is the face sufficiently feminine; but I think, most likely, that it is intended for the head of Triptolemus when a youth.† I would therefore describe the coin thus: *Obv.*, head, in profile, of Triptolemus, wearing a *pileus* ornamented with ears of wheat: *rev.*, Ceres standing, with her long drapery open‡ in the upper part, and bearing a lighted torch in her left, and a distaff in her right hand; *legend*, **ARAIΩN**, “of the Acraeans”.

The head of Ceres, I may remark, is common on Sicilian coins, and particularly on those of Enna. Many of the latter are figured in Torremuzza’s work (plate 28), in all of which the head of that goddess is without a *pileus*, and the countenance is more feminine. Cicero also writes, that at Enna, before the Temple of Ceres, were two most beautiful and very large statues,—one of Ceres, and the other of Triptolemus.§ Hence, in the neighbouring district of Enna, Triptolemus was asso-

* See a figure of Apollo, with the *pileus* hung from his shoulders, No. 72, Worlidge’s *Gems*.

† Virgil calls Triptolemus “*uncique puer monstrator aratri*.” (Georg. i, 19.) The manner in which the hair is represented, below the *pileus*, on that coin, resembles that on the head of Antinous, No. 55, Worlidge’s *Gems*.

‡ The drapery open in front, or half falling, is perhaps intended to signify her constant travelling in search of Proserpine.

§ Cicero, in *Verrem*, Act ii, lib. iv, cap. 49.

ciated with Ceres; and the same occurs in some antique Grecian coins.* One only I will point out, which is a handsome brass coin of Athens, and represented in Haym, vol. i, p. 179, No. 31. There the head of Ceres is quite feminine; and the *reverse* presents Triptolemus in a car drawn by two winged serpents, or dragons, and holding in his right hand two ears of wheat; consequently, this rare and interesting coin of Acræ clearly refers to the fable of Ceres and Proserpine; for after Ceres and Hecate had gone, with torches lighted from the fires of Etna, to seek for Proserpine, Ceres, arriving at Eleusis, was hospitably received by the father of Triptolemus; and, in return for this kindness, she taught the latter, then a youth, the triple arts of ploughing, sowing, and reaping, and lent him her chariot drawn by dragons, to go through the air, and teach those arts to mankind.†

So then, in a city where there existed temples to Ceres and Proserpine,‡ and in which, doubtless, the sacred mysteries of the Thesmophoria§ were duly celebrated,—as in the metropolis, Syracuse,||—and where such remarkable sculptures, allusive, as I conceive, to the rites of Hecate and her authority over the souls of the dead, are still remaining,—it is not surprising to find the coins of that city impressed with the representations of Ceres and Triptolemus, as a part of, and in connexion with, the same favourite myth and worship.

JOHN HOGG.

* Also in ancient gems; see No. 1889, plate 27, vol. ii, Tassie's *Gems*.

† Vide Callim. *Hymn. in Cerer.*, v. 22; Virg., *Georg.* i, v. 19; Ovid. *Met.*, v. 642-60; et *Fast.* iv, 559.

‡ See note †, *ante*, p. 238.

§ Triptolemus is said to have instituted this festival.

|| Plutarch, in *Dion.*, c. 27; and *Athen.* xiv, 647.

XV.

ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF CANDIA,

No. I.

“LA DESCRIZIONE DELL’ ISOLA DI CANDIA”.

A MS. OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Κρήτη τιμήεσσα, Διὸς μέγαλοιο τιθήνη.—*Dion. Perieg.* v. 501.

IN the library of the Marciana, at Venice, are a variety of reports addressed to the Serene Republic by the Proveditori of their distant possessions, furnishing an account of the countries subject to their charge. Among these are several relating to the island of Candia, some of which contain notices, at more or less length, of its antiquities. These notices I have deemed may be acceptable to the readers of the *Museum*, and I propose on this occasion to direct their attention to a MS. containing a General Description of the Antiquities of the Island; and in the next number, to lay before them another MS., giving a more detailed account of some of the individual monuments.

It is remarkable, that although the original MS. of the subject we are now about to consider is lost to us, copies, more or less perfect, exist in many libraries. These it has been my study to examine and collate, supplying the deficiencies of some, and correcting the inaccuracies of others, so as to restore, as nearly as possible, the entirety of the original matter, so far as relates to the antiquities of the island. On a map of Candia, contained in Class vi., Cod. 188, there is the same title—“Descrizione dell’ Isola di Candia”, accompanied with the date 1538. We may therefore conclude that the work before us was written in that year. The MS. begins, “L’Isola di

Candia ha forma molta più lunga che larga”; and goes on to describe the geography, natural history, antiquities, ancient and modern history, statistics, and the military resources of the country; and the copies contain more or less of these chapters, according to the object or pleasure of the writers. Of these transcripts there are in the Marciana no less than nine which relate to the antiquities of the island. Another, and apparently a more complete copy, formed part of the Donati collection, and is frequently cited by Torres.* Two other copies are referred to by the same writer, as existing in the Laurentian and Ambrosian† libraries, but I did not succeed in finding either. The codices I have been able to find are thus indicated:—

1.	<i>Bibl. Marc.</i>	Class VII.	Cod.	363.					<i>post</i>	1583
2.	—		—	569.	By Benetto Gatto		—	—		
3.	—	— XI.	—	6.						1588
4.	—	— VII.	—	214.	By Leonardo Quirini					1587
5.	—	— IV.	—	181.						1595
6.	—	— Q.	—	2.						
7.	—	— VI.	—	286.						
8.	—	— —	—	287.						
9.	—	— Q.	—	2.	By Marin Cavalli					1576
10.	<i>Bib. Reg. Paris.</i>		—	10181.	By Francesco Barozzi					1577
11.	—	(Sup. Fr.)	—	1763.					<i>post</i>	1577
12.	—	(Miss. Etr.)	—	221.	By Leonardo Quirini					
13.	<i>Bib. Vat. Urbin.</i>		—	1032.	—					1587
14.	— <i>Mus. Brit.</i>	(Addit.)	—	8639.	—					—
15.	— <i>Vat. Ottob.</i>		—	2604.	Addressed to Principe Pietro Zane, Cap. Gen., and therefore, probably by Leonardo Quirini.					
16.	— <i>Trin. Coll. Cant.</i>	R. IV.	—	6.	—					
17.	— <i>Sem. Venet.</i>	ss. XIII.	—	11.	By Del Discorso					1590
18.	—	—	—	12.	By Gio. Ant. Muazzo					1670

* *Fragmenta Antiquitatum Cretensium.* By the Abate Torres y Ribera, a Jesuit, who, dying before the work was completed, his publisher sold it as waste paper; so that only four copies are said to exist.

† The catalogue of manuscripts in this library is in slips, and is not shewn to any one; which is the more to be regretted, as it is believed to contain unpublished treasures of great value.

Other MSS., not seen, are :

19. Bibl. Barberina. *Relazioni e lettere del Viaggio in Candia* del Sig. Fra Vincenzo Rospigliosi, nel 1669.
20. — Ambrosiana Mediol. *Relazione di Candia*.
21. — ————— *Viaggio a Candia*, di Giulio Tomilano.
22. — Publique de Mejanès à Aix. *Recueil de mémoires et voyages en Hongrie, Candie, etc.*
23. — De l'Arsenal, Paris. *Voyage du Levant* (3 tomes), par Louis Chevalier, en 1699.

MSS. quoted by Torres y Ribera, *Periplus Cretæ*, cap. ix, p. 30-32.

24. *Relazione di Candia*, dal Marchese Ann. Gonzago. 1599.
25. ————— Co. Onorio Scotti.
26. ————— Marchese Villa.
27. ————— Mocenigo Zuane. 1597.
28. ————— Gritti Zuane, or Garzoni. 1582.
29. ————— Marin Cavalli. 1571.
30. ————— Pietro Calerghi.
31. ————— Dolphin Venier. 1611.
32. *Delle antichità del regno di Creta*. Don Fortunato Olmo.*

* No. 1 bears no date, but it appears to have been written during the office of the Proveditor-General, Giacomo Foscarini, but subsequently to 1583, for it gives the inscription excavated by Belli, at Lappa, in that year. It is in a clear, neat hand-writing, and is fortunately the best preserved.

No. 2 has no date, but it refers to the said Giacomo Foscarini as being formerly Proveditor-Generale, and is therefore subsequent in date to No. 1. It is nearly as complete, but is written in a loose irregular hand.

No. 3, although the next most perfect, contains only about one-fifth of the former MS. It is in a fair handwriting.

No. 4 has many omissions, and terminates abruptly.

No. 5 has the following memorandum at the end:—"This description was written in the year 1595, when there still remained some vestiges of the plague."

No. 6 is preceded by an original chapter on the products and manufactures of the country. It has an index at the end, and the contents of every page are written in the margin.

Nos. 7 and 8 are confined to the description of the natural objects, as the grottoes and cascades.

No. 9 treats of the antiquities very superficially.

Nos. 10 and 11 rank third and fourth in importance. The inscriptions are given in Italian, but the originals are suppressed.

Before entering upon the investigation of the antiquities, it may be useful to give the following preliminary remarks on the character of the country, drawn in great measure from a MS. history of Candia, written in 1550, and marked Class vi, Cod. 155 of the Marciana.

"The present name of the island is derived from the modern capital, the city of Candia, which occupies the site of Chandace, the port of Gnossus, the ancient capital of Creta. The primitive name, by which the country was known, was *Aeria*, which was given to it on account of the temperature and salubrity of the air, and from the fertility and abundance which reigned in the island. It is, indeed, most temperate, insomuch that the inhabitants have much less need of medicine than in other countries, and consequently live to a great age, occasionally to one hundred and twenty and one hundred and thirty, and the author affirms having seen one, who, by his baptismal records, proved himself to be one hundred and thirty-four, and was then in possession of all his faculties.

"The country is very hilly, and has few plains; most of the mountains are rough and rugged, but Mount Ida,* which is in the centre of the island, and some others, are verdant and fruitful. Such, however, is the fecundity of the soil, that it bears crops almost without the aid of the plough. But little corn is grown, the chief attention being given to the culture of the vine, which, in this island, produces wines of the finest quality, among which are the Muscatelle and the Tyrian, with red and white wines. But the most celebrated wine grown here is the Malvasia. It is produced from one particular grape, and if others of a different quality are mixed with it, even in small quantities, it is said to lose its taste and virtue; for which reason it is called *monovasia*. The vine is small and low, and the leaves different from all others, resembling those of a plantain tree. It flourishes only in this island, and if transplanted elsewhere it loses its peculiar property. It bears but few grapes, but the wine is white and brilliant, and when kept, acquires such force that at ten years old it burns like oil. It does not grow in all parts of the island, and it is produced in such small quantities, that scarcely ten amphoræ a year are made. It thus becomes of great value, and the chief part is consecrated for the sick and in-

* The Mount Ida here referred to, so celebrated as the place of concealment of the infant Jupiter, is about forty miles in length, and composed of a congeries of hills terminating in three lofty peaks. All the animals on this mountain have the mouth and teeth of a gold colour, as if gilt,—a circumstance owing to the peculiar nature of the herb *lunaria*, which covers the mountain. The opposite side of the mountain, or that which looks down upon the Plain of Mes-sarea, is covered with beautiful cypresses, pines, and junipers.

firm. It is never exported: the wine sent to other countries under this name being produced from the ordinary grape of the island, differing from real malvasia in colour, taste, and smell.

“Oranges, lemons, pomegranates, and all other fruits, are produced in the greatest abundance, and are sold at the vilest prices. The gardens are rich and beautiful, and adorned with many plants unknown in other countries. Great part of the island is clothed with wood, chiefly composed of cypress, cedar, and fir. The cypresses are most abundant, being so thick that a few years before the author's arrival, a forest of them ignited, and burnt for four years before the flames were exhausted. Olive trees are plentiful, and Tournefort remarks that they grow high up among the mountains, where the temperature is colder than in many other countries where the olive will not grow. The hills and valleys afford pasture to countless flocks, the wool of which is extremely delicate, and the milk abundant, so that a prodigious quantity of cheese is annually made. The cattle are fine, and the horses proverbially celebrated, even amongst the ancients. The island abounds with wild fowl. There is but little fish, except at Spinalonga, Mirabello, Gerapetra, Settia, and the Porto di Suda, where it is very delicate, and in season throughout the year. Sharks and sword-fish are, however, very common. Among medicinal herbs are Asimos, Parnacea, and the only genuine Dictamnus.* (See Virgil, *Æneid*, xii). Nard and honey are produced in large quantities, and another plant peculiar to this country is *Alimos*, the chewing of which is said to abate hunger. The island produces few noxious animals, and scorpions, notwithstanding the assertion of Erasmus, are extremely rare. The tarantula is somewhat common, and its bite venomous, though not mortal. The men are of middle stature and rather stout, of a swarthy colour, and wide shouldered. The women are most beautiful, and their eyes possess a fascinating power (*extrema vaghezza*).”

We will now return to the antiquities of the island, the work on which is written with great care, the inscriptions being given in majuscule, in cursive Greek, in Latin verse and prose, and in Italian verse and prose, except when the original Greek is not in verse. In Cod. No. 1 the Latin and Italian translations only are given; and in No. 2, merely the Italian. I have restored the Greek, wherever I could find it, from the inscriptions copied in this island by Onorio Belli. [The subject of the original MS. is printed in large, the new matter in smaller type.]

The island of Creta, in the flourishing days of Grecian his-

* *Origanum*.

tory, had a hundred cities, as narrated by Stephanus, Ptolemy, Strabo, and other authors.

"Centum urbes habitant magnas uberrima regna."*

These cities were destroyed by the Romans under Quintus Metellus, who, as we are informed by Livy, received the name of Creticus from the event. The ruins of many of these cities are considerable, and others may yet be traced in different parts of the island, the principal of which I will now take occasion to refer to.†

SAMMONIUM.

[The Sammonium Promontory is the north-eastern extremity of the island, and therefore the most fitting place from whence to commence our inquiries. It has a harbour on its eastern side, called the Porto Hag. Joannis, close to which are some Hellenic foundations, probably of the temple of Minerva‡ *Sammonia*.§ Here we are opportunely reminded that it was in rounding this cape that St. Paul's first "difficulty" and danger occurred in his passage by this island. The dangerous character of the foreland, with the conflicting currents of the Sidonian or Phœnician, and the African seas, are well described by Dionysius Periegetes. (*De situ orbis*, 109-119).]

GRAMMION, *sive* SERAPOLIS.

Some few ruins of this once famous city may be traced at *Eremopolis*; many of the foundations can be discerned beneath the sea.

Palvokastron

is a most spacious and secure harbour, on the eastern coast of the island. Among the ruins of the city are walls, mosaic pavements, columns, statues, etc.||

* *Æneid* iii, 106.

† The order of places in the "Description" is as follows: Hierapytna, Matatia, Gortyna, Gnossus, Grotto of Pediadha, Lyctus, Dictæa, Chersonessus, Oaxos, Eleucterna, Lampe, Minoa (Aptera), Cydonia (Dictynnæum), and Cisamus. That these places may be more easily referred to on the map, I have arranged them according to their position, from east to west; and have interspersed the text with notices, in a smaller type, of ruins described by other authors.

‡ Capt. Spratt, *Admiralty Chart*.

§ *Stad. Magni Maris*, Cretæ Perip.

|| MS. No. 11, p. 76.

AMPELUS.

[A Hellenic ruin is shown at this place (Capo Xacro) on the Admiralty chart.*]

ARADUS, *Insula*.

On the island *Cufonissa*, which I suppose to be Aradus, Capt. Spratt shows the "ruins of a Roman town" on its northern shore, with a line of cisterns and conduits towards the centre of the island. On the south side he designates "Hellenic foundations and a statue."†

Petra.

At this place, some "Cyclopean walls" are shown on the Admiralty chart.]

PRAESOS.



From Mionnet.

In the British Museum.

This city still retains its name. It is situated eight miles south of *Settia*, on the slopes of Mount Dicta. Its ruins are seen on a hill, comprising many houses, and other edifices, columns, and slabs of marble.‡

[It contained a temple to Jupiter *Dictæus*.§]

ASOS.

The ruins of this town may be discerned at *Leopetro*, on a mountain on the north coast, the face of which towards the sea is very bold and rocky, so that its ascent is only practicable from the land side.

[A most ancient temple to Jupiter *Asius* existed here.|| The town is placed by Pliny among the inland cities.]

* Capt. Spratt, *Admiralty Chart*, 1851.

† *Id.*

‡ On the slopes of Mount Dicta, towards *Settia*, Bondelmonte observed two ancient sites, which he attributed to *Camara* and *Olus*. Some marble ruins existed at the former place; and the latter city he describes as a very strong fortress, high up among the mountains. (Cornelius, *Creta Sacra*, i, 12.)

§ Strabo, p. 475, lib. x; Chishull, *Antiq., Asiat.*, p. 133.

|| Steph. Byz., *sub voce*.

ALLARIA



In the British Museum.

was situated fifteen miles south of *Settia* at *Monte-forte*, a rocky mountain, difficult of access, if not impassable, except by one road. There are some vestiges of ancient buildings and cisterns.

[We learn from the inscriptions at Teos that Apollo was the tutelar deity of this city.*]

DICTÆA.

On the eastern, or opposite side of the mountain to *Lytus*, are the remains of the ancient and famous city of *Dictamnus*, or *Dictæa*, of which *Ariosto* makes mention in the 20th canto :—

“Fra cento alme città ch’erano in Creta
Dittea più ricca, e più piacevol era.”

Here was found, in 1567, a block of marble of a quadrangular form, covered with the most beautiful arabesques. On another block was a Greek inscription, to the following effect. These marbles have been removed to the garden of Messer Marco Corno Broggnosi, in the town of *Dianaide* :—

“Imperatorem Cesarem Divi Trajani Parthici filium Divi Nervæ nepotem Trajanum Augustum Pontificem Maximum tribunitiæ potestatis septimum consulem libros (*sic*) civitas per protocosmium Sur-nium Diotelem Gylum.”†

Fountain of Diana Dictæa.

This wonderful fountain is to be seen at nearly 100 stadia distance from *Hierapytna*, on the lower slopes of Mount

* Chishull, *Antiq. Asiat.*, p. 138.

† The original is not given, and the inscription is believed to be unpublished.

Dictæus, towards the northern coast. It consists of a basin nearly 30 cubits in diameter, approached by a narrow winding ravine, the bottom of which is obstructed by large masses of rock, which have fallen from the cliffs above. Between these runs the water which flows from the basin within. At the further extremity, a cascade falls into the pool, filling the ears with a murmuring sound; while the sun, shining upon the spray, presents the eye with all the varied colours of the iris. But what is most wonderful, there are not wanting country people, and even priests, who, deceived by the dancing spray and rainbow, affirm to have seen Diana herself, with her beauteous nymphs, having laid aside their white garments, bathing in the waters, and diving down beneath the spray.*

OLERUS.

Olerus was situated on the top of a mountain: it is now called *Castel Messeleris*.

[It possessed a temple of Minerva, hence called *Oleria*.†]

HIERAPYTNA.‡

At *Castel Gerapetra*, at the eastern extremity of the southern coast, we find an infinitude of columns and slabs of different coloured marbles, huge fragments of stone and marble, and a host of statues of different sizes,§ among which was excavated the colossal statue of marble, without head and right arm, which was placed as an ornament to the fountain of St. Salvatore in the city of Candia, by Gio. Mat. Bembo, Cap.-Gen. of Candia, in 1558. Many of these remains have been dug up

* “Qui, nostra ætate, Dianam ipsam suis cumque cudentibus Nymphis, albis depositis vestibibus, nudas abluentes, quandoque vitreo ipso sub gurgite demergere vidisse testantur.”—Cod. No. 5237, *Bibl. Vat.*

† Eustath., *Iliad* β; Chishull, *Antiq. Asiat.*; Zenion, apud Steph. Byz.

‡ From the position of this town, and the distribution of its buildings, it must have presented a most beautiful appearance. It was situated on the coast, opposite to which is the gulf of *Pacchia Aoro*.—MS. *Bibl. Marc.*, vi, 286.

§ Sed longè tamen pluris præstat opus.—TORRES, *Cretæ Periplus*, p. 272.

and removed by the Rettori, and others are daily carried away by the same authorities; so that if only from the numerous sculptures removed and those still existing, we might feel assured that some great and famous city had stood in this situation. This city was Hierapytna. Among the ruins of the city we still see many beautiful mosaic pavements of ancient palaces or temples, and the foundations of a magnificent and stately theatre.* The harbour, the walls of which, constructed of large stones, and consisting of three basins one within the other, may be seen beneath the water,† was defended by a chain. This magnificent work was entirely artificial, but it is now completely filled up and ruined by the lapse of time. In 1577 was dug up a marble slab, on which was the following inscription:‡—

"Publius Secundus" (which Torres corrects to "Imperator Tib.")

"Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, Vias et Semitas restituit, per Æpaconum Agrippinum Rectorem secundum, et finitorem decimum."

A square pier, or pilaster, also was found among the ruins in 1565, on which was engraved a Greek inscription, containing the oath which the Carthaginians made to the inhabitants of Hierapytna, on entering into a treaty with them. The beginning of the inscription is wanting. The pier was removed to the church of St. Zorzo (Georgio) at Settia, from whence it was taken in 1575 by Giac. Foscarini, Cav. and Procuratore, and then Gen.-Proveditore and Inquisitore of the island, and sent to Venice, where it is now in the possession of his heirs.§

[By the treaty with this city, found at Teos, we learn that Minerva Polias was worshipped here.|| She is referred to also in the following inscription.]

* *Architeatro*, MSS. Nos. 2, 10; some others read *amphitheatre*.

† Donati MS., quoted by Torres, *Fædera Cretensium*, cap. ii, art. 1.

‡ This is taken from Donati's MS. (Torres y Ribera, *Fædera Cretensium*, ii, 1.) The page which contained it in MS. No. 1 is lost; but an Italian translation appears in No. 2.

§ Gerapetra is at present a delicious village, with most beautiful gardens; the lemons are remarkably sweet and tender. (MS. No. 11, p. 19.)

|| Chishull, *Ant. Asiat.*, p. 132.

- ων
 αν δις. ὅπ(ως)
 5 δὲ τὰν ἰσοπολιτείαν καὶ τὸν ὄρκον ἀγγραψάντων
 οἱ ἐς) στάλας λιθίνας τρεῖς κα(ι
 τὰν μὲν θέντων οἱ Ἱεραπύτνιοι ἐ)ν Ἱεραπύτνᾳ* ἐν τῇ ἱερῇ τῆς Ἀθανα(ι-
 10 ας τῆς Πολιάδος, τὰν) δὲ ἄλλαν οἱ κατοικόντες Ἱεραπύτνιοι
 ἐν)..... ἐν τῇ ἱερῇ τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ, τὰν δὲ τρίταν κοινᾷ
 ἐν)..... ἐν τῇ ἱερῇ τῆς Ἀθαναίας. αἱ δὲ τί κα ἑοξῇ βωλευνομέ-
 νοις) ἐπὶ τῇ κοινᾷ συμφέροντι ἐπιδιορθῶσαι ἢ ἐξελὲν ἢ ἐν-
 15 βαλέν, μὴ ἔνορκον ἔστω ὅ, τι δὲ ἐ(πι) γράψαιμεν, ἑνοκόν τε ἔστω καὶ
 ἔν(ο)ινον. Ὅρκος. Ὅμνυν τὰν Ἑστίαν καὶ (Ζ)ᾱνα(φ)ράτριον, κα(ι Ζᾱ)να
 Δικταῖον, καὶ Ἥραν, καὶ Ἀθαναίαν Ὡλερίαν, καὶ Ἀθαναίαν Πολιάδα,
 καὶ Ἀθαναίαν Σαλμωνίαν, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα Πύθειον, καὶ Λατώ, καὶ Ἀρ(τε)-
 20 τας, καὶ θεὸς πάντας καὶ πάσας ἢ μὴν ἐγὼ εὐνοήσω τοῖς ἐπί-
 πασι Ἱεραπυτνίοις τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἀπλόως καὶ ἀδόλως, καὶ δῆ
 τὸν αὐτὸν φίλον καὶ ἐχθρὸν ἔξω, καὶ πολεμήσω ἀπὸ χώρας παντὶ
 σθένει, οὐ καὶ οἱ ἐπίπαντες Ἱεραπύτνιοι, καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἐ(ω)σω, καὶ
 ἐμμενῶ ἐν τοῖς συγκειμένοις, καὶ οὐ κακοτεχνήσω οὐδὲν τῶν
 25 ἐν τᾷδε τᾷ ἰσοπολιτείᾳ γεγραμμένων οὔτε λόγῳ οὔτε ἔργῳ,
 οὔδε ἀλλῃ ἐπιτράψω ἐκὼν καὶ γινώσκων παρευρέσει οὐ δεμιᾷ
 οὔδε τρόπῳ οὔδε νί. αἱ δὲ τι ἐπιорκήσαιμι τῶν ὥμοσα ἢ τῶν συνε-
 θέμαν, τὸς τε θεός, τὸς ὥμοσα, ἐμμάνιας ἤμεν, καὶ ἐξόλλυσθαι
 κακίστῳ ὀλέθρῳ, καὶ μῆτε γῶν μῆτε δένδρεα καρπὸς φέρειν, μῆ-
 30 τε γυναικάς τίκτεν κατὰ φύσιν, τῷ τε πολέμῳ μὴ με σῶον νέεσθαι· εὐορ-
 κῶσι δὲ αὐτὴν τὸς τε θεὸς ἐλέος ἤμεν, καὶ γίνεσθαι πάντα ἀγαθὰ.†

MINOA.†

ISTRONA.

[Among the ruined edifices and columns of this ancient city are two immense marble blocks half buried in the earth, and measuring 18 by 5 braccia, (54 by 15 feet.)§

* Chishull and Hoeckh consider this inscription as part of a treaty with the inhabitants of Gortyna; Price and Selden suppose it to be a treaty with the Priansians; Belli reads the word here indicated as *Καραγυννα*; and in the MS. before us, the Latin translation is Carthagina. It is clearly shown, however, by Boeckh, that the treaty is between the inhabitants of the city and those of the province of Hierapytna.

† This and the following inscriptions were copied from the MS. of Honorio Belli, by Apostolo Zeno. They have been published by Muratori, Gruter, and Boeckh; but without the text. The readings here adopted are from the last mentioned author.

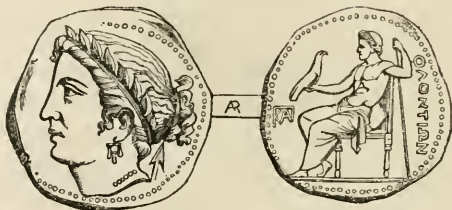
‡ The remains of this city will be described in the next number.

§ Corn., *Creta Sacra*, i, 11.

MILETUS.

Considerable remains of walls of polygonal masonry, both of the acropolis and city, are still to be seen.*

OLUS, seu OLONTE.



From Combe's Mus. Hunter.

There was a temple in this city to Britomartis, a wooden statue of whom was executed by Dædalus.† Her effigy is represented on the coin I have selected for illustration.]

CHERSONESUS.

On the north side of the island, at about twenty miles east of Candia, in the bishopric of *Cheroneso*, are enormous remains of aqueducts and walls of prodigious thickness, being the vestiges of the maritime Chersonesus.‡

This city and promontory was the port of Lyctus; the harbour was formerly very commodious, but is not now capable of holding large vessels. A temple to Britomarte (Diana)§ stood here, which was of such repute that no one was allowed to enter but with naked feet.

[Bondelmonte describes palaces or other buildings ornamented with columns, a magnificent port now destroyed, and long conduits of water.||]

LYCTUS, sive LYTTUS.

At a place called *Litto*,¶ the ancient** city of Lyctus, mentioned by Strabo, situate upon a lofty mountain nearly in the

* Pashley, *Crete*, i, 269, note.

† Paus. ix, 40.

‡ It was the port of Lyctus.

§ Strabo, p. 479, lib. x.

|| Corn., *Creta Sacra*, i, 11.

¶ MS. *Bibl. Marc.*, vi, 286, gives the modern name as *Vida*; MS. No. 2, as *Xida*.

|| It is said by Polybius (lib. iv) to be the most ancient city in the island.

centre of the island, and six miles east of *Castel Pediada*,* are the walls of the ancient city, with circular bastions, and other fortifications, of an unusual character, and which have excited great admiration from modern engineers.† Numerous vestiges of ancient structures, tombs, and broken marbles, are also seen, among which was found a statue of a male figure holding a small boat in his hand, and inscribed underneath EMBERIMUS. Here also is an immense arch of an aqueduct, by which the water was carried across a deep valley, by means of a large marble channel (*gorna*,) which is still apparent.‡

BIENNUS.

[We are told by Stephanus that a temple to Jupiter existed in this city.

INATUS.

This city was situated on a mountain and river of the same name. It had a temple to Lucina, or Eileithyia.§]

GNOSSUS,

was the capital of the country in the time of King Minos, the site of which is now marked by a valley of gardens, and a town called *Makroteiko*, three miles distant from the city of Candia. It is so called from a long wall, which is the principal object that attracts attention, though many other ruins of walls and vaults cover the site of the ancient city; but neither columns nor statues are now to be found, all the stones of the ancient city having been removed by the inhabitants of the modern town of Candia.||

* At this place are remains of ancient walls, the lines of which show that the enclosure was formerly more extensive than it is at present. (MS. No. 11, p. 94.)

† MS. No. 11, p. 20 b.

‡ *Ib.*

§ *Etym. Magn.*, s. v.; Callim., *Fragm.* 168; Steph. Byz.

|| Pococke describes a building which would appear to be a "stadium or small theatre." It consisted of fifteen arches built in an inclined position, 18 feet deep, and fifteen others opposite, with a distance between of 40 feet. (Vol. ii, 256.) A wooden statue of Minerva, by Dædalus, was preserved here. (Paus. ix, 40.) From the antiquity of this statue arose the dispute between this city and Athens, as to the first worship of the goddess. (Pindar, *Olymp.* vii; Solinus, xvii.)

[Among the remains are sculptures of black marble, but buried in the earth.* On the river Theron, near Gnossus, there was a temple in honour of Jupiter and Juno, at which their espousals were annually represented with great ceremony.†]

Mount Juctas.

To the south of these remains is this sacred mountain, which, with the island of Standia, form landmarks for the distant navigator, to enable him to determine the city of Candia, as in ancient times they served to designate the city of Gnossus. This mountain was the supposed site of the amours of Jupiter, the King of Creta, from which fable it has derived its name. Some baths and other edifices may still be traced on it; and on the north side of the mountain is a sepulchre worked in the rock, with a narrow entrance, and measuring 40 braccia in length and 4 in width. At the extremity is a large square stone, on which are certain rude characters, which have been taken for an inscription.‡

ARCADIA.



In the British Museum.

[A remarkable circumstance, relative to this city, is said to have taken place on the occasion of the city being conquered. All the rivers and fountains suddenly dried up, and did not open again till six years afterwards.§

TEMENOS.

Castel Temenos was built, in 961, by Nicephorus Phocas, on a lofty and steep

* At the time of Bondelmonte's visit there existed a mosaic pavement containing several figures. (Corn., *Creta Sacra*, i, 9.)

† Diod. Sic., lib. v.

‡ MS. No. 11; so also Bondelmonte. The tomb was believed by the ancients to emit fire annually, in the same manner that the "Holy Sepulchre" of the modern Greeks does now. See Anton., lib. xix.

§ Severa, *Quæst. Nat.*, iii, 11; Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, xxxi, 4.

hill, separated from the adjoining hills by precipices and ravines, and having constant springs of fresh water on its summit.* Coronelli describes it as one of the ancient cities of the island, and states that it preserves in great part its ancient splendour.†

HERACLEUM, *olim* AMNISSUS.

This city contained a temple to Eileithyia.‡

DIA.

Remains of marble edifices are visible on the sea-shore. They are described by Bondelmonte.§]

GORTYNA.

Fourteen miles inland from Matalia, towards the north, is a spot beneath *Castel-nuovo*, in the plain of Messarea, which is strewn with noble columns, statues, and other fragments of different coloured marbles; and the deeper one excavates, the more numerous do these vestiges appear. These marbles are chiefly African, some coloured, some spotted, and all most costly. Some of them may be seen in the singular blocks at the noble entrance to the college of the Serenissa Principe, and many others in the façade and interior of the church of St. Mark the Evangelist.¶ Among the ruins is a large gateway,¶ in front of which are two large columns of six braccia diameter, (nine feet Eng.) That on the east side is prostrate and broken, but that on the west is still erect and entire. In continuation of these columns are two orders (rows?) of pilasters on each side, above which were statues of the undermentioned Consuls and Pro-consuls, the names and titles of whom are engraved on the pilasters below, in Greek characters; from one

† Leo Diaconus, quoted by Pashley, i, 223.

§ *Isolario*.

‡ Strabo, p. 476, lib. x.

§ Corn., *Creta Sacra*, i, 10.

¶ MS. No. 11.

¶ The Cap.-Gen. Moresini excavated around this gateway, and found a great quantity of bases, beautifully-worked capitals, and fragments of marble statues. (MS. No. ii.) The wall is 7 feet thick; the construction is of brick, with layers of large tiles every four feet. The archway is 25 feet 2 inches wide, and the pier on each side, 40 feet; so that the total front is upwards of 100 feet. (Pococke, *Desc. of the East*, p. 252.)

of which inscriptions we gather that this portico formed the entrance to the Justice-hall, (Prætorium).*

- (1.) Πετρώνιον Πρόβον, τὸν λαμπρότατον ἀνθύπατον, καὶ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων
πραιτωρίων, γ', δόγματι τῆς λαμπρᾶς Γορτυνίων βουλῆς Οἰκουμένιος
Δοσίθεος Ἀσκληπιόδοτος ὁ λαμπρότατος ὑπατικὸς ἀνέστησεν.
- (2.) Ἐσπερίης πάσης χθονὸς ὄβριμον ἰθυντήρα
Μαρκελλίνον ἄθρει θαρράλέω(ς) ταμίην,
Ἑλλάδος ἀγλαὸν ἔρνος, ὅς ἐνδίκῃ καὶ ἀρωγῇ
Κουφίζων πόλιος θῆκεν εὐαφροτέρως.
Τοῦνεκα καὶ προθύροισι Δίκης ἐπιμάρτυρι θεσμῶν
Βουλῆς καὶ Πύργου στήσεν ἐφημοσύνην.
- (3.) Εἰκόνα τήνδ' ἐσάθρει· πέλεται δε τοῦ ἀγνοῦ ὑπάρχον
Ἐς Κρητῶν πόλιν, ἂν μοῦνος ἔθηκα νέην.
Ἀρχιθύρος δ' ἔστηκα Δίκης πέλας· εἰμὶ κριτῆς γάρ
Ἥπιος ἰθυδίκους, τοῖς δ' ἀδικοῦσι ζέος.
Στήσε δὲ Καλλείνικος ἐνηὴς δόγματι νήσου,
Γαίης Ἰλλυρίδος δεύτερον ἥελιον.
- (4.) Γ. Ἀνίκιον Βάσσον, τὸν λαμπρότατον ἀνθύπατον Καμπανίας, δόγματι
τοῦ κοινοῦ πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας Οἰκουμένιος Δοσίθεος Ἀσκληπιόδοτος
ὁ λαμπρότατος ὑπατικός τῆς Κρητῶν ἐπαρχίας ἀνέστησεν.

* Westward of this, Pococke describes a strong building, 30 feet square, and further on, a circular edifice, 90 feet diameter, the wall of which was 9 feet thick, containing a line of chambers 5 feet wide and 17 feet long, adorned with niches 4 feet 10 inches wide. Further on, towards the north, was another large building. South of this is the aqueduct, at extremity of which are remains of very considerable buildings,—perhaps the prætorium, for several inscriptions to the honour of magistrates lie about. It had a portico round the building, eight columns of which, on pedestals, still remain. The city walls may be traced. (*Desc. of the East*, p. 252-254.) Strabo describes them as six and a quarter miles in circumference, (p. 478, lib. x). The aqueduct is on large arches; a portion of it is entire, the water from which turns several mills. (Belon, *Les Observ. de plus. Singularitez*, etc., p. 8.) A great part of the city is brought to a level by means of arched substructions. (*Id.*) The city was adorned with temples to Apollo *Pythius*,—from whence a portion of the city was called the Pythium, (Steph., *Anton. Lib. Met.* 25); Jupiter *Hecatombæus*, (Hesychius, Ptolemy, Hephæstion apud Photium, in *Bibl. Hist.*, lib. v); Diana, (Æmilius Probus), Mercury *Edas*, (Etym. Mag. v. *Edas*); and Cadmus, (Solin. 18). Of these, the first was the most ancient. Meursius adds a temple to Æsculapius, referring to Pausanias (ii, 2); but this temple was in Elis, (confront v, 7, and viii, 28). The river *Lectheus* ran through the midst of the city.

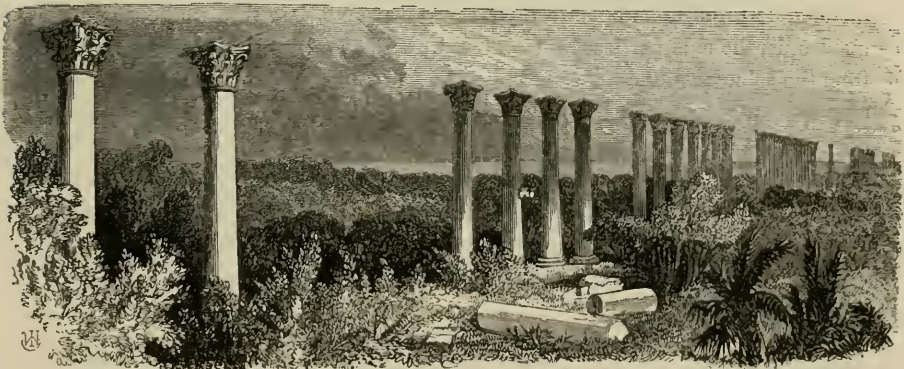
- (5.) Κούντον Καικίλιον 'Ρουφεῖνον, τὸν κράτιστον ἀνθύπατον Κρήτης καὶ Κυρ(ή)νης, Κυντ(έ)λιος Πύρρος τον φίλον. 'Αναξιμένης Εὐ(ρ)υσ-
τράτο(υ) Μιλήσιος (ἐποίει.)
- (6.) (Τ.) Φλ. 'Υπάτιον, τὸν λαμπρότατον ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ ἀπὸ ἐπαρχων Πραιτωρίου, δόγματι τοῦ κοινού πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας Οἰκουμένιος Δοσίθεος 'Ασκληπιόδοτος ὁ λαμπρότατος ὑπατικός τῆς Κρητῶν ἐπαρ-
χίας ἀνέστησεν.
- (7.) 'Αγόριον Πραιτε(ξ)τᾶτον, τὸν λαμπρότατον ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων τῆς βασιλευ-
ούσης ('Ρ)ώ(μ)ης (Σ'), ὄγματι τῆς λαμπρᾶς Γορτυνίων βουλῆς Οἰκί-
υμένιος Δοσοθείος 'Ασκληπιόδοτος ὁ λαμπρότατος ὑπατικός ἀνέστησεν.
- (8.) (Φλάβ)ιον Σεβήρον, τὸν λαμπρότατον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον ἐπαρχον τῆς
βασιλευούσης 'Ρώμης, δογματι τοῦ κοινού τῆς Κρητῶν ἐπαρχίας
Οἰκουμένιος Δοσίθεος 'Ασκληπιόδοτος ὁ λαμπρότατος ὑπατικός ἀνέστησεν.
- (9.) Πούβλιον Σεπτίμιον Γέταν, ταμίαν καὶ ἀντιστράτ(η)γον Κρήτης καὶ
Κυρήνης, 'Αντώνιος Παραιβάτης, καὶ Τέττιος Μάκερ, καὶ Τειμαγένης
Σόλωνος, οἱ ἀγορανόμοι τὸν φίλον.

The following are of recent period—

Επὶ Θεωδόρου τοῦ αἰγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου καὶ Α. Πιλίου τοῦ
περιβέβητου ἀνθυπάτου εὐτυχῶς ἀνενέωθη κουν... ὁ τοῖχος ὑπάτου
Φλαβίου Αππίωνος τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἱνλουστρίου Β.

Mani monachi et fratrum suorum Paterini monachi et sororis ejus
Cataphyge tempore Imperii Andromaci Paleologi.*

[This magnificent portico may be regarded as something more than a mere
appendage to the Prætorium. It may be considered rather as a Via-



E. F. 13 May, 1844.

Triumphal Avenue at Pompeiopolis, in Cilicia.

* This inscription is unpublished. The original, in Greek, is not given.

Triumphalis, or Via-Regalis, as the splendid entrance to a noble city. A remarkable example of this arrangement may be seen at Pompeiopolis, in Cilicia. From the grandeur of this monument, its perfect preservation, its beautiful disposition, and its analogy with the portico here described, I have introduced two sketches of it, taken in 1844, as affording some idea of these magnificent features of ancient cities. The portico at Pompeiopolis formed the approach to the city from a noble artificial harbour, of an elliptical form. It consisted of two hundred columns, in two rows, forty-four of which are standing. From the shafts of many of these columns jut out solid consoles, which formerly supported bronze statues of those citizens who had deserved well of their country, with their names, titles, and offices, inscribed on the console beneath. Porticos of this description are described, by Pausanias, as existing at Athens. They extended from the Gate to the Ceramicus, and they were adorned with brazen images of those "by whom something great had been achieved, and who are rendered illustrious by renown."* The southern portico of the Temple at Jerusalem consisted of a quadruple row of forty Corinthian columns.† The portico of Pessinus, in Phrygia, was a quadruple row of thirty-three columns.‡ But even these are eclipsed by the stupendous porticos of Antioch and Palmyra. In the former city a quadruple portico extended the whole length of the city, intersected in its middle by a cross street, in like manner embellished with a quadruple portico. That of Palmyra was near 4000 feet in extent: the grand avenue consisted of two hundred and fifty-six columns in length, 3 feet 3 inches in diameter, the central avenue measuring 37 feet in width, and the side porticoes 16 feet. This was intersected by five transverse porticoes and triumphal arches. One hundred and fifty-one columns remain erect, almost all of which have consoles. Similar porticoes existed at Phaselis, and some other cities of Asia Minor, and others are described at Arsinoe and Gerasa.

The question here arises—"Were these porticos open or covered?" I am inclined to think them open in their central avenue, but that where they were quadruple, the side porticos were covered. This appears to have been the case from the columns at Palmyra being connected together by entablatures; and if we may trust a view given by Langlès (*Voy. Pitt. de la Syrie*), an upper column is still standing, affording evidence of the existence of a *superior portico*.§ The great width of the central avenue, however, would be an argument against its being covered over, even with a wooden roof, though we may imagine it to have

* Paus. i, 2.

† Joseph. *Antiq.*, xv, 2, § 5.

‡ Texier, *L'Asie Mineure*, iii, pl. 225.

§ There is some mistake in the representation of this column. It is shown as standing on the frieze instead of the cornice; but the drawings are too carefully executed in other respects to allow of our supposing that the column does not exist. The work was published in 1797.

been decorated, and protected from the sun, by awnings, on grand and important occasions. The busts and statues would require this effect of light and shade to allow of their being seen to advantage. That the porticos of two rows of columns were not covered, appears from the fact that the columns at Pompeiopolis are of different proportions. Some of the shafts are plain, others fluted, some spiral fluted, and others cabled. Most of the capitals are Corinthian, but some are composite, and some of fanciful design: one cap has its leaves arranged in spiral lines. Some of the bases are not worked. Many of the columns are without corbels, and those which exist are of different design. We may reasonably conclude that these columns and statues were voted by the commonalty of the city from time to time in memory of great and important services performed to the state. The *Triumphal Avenue* was therefore an important and conspicuous feature of a Roman city.]



E. F. 13 May, 1844.

Triumphal Avenue at Pompeiopolis, in Cilicia.

Near this is an ancient church, adorned with marble columns and mosaic decorations, which bears the name of *Hagius-Deca*, or "Ten Saints". A short distance from this church is another,

which is called Metropoli.* It is of still greater antiquity, but the only part of it which now exists is a small doorway.

About a bowshot from this is a stone archway, six paces wide, under which one may pass on horseback, for twenty-five paces, towards the north, but after this the passage becomes difficult. It is thought that some considerable stream once flowed beneath this vault, but at present there is little or no water. In the arch-stones of the vault are many Greek letters of about a quarter and a half long (5 inches English). Several conduits discharge themselves here; one especially, in a northerly direction, from a place called Isternes, or the Reservoir, where are some ancient walls and ruins, and an abundance of water, connected with which are several pipes and conduits, brought hither from the plain of Messarea.† Not far from this was a large vase or basin, capable of containing sufficient water for washing horses; adjoining which is a very long wall, with a marble tablet bearing the word *Stadion* in Greek letters. These edifices, antiquities, and ruins, cover an area of several miles.‡

Near the ruins in the plain, on a low hill called Castello,§ are many ruins constructed of brickwork, and particularly a long wall, fifty paces in extent and one in thickness, built also of brick, and which appears to have formed part of the judgment-hall of the city. Many other buildings of very ancient construction may likewise be traced, and from the summit of the hill may be discerned nearly the whole plain of the Messarea, or a distance of about forty miles. Beneath this hill is an immense wall of masonry, 121 paces long by one

* MS. No. 11 reads, instead of this, "e poco lontano molte ruine chiamate Metropoli".

† MS. No. 12.

‡ MS. No. 11. The word stadion is not given; but it appears to be signified by the Italian expression, "corso di cavalli."

§ Bondelmonte mentions a magnificent castellum (reservoir), and says there are still upwards of two thousand columns and statues lying on the ground.

in thickness.* The building is circular, and surrounded by steps, the circuit of which measures about 200 paces. This is supposed to be the theatre.† All these ruins formed part of the ancient city of Gortyna.‡

* Many of the copies read “lunghe et larghe di passo uno per una.”

† The earlier copies do not contain the words, “this is supposed to be the theatre”; and the later copies which do so, were written after Belli’s visit to the island; and the remark therefore was appended in consequence of his investigations.

‡ Which is differently reported as being fifty and eighty stadia in circumference. (Flaminius Cornelius, *Creta Sacra*, i, 35.) Tournefort visited Candia in the year 1700, with the sole object of botanizing. With the exception of the following description of a portion of Gortyna, and an incidental reference to Hierapytna, he does not refer to the antiquities. Even at Gortyna he suddenly breaks off his description of the ruins, to go and seek for flowers:—

“The ruins of Gortyna are but six miles from Mount Ida, and situate at the foot of the hills skirting the plain of Messaria, which may be regarded as the granary of the island. The magnificence of the ancient city is abundantly shown by the ruins which remain; but one cannot regard them without pain, beholding flocks grazing among fragments of marble, jasper and granite, worked with the greatest care. . . . The principal object among these ruins is one of the gates of the city; though several of the best stones are now detached from it, it has evidently been a fine arch. The walls connected with the gate are perhaps the remains of those built by Ptolemy Philopater, king of Egypt. They are of great thickness, and entirely of brick. It would appear, from the remains, that this quarter was the finest of the city. There are two granite columns 18 feet long, and near these are many pedestals (for columns), placed at equal distances in one continuous line. . . . One sees nothing around but capitals and architraves. Perhaps these are the remains of the temple of Diana, in which Antiochus pretended to deposit his immense treasures in several vases, which were afterwards found to contain nothing but lead, and shortly afterwards went back to Asia, carrying with him his gold, concealed in the images of the gods he worshipped: or perhaps they were that of Jupiter, in which Menelaus sacrificed on hearing of the rape of Helen, as recorded by Ptolemy Hephæstion. It could not have been the temple of Apollo mentioned by Stephanus, for that was in the centre of the city, in the *Pythium*. Among the columns of these ruins are some of great beauty, adorned with spiral flutings, and 2 ft. 4 in. diameter.

“One finds among the ruins of Gortyna columns of red and white jasper, similar to the jasper of Cosme, in Languedoc; others like that of Campan, employed at Versailles.

Quarry, or Labyrinth.

At the distance of one mile* from Gortyna, on the line of hill upon which is built the Castello-nuovo, is an ancient quarry,† in the form of a grotto, the intricacy of which has caused it to be mistaken for the famous Labyrinth. It supplied



Plan of the Labyrinth of Gortyna.‡

the stone for building the city of Gortyna, and is entirely artificial, as is evident from the wheel-ruts of the carriages used in conveying the stone through the quarry, and also from the

"There are but few statues, the Venetians having carried away all the best. The statue on the fountain of Canca, which was brought from this city, is finely draped. The head has been knocked off by the Turks" (in their abhorrence of idolatry).—(Tournefort, *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant*, l. 58.)

Blainville says of Gortyna—"Never have I seen such prodigious masses of ruins, of granite, porphyry, and the finest marble, as are here observed heaped together." (Blainville, *Letters from the Levant*, quoted by Höckh, *Creta*, l. 400.)

* The distance is generally described as being three miles.

† Said to be constructed by Ptolemy Philopater.

‡ From Sieber's *Reise*.

marks of tools which are still visible. The entrance is by a small hole.* It extends in a northerly direction, but in a sinuous line, so that one cannot see any considerable distance. The main gallery is about 410 paces long, from which branch off, on right and left, eight other galleries, forming a total length of about 800 paces. In some parts, especially in the middle, it is narrow and nearly choked up; so that one is obliged to crawl on the ground in order to get past. This grotto has been likened to that five miles from Vicenza, called the Covolo di Costozza, but it is finer. Among those who suppose this to be the labyrinth is Cristoforo Landino, a commentator on Virgil, who, referring to *Æneid.*, lib. vi, says that the labyrinth was a cavern in a mountain, caused by quarrying the stone for the city of Gortyna; and that it was called labyrinth, because “fuit factus labor intus in incidendis lapidibus ad ædificandam civitatem Gortinæ”, which etymology is evidently false, the name alone being a sufficient refutation.†

* “Busa” (buc). On entering the grotto, the ear perceives a sound as of distant groans and tumult; then descending a hundred paces, galleries branch off on right and left, at the commencement of each of which are fearful and monstrous images. (MS. No. 10093 of the *Reg. Bibl. Parig.*, fol. 16 b, entitled *Cronica Antica d’Italia.*) The account is fabulous.

† Tournefort describes it as very intricate and wonderful, and as having many culs-de-sac; and states that the main gallery is 1160 paces in length, and that it leads to two large chambers. The entrance is obscure; but “as one advances it becomes perfectly surprizing”. The sides are sometimes cut perpendicularly in the rock, and sometimes built up of loose stones. He could not discover the marks of wheels; and, from the difficulty of access, he does not believe it to be a quarry, but suggests whether it be not a subterranean passage through the mountain. (Tournefort, *Relation*, i, 65.)

The opinion, in favour of its being the labyrinth, has been ingeniously advocated by Cockerell. (Walpole’s *Travels in Various Countries of the East*, art. xxii.) But Sieber, to whom we are indebted for the accompanying plan, and who spent three days in its examination, speaks with confidence as to its being a quarry. The building materials of Gortyna, he says, are evidently of this sandstone, and no other quarries exist in the neighbourhood. He reasons that

The real Labyrinth constructed by Dædalus, on command of King Minos, to which the Athenians were compelled to send annually seven of their noblest children to be devoured by the Minotaur, is by most historians placed in the city of Cnossus, and is invariably referred to that city, on ancient coins.

St. Toma.

In the jurisdiction of Castel Bonifacio, and in the neighbourhood of the village of St. Toma, the following Greek inscription is found engraved on a lofty and precipitous rock, beneath which are the ruins of some ancient buildings.

"Deabus Cereris, et filiæ Larchia Diana Eutonide filia."*

LEBENA.

This city is referred to by Homer in the second Iliad. It contains a large spring of water, from whence water was supplied by aqueducts, parts of which are still remaining, to Gortyna. A bridge of considerable span, and various other remains also exist. It contained a temple of Æsculapius, built on the model of that at Cyrene, and was resorted to even by strangers from Africa.†

the cultivated land in Crete must have been too valuable to allow of its being wasted by the working of an open quarry; and from this cause, and for the more easy quarrying of the stone, and from its receiving less damage from the action of the atmosphere, he considers that this subterranean quarry was contrived. "The galleries are generally wide and spacious, and almost always sufficiently high; the chambers are three to five fathoms high; and the walls, where stones have been quarried, smooth." (F. W. Sieber, *Reise nach der Insel Kreta*, i, p. 511-520.) (A) and (B) are entrances to the quarry, now filled up. At (c) the corridor is obstructed by blocks of stone and chips, and there must have been another entrance in this vicinity: a communication with the exterior must also have existed at (D). By the side of the principal entrance is a smaller excavation, at (E).

* The original is not given.

† Paus. ii, 26; Philost. *Vita Apollon.*, iv, 11.

“*Fairhavens.*”*

[This place, which, with the cape Sammonium, the port Phœnix, and the island Claudia, are interesting to us from their connexion with St. Paul’s shipwreck, still preserves its ancient name of *Kaloi-limenes*.

LAPSEA, (*sive* LISEA ?)

Near the Caloi Limenes, on the summit of the hills, are the remains of the city Lapsea, surrounded by precipitous mountains. A temple, with its statue, lies in ruins. Other vestiges may be traced near the harbour.†]

MATALIA.

Proceeding from this spot towards the west, we come to *Santa Maria di Matala*, where are some ruins and mosaic pavements,‡ the site of the ancient Matalia, which was one of the ports and emporia§ of Gortyna. In this city of Matalia was a temple, on which was written the following sentence:—

“Uncover thy head, and wash thy feet, and then enter into this holy place.”||

PHAESTOS.



In the British Museum.

* The most recent and elaborate account of this portion of St. Paul’s travels, is contained in the *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, by Rev. W. J. Conybeare and the Rev. J. S. Howson, now publishing by Longmans.

† Bondelmonte, *Descriptio Cretæ*, in Cornel. *Creta Sacra*, i, 3.

‡ Bondelmonte calls them “most noble”; so also MS. No. 11.

§ The other port of Gortyna was Lebena.

|| Dr. Pococke states that the plans of several chambers are visible in the rock, and that some tombs cut in the perpendicular cliff are six and seven stories in height. The walls of the city can be traced. (*Descript. of the East*, p. 250.)

[Phæstos was celebrated for its temple of Latona *Phytia*.* It had also a temple of Venus *Scotia*.†]

OAXOS.

In the district of Rettimo, in the territory of Castel Milopotamo, on the north side of Mount Ida, are found many vestiges of the ancient Oaxos, at a place now called *Axo*, consisting of mutilated inscriptions, ancient sepulchres, broken columns, and foundations of walls. The principal object is a noble aqueduct which conveyed water from a lofty mountain to another which, from its numerous ruins of great and sumptuous edifices, is supposed to have been included in the city.‡ Here was found a marble tablet attached to an ancient wall, and bearing the following inscription, which, though rudely and ignorantly executed, consists of four beautiful Greek verses. It has since been removed to the church of the Santo Crucifisso, within the town.

Μή μου ἐνυβρίσ(σ)ῃς ἀγνὸν τάφον, ὦ παροῦτα
 Μή σοι μὴνίσ(ω) πικρὸν ἐπ' Ἀγέσι(λα)
 Περσεφόνη τε κόρη Δαματέρος· ἀ(λλ)ὰ παρέρπων
 Εἰπ(ὸ)ν Ἀρατεῖ· Γαῖαν ἔχουσ ἐλαφρόν.

"Scoff not, O mortal! at the humble grave,
 Lest thou be called by Pluto; lest the wrath
 Of Ceres' daughter, Proserpine, o'ertake thee:
 But, passing by, say thou to Arate,—
 'Earth light lie over thee.'"

There are also many other inscriptions scattered about among

* Anton. Liberalis, *Met.*, c. 17.

† *Etyim. Magn.* (sub. v. *Cytherea*.) It possessed the port of Matalia previously to being conquered by the Gortynians. (Diod. Sic., v; Polybius, lib. iv.) Bondelmonte mentions a lofty rock, immediately after describing *Priotissa*, on which an aqueduct, and columns of different coloured marbles, are to be seen. He assigns the ruins to the ancient Succeta; the modern name is Calenus. (*Descr. Cretæ*, i, 5.) *Culevi* appears, in Coronelli's map, in the immediate neighbourhood of *Priotissa*.

‡ The distance across the valley is about seventy to eighty paces. (Pashley, i, 152.) The walls of the city are very remarkable, being of carefully-fitted Cyclopean masonry. A view of them is given in p. 143.

the ruins, but which, either from the ignorance of the sculptors, or from the use of abbreviations, are unintelligible.

[The tombs of this place are singular. They are not cut in the rock, but project in front of it, and are covered with vaulted roofs. They are lined on the inside with plaster.*]

Grotto of Mercury.

At *Milopotamo*, in the district of Rettimo, close to *Castel Melledone*, and a mile and a half from the said village, is a cavern penetrating the flanks† of a mountain. At the entrance of the grotto, on the left hand side, is an inscription of twelve Greek verses cut in the live rock,‡ which, though of elegant construction, display many errors of the unpractised sculptor.

Ἄρτεμις ἡ Σαλλόνιου θυγάτηρ.
 Οὔρεσι Ταλλαίοισιν ἰδρυμένε Μαιάδος Ἑρμῆ,
 Σπονδῆν καὶ θυσίην δέξο φιλοφρόσυνος,
 Ἦν σοι Σαλλόνιος§ Μηνᾶς λοιβαῖσι γεραίρει,
 Κτήσεος ἐξ ὁσίης ψυχικὰ δῶρα διδοῦς.
 Καὶ πρὶν μὲν ζώσης ἀλόχου φάος εἰσορωσῆς,
 Σὺν κείνῃ κατ' ἔτος σοὺς ἐγέραιρε τόπους·
 Ἄνθ' ὧν δ' ἐν χρόνισας ἐπετήσιον οὐκ ἀπέδωκεν,
 Συμβίου ἀγνοτάτας τοῦδε καταφθιμένας,
 Ἀλγῆσας φρένα πολλά, μαθὼν δ' ὅτι δεῖ τὰ γε θεῶα
 Τιμᾶν, διπλὴν σοι τήνδ' ἔπορεν θυσί(η)ν.
 Καὶ σὺν δέ, παντοκράτωρ Ἑριούνιε, τόνδε φυλάσσοις
 Ζῶν, ὅπως τιμᾷ σὸν δι' ὅλου τέμενος.

“Thou Mercury, of Maia sprung, whose seat
 In lofty Tallæus is, deign to receive
 The humble sacrifice of lawful gain
 Salonius Melas proffers thee.
 Erst, on thine altar he libations poured
 Each year in presence of his consort blest;
 Since then, bereft of her, distress'd in mind,

* Pashley, i, 146.

† MS. No. 2 reads “half-a-mile from the mountains”; the mistake having arisen from the same word *mezzo* signifying *half*, and *in the middle*.

‡ According to some MSS. the inscription occurs on a large stone four braccia square.

§ Boeckh reads Σαλονίος.

Thy sacred fane unvisited he left!
 But now remembering the honour due
 To the protecting gods, Omnipotent!
 A double sacrifice he bears, that thou
 May'st give him health—an ampler rite to pay."

On penetrating the grotto, at the distance of fifty paces, there is a slight descent, after which one perceives an insulated shaft, resembling an enormous column, and appearing to support the roof of the cavern. It is formed by the dripping of the water, and must have occupied an incredible space of time in its formation; while its structure is so regular and so remarkable, that one might imagine it to have been executed by some skilful architect.* Some parts of it are fragile, and in a state of semi-petrifaction, thus showing that the operation of nature is still going on; and whether considered in its general effect, or in its minute structure, it is a most beautiful object to behold.† Some way further on, the floor is covered with numerous stalagmites, the slow and irregular formation of which causes them to assume a hundred different shapes, sometimes appearing as statues of men and animals, sometimes as bas-reliefs and other objects of art executed by man's device. In other parts, the stalagmites assume a pyramidal form, five and six braccia in height and upwards, with stalactites over them of equal size and figure, which in some places nearly touch. These formations are of a light yellow colour, and transparent. At some distance beyond, the cavern diminishes in size till the opening becomes barely sufficient for a man to pass; after which, at the end of an irregular descent, one approaches another spacious cavern, in which are similar petrifications to those in the first cavern, the most remarkable of which is a mass resembling a woman holding a child in her arms, so perfect as to appear made by hand. The stalactites here assume the form of clothes, sheets, etc., recalling to recollection

* A view of it is given in Pashley's *Crete*, i, 136.

† It is a worthy rival even of the grotto of Antiparos. (Pashley, i, 126.)

the votive offerings placed by pious individuals in the church of St. Rocco, at Venice.

One can explore the cavern for a considerable distance beyond, but further progress is at length impeded by the appearance of water.*

Another cavern exists in the territory of Rettimo, and was accidentally discovered, by the earth which concealed the entrance having been washed away by the rain. It is on the sea-coast, towards Canea. The cavern appears to have been formed by art. After penetrating it to a considerable distance, we discovered a great many square stones about 2 feet 6 inches high, upon each of which remained the fragments of a skeleton, as if seated. The bones were of a remarkable size.†

[Another very beautiful cavern is in the neighbourhood of *Catholico*, near Minoa. It is described by Pashley (l. 25), who gives an interesting view of its interior.]

PANORMUS.

Some remains of this once fine city may be traced on a hill which still bears the same name, in the neighbourhood of Castel Milopotamo.‡

* This cavern was, in 1822, the scene of a horrible massacre. On the approach of the Egyptian troops, the inhabitants of the village, to the number of three hundred, (chiefly women and children) fled to this *Cresphygeton*, with cattle and provisions sufficient for a six months' siege. Unable to attack them in front, where the narrow approach would enable a few Greeks to defend the entrance against any force they might bring against them, the Egyptian troops posted themselves on the heights above. After losing several men, the pasha rolled stones against the mouth of the cavern from above, and then piled up against it resinous wood, oil, sulphur, and other combustible materials, which, set on fire, the smoke soon filled the innermost recesses of the cavern. Not a soul survived. The cowardly Turks waited patiently eighteen days without the cavern, before they ventured to enter it.

A view of the cavern is given in Pashley, i, 136.

† MS. No. 11, p. 14.

‡ *Addit. M.S.* 8636, plnt. 121, H, fol. 12 b; and MS. *Bibl. Marc.* vi, 286.

PANTOMATRIUM.

[The modern name of this town is not stated, but its site appears to have been found, and it is said to be furnished with an abundant supply of water. Some years ago, a most beautiful column was found here, entirely gilt.* It was situated on a lofty mountain: several cisterns and vestiges of temples are yet visible.†]

ELEUTHERNA.



In the British Museum.

About eighteen miles west of the city of Oaxos,‡ in the same district, we perceive the remains of the ancient city of Eleutherna, the site of which is marked by a Greek monastery of the same name. Among the remains of the city are many ancient edifices, part entire and part in ruins; columns, aqueducts, cisterns—some of which, of immense size, are cut out of the live rock, and supported by groves of columns and expansive vaults as of great temples, all of which are so enormous as to strike the eye with wonder and amazement at the power and riches of the people that could afford to rear such stately monuments. Many coins are found here.

SYBRITIA.



In the British Museum.

From Mionnet.

* *Addit. MS.* 8636, plut. 121 H. fol. 12; and *MS. Bibl. Vat.* vi, 286.

† Bond., Corn., *Creta Sacra*, i, 9.

‡ And five miles south of *Arcadi*, on the summit of a lofty hill. (*Id.* i, 310.)

[Famous for its numerous and beautiful silver coins, one of which we have selected for illustration.

PSYKION.

Considerable remains of this city are reported to exist at *Kastri*.*

RHITNYMA.

(See Belli, in the next number).]

CORION.

The lake Corion, *Kurna*, is the only one in the island. There was a temple to Athene on its bank.†

LAPPA.



From Goltzius.

At the fine modern city of *Polis*, in the district of Rettimo, are the lofty walls of the ancient city of Lampe or Lappa, built by Agamemnon. This was the celebrated *studio* of the Cretans. The modern city has taken the name of Polis, in remembrance of the famous one whose site it occupies. The walls are more than five miles in circumference, and contain within them stupendous ruins of temples and other fabrics, chiefly of brick, large cisterns,‡ aqueducts, numerous columns, capitals and bases, and many statues.§ Gold and silver coins of great beauty are brought to light, as well as numerous mutilated inscriptions. Below the city, on the western side, several

* Pashley, i, 303.

† Steph. Byz.

‡ One of these, described by Bondelmonte as a fountain, measures 40 by 20 feet, and has an inscription. (Corn., *Creta Sacra*, i, 16.)

§ Pashley noticed considerable remains of a massive brick edifice, with buttresses 15 feet wide, and of 9 feet projection; a circular building, 60 feet diameter, with niches round it 11 feet wide; a cistern, 76 feet by 20; a Roman brick building, and several tombs cut in the rock. (i, 83.)

beautiful and ample springs of the most delicate water take their rise in a place where several vestiges of more ancient structures may yet be traced, thereby showing that the inhabitants of the ancient city had mills here even in their time, for the purpose of various manufactures. The springs, after junction with another torrent descending from the village of Messagugna, form the river Muscella, which separates the territory of Rettimo from that of Canea. On the eastern side of the city is a deep fissure, through which runs a river, which is crossed by a noble bridge formed of large blocks of stone of ancient workmanship. The sides of the ravine are pierced in a variety of forms for sepulchres, for the inhabitants of the city above.

Here follows a series of objects of natural phenomena and miracles, the latter of which, though originating from, and propagated by Greek duplicity and superstition, are readily believed and repeated by the as credulous catholic travellers; who, accustomed to miracles of the like nature in their own church, cannot impugn the authenticity of those brought forward even by a rival communion.

The first is the *Miracle of the Virgin's Spring*. Outside the city of Lappa is a cave containing five niches, three of which are narrow, and the other two are square. "These niches are sometimes full of water, and sometimes empty; sometimes they are all alike, and at other times all different . . . These changes operate without reference to the seasons, and sometimes so rapidly that persons visiting the arches, within a few hours of each other, bring back different accounts . . . In seasons of drought they are often quite full, and in rainy seasons empty . . . The water is so pure that though kept for any time it never putrifies." Such wonderful properties could not pass unnoticed, and accordingly we have a legend of five holy virgins, whose names I would give did I think my readers curious in such matters, who were cruelly martyred here in the beginning of the Christian era. "The water is given to the sick, who drink it with devotion, and then recover; in consequence of which miracle a small Greek church has been built within the grotto, and the portraits of the martyrs painted on the wall. Persons come here from all parts of the island, and even from foreign countries. After hearing mass, they drink of the water, and carry some away with them to their houses."

The second miracle is that of the *Naphtha Flame*. At about five and a half miles north north-east of Lappa, is the village Cato Varsomanero, above which, on the flank of the mountain, and distant about a bow-shot from the village, is the naphtha flame. Though apparent at five or six miles' distance, it becomes invisible on near approach. In order to fix the locality an arrow was shot into

the cavity one night, and the next day a church was commenced around it, and dedicated to St. Veneranda: but when completed the flame was found to have removed to the distance of a bow-shot, and it is therefore considered to be more of a diabolical than of a sacred nature.*

But the most remarkable is the *Miracle of the Crosses*. At the church of the Madonna, at Saitures, in the district of Rettino, is a cross indued with the power of healing demoniacs. "When persons so afflicted are brought into the church, mass is performed, and the demoniac stretched on the ground. The cross, which is of iron, with a silver sheath, is then placed upon the breast, and it immediately begins to move towards the head, and on arriving at the mouth stands upright, without being touched by any hand. The mouth of the demoniac must then be well opened, and the evil spirit will escape. Many persons have been thus healed, and cures are still continued. In the church of St. Giovanni, at Erezzes, in the district of Castel-Mirabello, and territory of Candia, is another cross, which exhibits the same wonderful properties."†

Cascade at Mettocchio di Gnosseri. On leaving the village of Mettocchio di Gnosseri, on the slopes of Mount Ida, toward the plain of Messarea, a beautiful cascade presents itself to the traveller, the water of which, confined between two banks, at length precipitates itself over a lofty cliff, with such force as to throw up a dense spray, which constantly reflects the colours of the iris.‡

PHŒNIX.

[The remains of this town are visible at *Lutro*, a rocky hill near Anopolis. The place was scarcely a mile in circumference. The south side is precipitous, but it was defended on the other sides by polygonal walling of an early character.§

The ruins bespeak great antiquity. Many columns and statues lie about, and numerous sepulchres (sarcophagi?) of white marble may be seen. At *St. Romeli*,

* Naphtha flames appear to be very common in Candia. In an autograph map of the island, in the Marciana, they are represented in the following places: Porto della Suda; near the river Pasthea; Spiaggia di Mesouni; Cacorinos; Ponta di Trapano; three in the Spiaggia di Mirto; and one at Gerapetra.

† Other miracles are described in Pashley: as the flying picture of the Madonna, (i, 191); the flying of the sacred wafer into the mouth of a saint, (i, 194); and the tomb of Caiaphas, at Gnossus, whose body rose seven times after it was buried, (i, 207).

‡ Those who have seen only the waterfalls of England, can form no idea of the wonderful effect produced by the spray of large cascades; the curling, floating, rising, and dissipating forms of which are even more extraordinary and beautiful than the pointed, comet-like appearance of the falling waters.

§ Pashley, ii, 242. A view of the polygonal walling is given in p. 235.

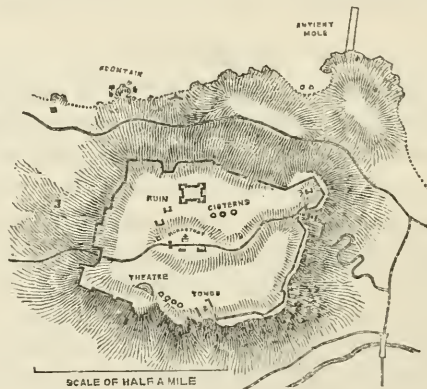
also, are fragments of statues, porphyry and marble columns, and the ruins of a temple.*]

APTERA.



In the British Museum,
and Mionnet.

Towards the west of the Castel della Bicorna, in the territory of Canea, above the headland called Epodhemuri, in the Porto della Suda, opposite to the small island on which is the fortress of the harbour, are the remains of the ancient city of Minoa (Aptera), situated on a lofty mountain. The walls are quite entire, and about three miles in circuit, enclosing many fine cis-



Plan of the ruins of Aptera.†

* Bondelm. in Corn., *Creta Sacra*, i. 5.

† From the Hydrographical Survey. Olivier describes two large cisterns, above ground, lined with red plaster, and showing the lines of the water marks. The city was built partly on a platform, and partly sloping towards the sea. The walls may be traced throughout. One of the gates of the city is visible on the eastern side. (*Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman*, ii, 293.) To the east of Aptera, near *Castel Apicorno*, is an ancient stone bridge over the river *Chephalonisi*. (Bondelm. Corn., *Creta*, i, 8.)

terns* and column, and a beautiful amphitheatre, of an oval† form.‡ The ruins are now called Paliocastro, and the site is admirably adapted for a city and fortress. Would that the city of Canea had been built in such a spot, for the better security of this kingdom !

CYDONIA.

[This port was capable of being closed (Scylax). Some remains of mosaic work are said to exist.§ The temples of Cydonia were built by the Samians.|| It was at one period the principal city of the island.¶ Minerva *Cydonia* was the chief divinity.**

It is generally considered to have occupied the site of the modern Canea, the port of which very exactly agrees with the description of the port of the ancient Cydonium.

MONS TITYRUS.

Pococke suggests that Cydonia was situated on Mount Tityrus, in a position of great strength, where marks of the tool are visible on the rock, and where walls are still standing on the brow of abrupt precipices.††

The foundations noticed by Pococke may possibly be the remains of the celebrated temple of Dictynna, which stood here, and which is mentioned by Strabo, Diodorus, Callimachus, and Mela.

TARRHA.

This city was celebrated for its fane of Apollo *Tarrhæus*.‡‡

POECILASSUS.

At a place called *Phelinus*, Bondelmonte noticed the prodigious foundations of an artificial harbour, which he attributed to this city.§§

* The usual mode in which cisterns are constructed in these countries is by building a wall of irregular small stones, and lining it on the inside with fine brickwork covered with a very hard cement, which is generally very perfect. (Pashley, *Creta*, i, 39. See a view of one of them in p. 61.) Bondelmonte found the dimensions of one to be 45 by 18 feet. (Cornelius, *Creta Sacra*, i, 8.)

† *Ovata*, in all the MSS. except No. 1, which reads *ottagonale*. Pashley describes it as a theatre, but states that it has lost about two-thirds of its original size (i, 37).

‡ One building is 25 feet square, with niches as for statues. (Pococke, *Desc.*, ii, 262.) Pashley observed several public buildings, and traced the walls to a considerable extent, part of which are of a cyclopean character, with stones 9 feet in size; a view of which is given in i, 38.

§ *Voy. du Levant*, i, 99: a MS. by Louis Chevallier in the Bibl. de l'Arsenal, Paris, No. 19.

|| Schol. Apoll., iv.

¶ Phranzes, i, 36.

** Paus., vi, 21.

†† *Descript.* ii, 247-8. ‡‡ Steph. Byz. *sub v.* §§ Cornelius, *Creta Sacra*, i, 5.

COITE.

The island, improperly called Latoa by Bondelmonte, between Psacum and Cydonia, is probably Coite. He gives the modern name as *Todrum*, which appears to be a corruption of *St. Theodoro*. It contains an extensive cavern on its southern side.*

ELYROS.†

The first object that presents itself is a building consisting of a series of arches; and next, vestiges of walls, especially on the north and north-eastern sides of the ancient city. Further on, are some massive stones, some pieces of an entablature, and several fragments of the shafts of columns, all that now remain of an ancient temple. Twenty years ago the antepagmenta of the doorway, 10 or 11 feet high, were standing, but were converted by a Turk into millstones. The pavement was of mosaic. Some cisterns were also visible. The walls may be traced on the north and north-east sides, and must have been of about two miles in circuit. At a slight elevation above are other walls, as of an acropolis.‡

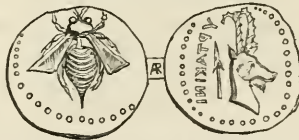
SYIA.

Traces of the walls of the city, and of some public buildings, may be observed. It still retains its ancient name. Several tombs exist, resembling those of Haghio Kyrko. It had a small port.§ An aqueduct is also remaining.||

Hagghio-Kyrko.

Hagghio-Kyrko, which Pashley regards as the ancient Lyssus, occupies a small hollow of the hills, facing the sea, like a theatre. Near the church of the Panaghia are what appear to be vestiges of an ancient temple, consisting of granite columns, and white marble fragments, architraves and pediments. Further on, appears to have been another temple, and a theatre. The tombs are on the south-western side of the plain. They are worked independent of the rock, with arched roofs. There are perhaps fifty of them.¶

HYRTACINA.



In the British Museum.

* Cornelius, *Creta Sacra*, i, 7.

† The coins of this city have the same type as those of Hyrtacina.

‡ Pashley, ii, 105, 106.

§ Pashley, ii, p. 102.

|| Capt. Graves, *Admiralty Chart* of the western extremity of the island.

¶ Pashley, ii, 88.

Mr. Pashley, who visited all the ancient sites in this vicinity, reports the existence of numerous vestiges of polygonal masonry on the north and western sides, and measuring little more than half a mile in length. On the other sides the city was precipitous. Although so small, it was furnished with a little acropolis on its southern side. He also describes the care observed by the inhabitants in defending the gateways of their city. Not only do walls project without the gate, but flanking walls are executed within, forming passages through which the enemy would have to pass ere he could set foot within the city.*

KANTANOS.

Here, also, Mr. Pashley observed cyclopean walling, but of an earlier and more angular character than at Hyrtakina. On the eastern side, where the ground is less steep, there is a quadruple wall, in order to make up for the want of natural defences. The modern name is *Khadros*.]†

DICTAMNUM, *sive* DICTYNNÆUM.‡

The remains of this city are found above *St. Zorzo*§ *di Magnes*, twelve miles west of Canea, and six from Capo Spada, in a conspicuous elevation of a lofty mountain. There now exist only a few cisterns, columns, and marbles,|| the rest having been carried away to Canea.¶

CISAMUS.

Many remains and ruins of this important city may be seen at *Paliocastro di Chissamo*.** The harbour of the Garabuse

* *Creta*, ii, 111, 112.

† *Id.* p. 115.

‡ Called, in the original, *Cydonia*.

§ *St. George*.

|| Tournefort describes a fine frieze, and states that the remains, though few, show the city to have been an important one. In what appeared to be an ancient temple, Pococke describes a pedestal of grey marble, 3 feet square, with a festoon on each side and a figure of Pan. It is of good execution. (*Descript.* ii, 244.)

¶ Dictamnium was the principal seat of the worship of Dictynna.

** The walls remain entire. There are so many fine cisterns that the mind is struck with astonishment. The harbour is nearly choked up, but sufficient remains of the city exist to attest its former grandeur. (Belon, *Singularitez*, p. 7.) To the west of the port are the foundations of some considerable building. (Pococke, ii, 245.) Bondelmonte describes a copious spring of soft water in the centre of the city, and the remains of a palace, once ornamented with columns. A stone bridge exists over the river Tiflon, and several caverns may

served anciently for the commerce of the town.* Near this city was a temple of Apollo.†

POLYRRHENIA.

[Pococke describes this site under the name of Aptera, as existing at Paleocastro, and consisting of two platforms or terraces, with an acropolis above of great strength, with walls seven feet thick. A fine large semi-circular tower is very remarkable. Many edifices may be traced in the central portion of the city.]‡

CORYCUS.

The city of Corycus, called Chimarus by Strabo, was built on the side of the bold promontory of the same name, in a situation facing the north. Some remains may yet be traced. The site is marked by a church dedicated to St. George.§

PHALASARNA.

[The walls of this city, the modern *Kutri*, are very remarkable. At distances varying from 120 to 250 feet are square projecting towers, like bastions, the

be seen in the vicinity. (Cornelius, *Creta Sacra*, i, 6.) Pashley observed several fragments of marble and granite columns, and an Ionic capital. The principal remains lie to the south (ii, 43).

* No authority is given for this assertion, and Chisamus itself being a port, the harbour of the Garabuse would not be needed.

† *Stadiasmus Magni Maris*, Cretæ Perip.

‡ *Descript. of the East*, ii, 246. (Compare Olivier, *Voyage*, ii, 289.) The ruins are three miles from *Chisamo-Kastelli*, and six from Phalasarna, which distances agree precisely with those given us by Strabo. The walls would appear, from a view of them given by Pashley, (ii, 46,) to be of the last period of cyclopean masonry, with horizontal beds, but inclined upright joints. There are the remains of what appears to be a temple, between the acropolis and the western extremity of the city. A water channel and sepulchres are also observable. Diana Dictynna was worshipped here.

§ Bondelmonte's description is as follows:—"We ascended by a difficult path to the summit of the hill, which seemed to reach to the stars, and found a small platform, on which the city was built, with its walls remaining of considerable height. We could clearly make out the plan of houses, with subterranean chambers artfully contrived; and we especially admired the cisterns, cut in the rock with such wonderful skill and patience. At the foot of the mountain are other cisterns, and not far off is an ancient fort, now destroyed." (Cornelius, *Creta Sacra*, i, 6.)

walls of which, together with the intermediate curtain, are *inclined* like those in modern fortifications.* Beyond this is an outer wall, similarly disposed, at a distance of 16 feet. Where the wall is less steep, nine or ten walls were observed parallel to each other, and which were considered to have been built for the greater protection of this side; but it would seem probable, both from the number of the walls, and from their being built in the polygonal manner but of small stones, that they are mere retaining walls to the successive terraces. On the acropolis, which has two summits, appeared, amid a confusion of ruins, the remains of what might have been a temple.† The city had a closed port, and a temple of Diana Dictynna.‡

KALAMYDE.

The polygonal walls of what he supposes to be this place, are described by Mr. Pashley as existing near *Selino-Kasteli*.§

Ulithias.

Two miles from Ulithias, on the road to Spaniako, is a beautiful specimen of the second cyclopean style. A small conical hill is surmounted by a sepulchral-looking building, 14 feet internal diameter, and with walls 4 feet thick. The masonry is beautifully executed, laid together with sharp angles, without interstices, and is very remarkable from its circular plan.¶]

There are also many other remains in different parts of the island,¶ on the coast, and in the interior of the various cities which it once contained; to give particular notice of the beautiful sites, ruins, and antiquities of which would occupy too much time and labour, especially as the ancient names of several of them are now lost.

* Mr. Pashley refers to the walls of Priapus on the Hellespont, the bastions of which still more nearly assimilate to those of modern fortresses. They project out at right angles with the main wall, terminating with two other sides in an angular form.

† Pashley, *Crete*, ii, 69-73.

‡ Dicæarchus, *Vita Græc.*

§ Pashley, *Crete*, ii, 123; where also is a view of the walls. ¶ *Id.* p. 121.

¶ MS. No. 11 describes some remains in the island of Cerigo, the ancient Cythera. On a mountain, where was anciently the temple of Neptune, a beautiful mosaic has been found, representing Castor and Pollux armed, clothed in white, and with stars over their heads. Many remains of the city, with its famous temple, may be seen at the foot of the hill.

Very considerable remains are said to be visible in the island of Carpatho, between Candia and Rhodes. (Pashley, *Crete*, i, 188.)

Here follows a list of the "100 cities" from Ptolemy, Strabo, Stephanus, Pliny, and other authorities; several of which have been incorporated in the preceding article.

The accompanying map of Crete has been constructed on the outline of the French map of Messrs. Dumas, Gauttier, and Lapie, 1825; corrected, at the eastern and western extremities, from the hydrographic charts of the Admiralty, executed from recent surveys by Captains Graves and Spratt, and which have been liberally offered to my inspection by the kindness of Captain Beechey.

A few observations are requisite relative to the positions here assigned to some of the ancient cities. Much difference of opinion has been entertained relative to the identification of that most celebrated foreland the Sammonian promontory, the position of which would seem to be incontrovertibly ascertained by the existence of the modern name, *Capo Salomon*. Notwithstanding that several writers suppose the ancient name to have been attached to C. S. Sidero, others are not wanting, even of high authority, who attribute it to Capo Salomon. But though the name is certainly in favour of the latter site, and its position would accord with Sammonium as being the most eastern promontory of the island, there are some circumstances which would seem to determine its location at C. S. Sidero. It is true that, by the recent survey, it is not quite so far to the east as C. Salomon (the difference, however, is very trifling, only a few seconds of longitude), but, by its extreme extension from the mainland, it would be considered by everyone as the principal promontory at this end of the island; and would therefore be generally considered and known as "the eastern promontory". Nor should we attach undue importance to such a designation. The islet Musagora, at the western extremity of the island, is said, in the *Anonymous Periplus*, to face the east, because it projects sufficiently beyond the north coast to allow of a view being directed towards the east.

But there are other reasons for assigning it to this position. Though Strabo describes it vaguely as regarding Rhodes and Egypt, Pliny says, expressly, that it faced the island of Rhodes, and from the many islands round about Crete, there would have been no necessity to have named Rhodes, unless the promontory did actually face that island. If C. Salomon had been intended, the celebrated naturalist would have described it as facing the island of Cyprus, not that of Rhodes. Sammonium is stated, in the *Anonymous Periplus*, as being furnished with a port, and we find a port actually exhibited in the recent Admiralty survey as existing towards the extremity of the headland on its eastern side, in a position which agrees very well with the 120 stadia given us as the distance from the Dionysian islands; while C. Salomon much exceeds that quantity. The description in the *Stadiasmus*, however, seems to be conclusive. It is there referred to as stretching out considerably towards the north—ἀκρωτήριον

ἔστι τῆς Κρήτης ἀνέχον πρὸς βορέαν ἐπιπολύ. The islets or rocks round this promontory form another unanswerable argument in favour of the position. Pliny gives us the names of seven such islands, a number which it is impossible to find near any other cape. The names of these, as indeed of all the islands surrounding Crete, are so variously given by modern geographers that it would be only confusing the map to insert them all.

If we may place any reliance upon the Italian chart, the modern name of *Itagnia* would show the position of the ancient Itanus, and its proximity to C. Salomon would induce us to suppose that that promontory was thus called, especially as we find the Grandes islands in this vicinity corresponding with the Onisia and Leuce of Pliny. Next to this are the promontories Ampelus and Erythræa, one of which was also called Dictæum. (Etym. Magn.)

It unfortunately happens that the first two dimensions given us in the *Stadiasmus* are incorrect. That from Sammonium to Casius is stated at 500 stadia, a distance which nearly doubles that of either Salomon or Sidero to that island, but we are happily relieved from this difficulty by finding the distance recorded by Strabo as 250. The next dimension, of 80 stadia from Sammonium to Hierapytna, is so manifestly absurd, that I have ventured to suppose it to be an error for 800, the distance to that city by sea; a conjecture which is in some measure supported by finding no intermediate places mentioned in the *Stadiasmus*, either on the south, or for 420 stadia on the northern coast.

The next difficulty occurs in the position of Gortyna. Till the survey of this portion of the island is completed, it will be impossible to determine this most important position, affecting as it does the site of several other places. As marked down in our present maps, we have the distance from Biennus to Lebena more than three times that from Lebena to Matalia, although the former distance is stated at 70 and the latter at 320 stadia. I have attempted, in the margin of the map, at Fig. A, to show how these numbers may be explained, by shifting the position of Gortyna a little to the eastward. We thus have Lebena at its proportionate distance, both from Biennus and Matalia, and the arrangement further agrees with the order of Ptolemy, who mentions Lebena as eastward of the Leo promontory. In the neighbourhood of Gortyna was the river Potherius, which divided the territories of the Gortynians and Gnosians. (Vitr. i, 4.) This important river is not shown in a recent map of Crete, though it clearly appears in all the earlier maps.

On arriving at Psychion, a further difficulty has occurred, in the impossibility of conceiving how the distance from that city to Apollonia (30 stadia), and from thence to Phoenix (100), can be made to agree with the actual distance between these two extreme places. But by a reference to the table it will be seen that a further distance of 150 stadia is stated as being that between Psychion and Lamona, and on measuring off 150 stadia westward from Psychion, we find a

small bay, or cove, answering to this position; 30 stadia from which place (not from Psychion) I have imagined Apollonia to have been situated, and thus the recorded distances tally pretty nearly with the actual: and as it seems unaccountable how the geographer can have returned to give the distance from Hierapytna to Psychion, which distance (350 stadia) is only about one-half of the reality, I have ventured to suppose that this distance of 350 stadia is the measure of distance from Psychion to Phœnix.

From here the distances work in very well to Syia, another known site: after which I have placed Lyssus nearer to Criumetopon (Cf. Scylax) than the site generally received. The anonymous geographer describes the distance from Criumetopon to Biennus as being 12 stadia *by sea*; and it is therefore probable that the distance of 260 stadia from that city to Phalasarna was also reckoned by sea. At the north-western extremity of the island we come to Tretus Promontory, the identification of which appears fixed by the description — ἀκρωτήριόν ἐστι τετραγμένον.

By the modern survey we find a small promontory in the bay of Martylus extending out just 25 stadia from Cisamus in a northerly direction, thus agreeing precisely with the description of Tyrus. We meet with another gap between Amphimale and Heracleum, which has caused considerable difficulty to the commentators; to extricate themselves from which they have endeavoured to identify Amphimatrium and Pantomatrium, Hydramon and Rhithymna, Rhithymna and Eleuthernæ, Astale and Amphimale; while Pashley thought to have found Hydramon at the modern *Dhrami*. It would seem, however, that the words Amphimale, Amphimatrium, and Pantomatrium, refer to the peculiar forms of the coast at these places, and it is singular that the distances recorded tally precisely with the localities thus apparently indicated. From Minoa we have 150 stadia to the double cape of Amphimatrium, across the double bay of Amphimale, and from Amphimatrium, measuring off 100 stadia to Hydramon, we find ourselves close upon the rugged cape of Pantomatrium. From Hydramon 30 stadia more bring us to Astale, a position fixed by the modern name *Atali*, and from each of these two points, Hydramon and Astale, we shall find just 50 stadia distance to Eleuthernæ, thus explaining satisfactorily this troublesome passage of the *Stadiasmus*. It remains only to say that *Dhrami* is the site of the ancient Dragmus.

We meet with no further impediment till we reach Chersonesus, between which place and Cetium the various cities have been differently placed, immediately to the south or west of C. S. Zuan. The distances, however, of the *Stadiasmus*, agree precisely, not only with the position assigned to Cetium and the intermediate places from Chersonesus, but with the distance of the Cetium Promontory from the Dionysiades.

The only other inland city there is occasion to refer to, is Arcadia, which, notwithstanding a recent opinion to the contrary, was, without doubt, at the

modern village, *Arkhadi*, the position of which, on the maps, agrees exactly with the distances of the Peutingerian table (16 miles from Lyctus, and 30 from Biennus), and is further proved by its being situated *between* the districts of Gnossus and Lyctus, as mentioned to us by Hierocles.

The accompanying Table of the Itineraries will enable the reader, at a glance, to discover the authorities for the position of the several names in the map. For this purpose the names are not given in the order of the original, but are divided in two sections, the north and south coasts, and are placed in their order from east to west, the arrangement of the originals being preserved by the numerals prefixed to each name. Thus it will be seen that the Stadiasmus of the Mediterranean, starting from Sammonium, makes a periplus of the island, commencing on the south coast. Ptolemy begins at Corycus, and travels in the contrary direction, also making a complete tour of the coast; after which he starts again from the western extremity of the island, visiting several inland cities, as far as Lyctus. Pliny begins at nearly the same place as Ptolemy, but travels in the contrary direction till he gets to Hierapolis, after which he mentions several inland towns, at random. Scylax commences at the west coast, and proceeds towards the east, grouping inland and coast towns together.* Hierocles sets out from Gortyna, eastward by Hierapytna, nearly completing the tour of the coast: while the Peutingerian table, commencing at Tharrus, pursues the opposite route with occasional deviations.

EDWARD FALKENER.

* According to this arrangement, many places which Scylax is supposed to describe as being on the south coast, are to be understood, in reality, as being merely south of the places immediately preceding.

NORTH COAST.	
STADIASMUS MAGNI MARIS.	PEUTINGERIA TABULA.
Casius <i>Ins.</i> to Sammonium, 500 <i>st.</i>	
1. Sammonium. <i>Prom. et Port. Longissime ad Septentrionem versus porrectum.</i> T. Minervæ.	
48. Dionysiades, <i>duæ Ins. et Port.</i> , ad 1—120 <i>st.</i> ; ad 47—300 <i>st.</i>	
47. Ceteum. <i>Prom. et Port.</i> ad 46—15 <i>st.</i>	
46. Hetera ad 45—25 <i>st.</i>	
45. Camara ad 44—15 <i>st.</i>	
44. Olus. <i>Prom.</i> ad 43—60 <i>st.</i> ; a continente 20 <i>st.</i>	
43. Chersonesus (<i>Prom.</i> ?) <i>Civ. et Ins.</i> ad 40—30 <i>st.</i>	
40. Heracleum. <i>Civ. et</i> } 42. Dia. <i>Ins.</i> ad 40—40 <i>st.</i>	
<i>Port.</i> ad 39—100 <i>st.</i> } 41. Gnosus ad 40—20 <i>st.</i>	
39. Astale. <i>Port.</i> ad 38—50 <i>st.</i> ; ad 36—30 <i>st.</i>	
38. Eleuthera ad 36 (37 ?)—50 <i>milia</i> (<i>st.</i> ?)	
37. Hydramon. ad 36—100 <i>st.</i>	
36. Amphimatrium. <i>Civ. et flumen</i> , ad 35—150 <i>st.</i>	
35. Minoa, <i>contra quem tres Ins.</i> Leucæ.	
34. Aptera ad 33, a mare, 150 <i>st.</i> ; a terra, 120 <i>st.</i>	
33. Cydonia. <i>Civ. et Port.</i> ad 32—60 <i>st.</i>	
32. Coete. <i>Ins.</i> ad 31—170 <i>st.</i>	
31. Dycynnæum ad 30—80 <i>st.</i>	
30. Tyrus. <i>Prom. ad Sept.</i> ad 29—25 <i>st.</i>	
29. Cisamus. <i>Civ. et Port.</i> ad 28—80 <i>st.</i>	
28. Agneus. <i>Port.</i> ad 26—50 <i>st.</i> T. Apollonis.	
27. Martilus Sinus.	
26. Tretus. <i>Prom. perforatum.</i> ad 25—50 <i>st.</i>	
25. Myla, <i>Ins.</i>	
24. Mesia (Media), <i>Ins.</i> <i>et Port.</i> ad 22—3 <i>st.</i>	
23. Musagores, <i>Ins. et</i> <i>Port.</i> ad 22—60 <i>st.</i> T. Apollonis.	
21. Biennus. <i>Civ. et Port.</i> ad 20—12 <i>st.</i>	
20. Criumetopon. <i>Prom.</i>	
SOUTH COAST.	
1. Sammonium. <i>Prom. et Port.</i> ad 2—80 <i>st.</i>	
2. Hierapytna ad 4—180 <i>st.</i> } <i>contra quem</i> } 3. Chrysa, <i>Ins. et Port.</i>	
4. Biennus ad 5—70 <i>st.</i>	
5. Lebena ad 7—20 <i>st.</i> <i>contra quem</i> 6. Oxia, <i>Ins.</i>	
7. Halas ad 8—300 <i>st.</i>	
8. Matalus. <i>Civ. et Port.</i> ad 9—65 <i>st.</i>	
9. Sulia. <i>Prom. et Port.</i> ad 10—12 <i>st.</i>	
10. Psychium. <i>Port.</i> ad 11—150 <i>st.</i> ; ad 12—30 <i>st.</i>	
11. Lamona. <i>Civ. et Port.</i> 2 ad 10—350 <i>st.</i>	
12. Apollonia ad 13—100 <i>st.</i>	
13. Phœnix. <i>Civ. et ins.</i> ad 15—60 <i>st.</i> ad 14. Claudia, <i>Ins.</i> 300 <i>st.</i>	
15. Tarrha ad 16—60 <i>st.</i>	
16. Poecillassus ad 17—50 <i>st.</i>	
17. Syia. <i>Civ. et Port.</i>	
18. Lyssus ad 19—250 <i>st.</i>	
19. Calamydes ad 20—30 <i>st.</i>	
20. Criumetopon. <i>Prom. altum.</i>	
	n. Litium to o—16 <i>m.</i>
	m. Cresonesso to n—16 <i>m.</i>
	l. Cnosso to m—16 <i>m.</i>
	o. Arcade to p—30 <i>m.</i>
	h. Eleuterna to i—8 <i>m.</i>
	g. Lappa to h—32 <i>m.</i>
	f. Cisamo to g—9 <i>m.</i>
	e. Cydonia to f—8 <i>m.</i>
	d. Cisamo to e—32 <i>m.</i>
	q. Hiera to r—32 <i>m.</i>
	p. Blenna to q—20 <i>m.</i>
	r. Inata to k—24 <i>m.</i>
	s. Lisia to k—16 <i>m.</i>
	k. Cortina to l—23 <i>m.</i>
	t. Ladena to k—12 <i>m.</i>
	i. Subrita to k—32 <i>m.</i>
	a. Tharrhus to b—30 <i>m.</i>
	b. Liso to c—16 <i>m.</i>
	c. Cantano to d—24 <i>m.</i>

NORTH COAST.

PTOLEMY.		SCYLAX.
27. Sammonium <i>Prom.</i>		
28. Minoa <i>Portus.</i>		
29. Camara.		
30. Olus.		
31. Chersonesus.	56. Lyctus.	20. Lyctus.
32. Zephyrium <i>Prom.</i>	Dia <i>Ins.</i>	
33. Heracleum.	55. Gnossus.	17. Gnossus.
34. Panormus.	54. Panona.	
35. Cytæum.		16. Oaxus.
36. Dium <i>Prom.</i>		
37. Pantomatrium.	52. Eleuthernæ.	13. Eleuthernæ.
38. Rithymna.	51. Sybrita.	12. Osmida.
39. Amphimales <i>Sinus.</i>	50. Lappa.	11. Lampæa.
40. Drepanum <i>Prom.</i>		
41. Minoa.	48. Aptera.	10. Aptereæ Regio.
42. Pycnus <i>flumen.</i>		6. Cydonia.
43. Cydonis.		4. Pergamea.
44. Dictamnnum.		3. Dictynnæum.
45. Psacum <i>Prom.</i>		T. Dianæ Dictynnæ.
46. Cisamus.		
1. Corycus.	47. Polyrrhenia.	2. Polyrrhenia.
2. Phalasarna.		1. Phalasarna.
3. Chersonesus.		
4. Rhamnus <i>Portus.</i>		
5. Inachorium.		
6. Criumetopon <i>Prom.</i>		

SOUTH COAST.

27. Sammonium <i>Prom.</i>		22. Itanus.
26. Itanus.		21. Præsus.
25. Ampelus.		
24. Erythræum <i>Prom.</i>		
23. Hierapytna.		
22. Hieron-Oros.		19. Caunus.
21. Inatus.	53. Gortyna.	18. Gortyna.
20. Lethæus <i>fl.</i>		
19. Catarrhactus <i>fl.</i>		
18. Lebena.		15. Phæstus.
17. Leo <i>Prom.</i>		
16. Matala.		14. Subrita
15. Helectra <i>fl.</i>	Letoa <i>Ins.</i>	<i>cum portu.</i>
14. Psychium.		
13. Massalia <i>fl.</i>		
12. Phœnix <i>Civ.</i>	Claudus <i>Ins.</i>	
11. Phœnix <i>Port.</i>		
10. Hermæa <i>Prom.</i>		
9. Pœcillassus.		
8. Tarrha.	49. Hyrtacina.	5. Hyrtacina.
7. Lissus.		8. Lissa.
6. Criumetopon <i>Prom.</i>		9. Criumetopon.
		7. Elyrus.

NORTH COAST.	
HIEROCLES.	PLINY.
	Sammonium <i>circum</i> } Phoece, Platiae, Sirnides, <i>quem</i> } Naulochos, Armendon, et Zephyre <i>Ins.</i>
5. Camara.	30. Asum.
6. Allyngus.	26. Lycastus.
7. Chersonesus.	28. Lyctus.
8. Lyctus.	Dia <i>Ins.</i>
9. Arcadia.	23. Gnessus.
10. Gnessus.	15. Heraclea.
	14. Matium.
12. Oaxus.	13. Apollonia.
13. Eleutherna.	12. Cytæum.
14. Lampe.	11. Panhormum.
	10. Rhithymna.
	9. Amphimalla.
	8. Pantomatrium.
15. Aptera.	7. Apteron.
	6. Minoum.
16. Cydonia.	5. Cydon.
	4. Pergamum.
17. Cisamus.	3. Cisamum.
	2. Etea.
	1. Phalasarna.
	Leuce et duce Budræ <i>Ins.</i>
	Duce Corycæ <i>Ins.</i>
	Duce Nylæ <i>Ins.</i>
	Tres Musagores <i>Ins.</i>
	(circumvectisque Cirimetopon.)
	24. Polyrrenium.
	27. Rhamus.

SOUTH COAST.	
	Itanum <i>contra</i> } Onisia et <i>quem</i> } Leuce <i>Ins.</i>
4. Hierapydna.	17. Ampelus.
3. Bienna.	Ophiussa, Butoa et Aradus. <i>Ins.</i>
2. Iuatus.	18. Hieraytna <i>contra quem</i> Chrysa et Gaudos <i>Ins.</i>
1. Gortyna.	32. Rhytion.
	21. Gortyna.
	19. Lebena.
	31. Poloros.
	20. Hierapolis.
	22. Phæstum.
11. Subritus.	
21. Phoenix sive Aradena.	25. Myrina } 33. Elatas } 34. Pharæ } 35. Holopyxos } Dubio. 36. Lasos } 38. Therapnæ } 39. Marathusa } 40. Cyliissus }
20. Lissus.	19. Elyrus.
	18. Cantania.



Itineraria.
300 400

Romana.
40

Militantia.
30 40

CRETA.

CASSIUS

Strabo 200. - Anon. 300.



XVI.

ADDENDUM TO "NOTES UPON OBELISKS."

SINCE the preceding "Notes upon Obelisks" passed through the press, the arrival of the third portion of the monuments of M. Lepsius, enables me to make some observations about the great obelisks of Karnak. It appears from a proscynema incised upon the rocks at Assouan, or Syene,* that Senmut, the chamberlain of the palace of the young queen, Ra neferu, came down there to quarry obelisks, upon which occasion he made his adoration to the queen, Hatasu, or Ta-ha-asu, who is styled a king's sister, a king's daughter, the eldest divine wife of a king; probably meaning that she was, at that time, a widow; as she is said to be living. These must, consequently, have been either the great obelisks of Karnak, or some of those of Thothmes III. In the continuation of the so-called statistical inscription at Karnak, occurs a new and remarkable fact, for the first time mentioned. It appears that obelisks received a kind of worship similar to that offered to idols and gods. In the account of the gifts made by the king to the temple or palace, it states:—"[his majesty augmented]† the food and drink-offerings made to the four obelisks erected by his majesty to his father, Amon, 100 portions (*un*) of bread, and four draughts (*ts*) of water, of which each of the obelisks had twenty-five loaves (*ak*), and one draught (*ts*) of water. His majesty added to the divine offerings of food and drink made to the statues of...." The worship of the obelisks is most remarkable, and shows not only the high religious importance of these monuments, but also helps to explain this object in the hieroglyphs appearing as the name of Amon-Ra. The statues referred to are probably the colossi placed beside the obelisks at the gate of the

* *Denkmaeler*, Abth. iii, Bl. 25, bis. 9.

† Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, Abth. iii, Bl. 39, b. 16. The word here used, *uah*, is by some read "added", in Coptic, *ouahe*. Sometimes, however, it seems to mean "sacred", and has a man pouring water, as a determinative.

temple, which probably received offerings at the same time. Two obelisks of Thothmes III are also represented in a tomb at Gournah,* which was made for Puam, an inspector of the constructions made by the king to Amon-Ra, in Thebes. He is represented seated, with the chief masons and builders addressing him, while behind them are two obelisks, each inscribed with a line of hieroglyphs,—the dedication of the monarch. A copy of the obelisk at Constantinople is also given in the same work.†

There are some expressions which it may be necessary to correct: one is the word "object", (p. 206,) used in speaking of the obelisk of the Fayoum; and by the base inscription, I refer to the lower vertical lines on the monument. There are also some difficulties about the expression I have translated "vowed"; literally, it reads, *ta api rat*, "given on the feet", and appears often in connexion with works. The continuation of the annals of Karnak, shows that the joint reign of Thothmes III and his sister terminated sooner than the twenty-ninth year, as hitherto supposed, (p. 208.) The word after his majesty, on the Lateran obelisk, (p. 216,) may be *mut*, "died",—when the king died; and the uncertain word, "remained", may be *kam*, to "devise". The land of *Rutech*, mentioned in p. 217, may be an error of Ungarelli's copy, for *Ruten*, so often occurring in the inscriptions. The discussion upon the two royal names upon the Luxor obelisk and the supposed two kings, Rameses, will be found in Salvolini's treatise‡ on this obelisk, which I refer to in p. 220. There are also some difficulties about the expression, "place of the great soul", probably the same as that copied *ta*, or *ka*, in p. 225. The badness of the script of Sallier papyrus renders it uncertain whether the expression, "leading obelisks from *Abu*", may not be, *m' abuch*, "leaping",—a poetic phrase, (p. 232.) The expression, "true brother", probably means that it was his own brother. The death I refer to in p. 234, is, of course, that of Antinous.

* Lepsius, *Denk.*, Abth. iii, Bl. 39, c.

† *Id.*, Abth. iii, Bl. 60.

‡ Traduction des inscriptions de l'obelisque de Paris. 4to. Paris, 1837.

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XVIII.
ON THE TRUE SITE OF CALVARY:
WITH A RESTORED PLAN OF THE ANCIENT CITY OF
JERUSALEM.

Walk about Zion, and go round about her. Tell the towers
thereof: mark ye well her bulwarks: consider her palaces.

THE age of Constantine occupies, as it were, the neutral ground of classic and mediæval antiquity; but though the subject we are about to consider—the site of Calvary—is almost extraneous to the scope of this journal, it is one which, connected as it is with our holy religion, must always command a paramount interest and attention; and one which, therefore, we are by no means inclined to set aside.

From the day when the “Church of the Holy Sepulchre” was founded, to the present time, on each anniversary of the Saviour’s death, crowds of anxious and zealous pilgrims flock to the sacred shrine, fondly believing that each object they see around them is hallowed by the Saviour’s touch, that here exist the evidences of all that they have once been taught,* that to

* Thus, so early a Christian writer as Cyril (c. 348) exclaims:—“Though I should now deny it, (our Lord’s passion,) this Golgotha confutes me, near which we are now assembled; the wood of the cross confutes me, which has from house to house been distributed piecemeal to all the world.” (See also in p. 316, the extract, iii. 28, of Eusebius’ *Life of Constantine*.)

stand within the Holy Sepulchre is to be in communion with their God, and thinking that not to have seen Jerusalem, they had almost not known the Lord.

With the prevalence of such feelings, we cannot wonder at the sacred awe with which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was regarded, at the jealous earnestness with which its identity was insisted on, and at the wrathful feelings which its first calling into question would excite.

Such questionings did at length arise. "From time to time objections were urged with much earnestness by several writers, which, if substantiated, would altogether overthrow the history of the discovery of the cross: viz. that 'Helena chose a wrong site for the Holy Sepulchre'." (Newman, *Essay on Miracles*.)* Even so early as the year 1600, we find Pope Gregory† implying the difficulty of the site. So too other writers in the subsequent centuries:‡ Monconys, in 1647, speaking of the Gate of Judgment, so called, says it is "the gate by which Jesus Christ went to Calvary; which, therefore, ought to be outside the city; which is difficult to conceive, for at present it is in the middle, although the town is now much smaller than it was then."§

These, however, were rather objections which an obedient son of the Church would easily gulp down, rather than serious difficulties. The first determined charge was made by Korte, a Saxon schoolmaster, in 1741, the dream of whose whole life had been to visit Jerusalem and the Holy Land. From the extract which I have given of his work, he will doubtless be considered by some as an enthusiast or fanatic; but his honest and sensible remarks have found him favour with Busching, Bachiene, and Bruns. His unacquaintance with the dead languages deprived him of the power of following up the deliberate convic-

* J. H. Newman, *Essay on Miracles*, with a translation of Fleury's *Eccles. Hist.*, p. cliii.

† *Id.*, p. clxix.

‡ Robinson, *Bibl. Sac.*, pp. 172, 173.

§ *Voyages*, i. 307.

tions at which he had arrived: to supply which defect, Plessing, another German writer, "resolved to strengthen and support the arguments of the worthy Korte, and set them in a stronger light, and so to supply what the want of reading had denied him."* It is much to be regretted that neither of these works has yet been translated into our language. The first, in this country, to make the attack, was the learned traveller, Dr. Edward Clarke. It would be idle to enter into particulars of the theories attempted to be set up by this writer, for they are now exploded. Suffice it to say, being overwhelmed with the conviction that the traditions respecting the Holy Sepulchre were monkish fables, he was content to take nothing upon trust, and extended his disbelief to other portions of the city, as the Mount Zion, respecting which there could be no doubt. He seemed to be content to allow objects to be anywhere, provided they did not remain where the monks had placed them.† He was answered by Bishop Heber (?) in the *Quarterly Review* for March 1813.

Things had reverted now to pretty nearly their former state, when the Rev. Dr. and Prof. Robinson, and the Rev. Eli Smith, visited the Holy Land in 1838. Their work, entitled *Researches in Palestine*, (3 vols., 8vo., 1841,) is, or ought to be, too well known to require a description. It is an authentic, impartial, and compendious account of the Holy Land, and must ever remain the standard of reference for all treatises on that country. In it they proceeded to examine the 'sacred places' of the holy city; confronting the traditions and legends connected with them with the unimpeachable testimony of the Bible, the lamp of history, and the light of reason. Not only did they state their conviction that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre did not represent the place of Christ's burial, but they supported

* Plessing, *Golgotha*, Vorrede, xiii.

† The wildness of his views has been scoffed at and refuted by the advocates of traditionary evidence, who forget that "infidelity is the daughter of superstition."

their argument with topographical proofs which were as new as they were unexpected.

This was met by the Rev. J. H. Newman, with his *Essay on Miracles*, wherein he had the temerity to declare that "the greater part of the miracles of Revelation are as little evidence for Revelation at this day, as the miracles of the church are evidence for the church ;"* *i. e.*, that the miracles of the Bible have equal, but no more credibility than the miracles of the church. Of these, he asserts nine to be fully conclusive in his mind,† the fifth of which is that of "the Discovery of the Holy Cross by Helena."

On a reply by Dr. Robinson, in his *Bibliotheca Sacra*,‡ in which work the author brings forward some additional objections, the Rev. George Williams, who was sent out as chaplain to the late lamented Bishop of Jerusalem, seized the opportunity of writing a work, (*The Holy City*, 8vo., Lond., 1845,) the object of which he is at no pains to conceal,§—the bringing into disfavour, or, as he expresses it, the "exposing the fallacy of the Biblical researches" of Dr. Robinson.

Two years afterwards, in 1847, appeared *An Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem*, by James Fergusson, F.R.A.S., wherein the author, projecting a theory of his own, not only pulled down the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but built up another in its place.

This bold attempt was speedily visited by a *second edition* of

* *Essay on Miracles*, p. cix.

† Mr. Williams is vexed that Mr. Newman brought forward particular examples, (which might always be objected against,) instead of dealing in generalities. "The subject of ecclesiastical miracles has been discussed with great ability in an essay....and I cannot help fearing that he has said more than can with safety be advanced, not in defence of them generally, but in support of particular alleged miracles." (*Holy City*, p. 152.) Compare with this what he afterwards says of some of them in particular. (p. 152, 175, 177, etc.)

‡ A most valuable and interesting publication, commenced in 1843, and continued to the present time.

§ *Holy City*, Pref., p. 6.

Mr. Williams's book, now grown into two thick volumes, wherein, backed by Professor Willis, he turns upon his new assailant, at the same time that he elaborates his attack upon his ancient foe.

To notice all the arguments brought forward by these writers, and to lay before the reader a clear exposition of the topography of Jerusalem, would require volumes; I propose, therefore, in the present Part, to exhibit only some of the more prominent features of each, relative to the *Alleged Site of the 'Holy Sepulchre,'* after giving an introductory view of the subject, from Eusebius; and then, in a Supplement, to lay before the reader my own deductions as to the *True Site of Calvary.*

Pilgrimages to the Holy Land commenced early in the third century; and, from that period, they gradually increased till the year 315, when Eusebius speaks of Christians "who came up to Jerusalem from all the regions of the earth, partly to behold the accomplishment of prophesy in the conquest and destruction of the city, and partly to pay their adorations on the Mount of Olives where Jesus ascended, and at the cave in Bethlehem where he was born."* On the conversion of Constantine, his mother, Helena, then nearly fourscore years of age, in conformity with this custom, made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 326, and having visited the places of the nativity and ascension, caused splendid churches to be erected over those spots.

I. *The Discovery of the Holy Sepulchre as recorded by Eusebius.*

(III. 25.) "The pious emperor, Constantine, judged it incumbent on him to render the blessed locality of our Saviour's resurrection an object of attraction and veneration to all. He issued immediate injunctions, therefore, for the erection on that spot of a house of prayer; and this he did, not on the mere impulse of his own mind, but feeling his spirit directed thereto by the Saviour himself.

(III. 26.) "For it had been, in time past, the endeavour of impious men, (or

* Robinson, *Bib. Res.*, ii, 12, 13, quoting Eusebius.

rather, let me say, of the whole race of evil spirits through their means,) to consign to the darkness of oblivion that divine monument of immortality to which the radiant angel had descended from heaven, and rolled away the stone, etc. . . . This sacred cave, then, certain impious and godless persons had thought to remove entirely from the eyes of men, supposing, by their folly, that thus they should be able effectually to obscure the truth. Accordingly, they brought a quantity of earth from a distance, with much labour, and covered the entire spot; then, having raised this to a moderate height, they paved it with stone, concealing the holy cave beneath this massive mound. Then, as though their purpose had been effectually accomplished, they prepare on this foundation . . . a shrine to the impure spirit, whom they call Venus. . . . These devices of impious and wicked men against the truth had prevailed for a long time, nor had any one of the governors, or military commanders, or even of the emperors themselves, ever yet appeared with ability to abolish these daring impieties, save only our prince, who enjoyed the favour of the King of Kings. And now, acting as he did under the guidance of His Spirit, he . . . gave orders that the place should be thoroughly purified, etc. . . .

(III. 27.) "Nor did the emperor's zeal stop here; but he gave further orders, that the materials of what was thus destroyed, both stone and timber, should be removed, and thrown as far from the spot as possible; and this command was also speedily executed. . . . Nay more, fired with holy ardour, he directed that the ground itself should be dug up to a considerable depth, and the soil which had been polluted by the foul impurities of demon-worship transported to a far distant place.

(III. 28.) "This also was accomplished without delay. But, as soon as the original surface of the ground, beneath the covering of earth, appeared, immediately, and contrary to all expectation, the venerable and hallowed monument of our Saviour's resurrection was discovered. Then, indeed, did this most holy cave* present a faithful similitude of His return to life, in that, after lying buried in darkness, it again emerged to light, and afforded to all who came to witness the sight, a clear and visible proof of the wonders of which that spot had once been the scene, a testimony to the resurrection of the Saviour clearer than any voice could give."

The Emperor's Letter.

(III. 30.) "Victor Constantinus, Max. Aug. to Macarius.

"Such is our Saviour's grace, that no power of language seems adequate to

* "There were not a few caves in the city hollowed out of the rock, which we observed concerning the floor of the Temple. Into one of these Simon the Tyrant betook himself, with his accomplices, when he despaired of his affairs." (Lightfoot, *Chorog. Cent.*, xxxv. 9.) See another instance in xxxv. 8; and see Joseph. *Bell.* vii. 14, 16, and 20.

describe the wondrous circumstance to which I am about to refer. For, that the monument of His most holy passion, so long ago buried beneath the ground, should have remained unknown for so long a series of years, until its reappearance to His servants now set free through the removal of him (Licinius?), who was the common enemy of all, is a fact which truly surpasses all admiration. For, if all who are accounted wise throughout the world were to unite in their endeavours to say somewhat worthy of this event, they would be unable to attain their object in the smallest degree. Indeed, the nature of this miracle as far transcends the capacity of human reason as heavenly things are superior to the interests of men. For this cause, it is ever my first, and indeed my only object, that, as the authority of the truth is evincing itself daily by fresh wonders, so our souls may all become more zealous, with all sobriety and earnest unanimity, for the honour of the divine law. I desire, therefore, especially, that you should be persuaded of that which I suppose is evident to all beside, namely, that I have no greater care than how I may best adorn with a splendid structure that sacred spot, which, under Divine direction, I have disencumbered as it were, of the heavy weight of foul idol-worship; a spot which has been accounted holy from the beginning in God's judgment, but which now appears holier still, since it has brought to light a clear assurance of our Saviour's passion.

(III. 31.) "It will be well, therefore, for your Sagacity to make such arrangements and provision of all things needful for the work, that not only the Church itself, as a whole, may surpass all others whatsoever in beauty, but that the details of the building may be of such a kind, that the fairest structures in any city in the empire may be excelled by this. And with respect to the erection and decoration of the walls, this is to inform you, that our friend Dracilianus, the deputy of the Prætorian Præfects, and the governor of the province, have received a charge from us. For our pious directions to them are to the effect, that artificers and labourers, and whatever they shall understand from your Sagacity to be needful for the advancement of the work, shall forthwith be furnished by their care. And as to the columns and marbles, whatever you shall judge, after actual inspection of the plan, to be especially precious and serviceable, be diligent to send information to us in writing, in order that whatever materials, and in whatever quantity, we shall esteem from your letters to be needful, may be procured from every quarter as required.

(III. 32.) "With respect to the roof of the church, I wish to know from you whether, in your judgment, it should be ceiled, or finished with any other kind of workmanship. If a ceiling be adopted, it may also be ornamented with gold. For the rest, your Holiness will give information, as early as possible, to the before-mentioned magistrates, how many labourers and artificers, and what expenditure of money is required. You will also be careful to send us a report, without delay, not only respecting the marbles and columns, but the ceiling also,

should this appear to you to be the most beautiful form. God preserve you, beloved brother!" (Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*.)

The church was completed in the year 335.

II. IONAS KORTENS, ehemaligen Buchhändlers zu Altona, *Reise nach dem weiland Gelobten, nun aber seit siebenzehn hundert Jahren unter dem Fluche liegenden Lande; wie auch nach Egypten, den Berg Libanon, Syrien, und Mesopotamien: Von ihm selbst aufrichtig beschrieben und durchgehends mit Anmerkungen begleitet.* 12^o. 1741.

"In my twentieth year, while teaching the children of a village school in Saxony, my attention was struck by reading *Deut.* xxix. 22-29, in which occur these words:—'The strangers that shall come from a far land shall say, when they see the plagues of that land, and the sicknesses which the Lord hath laid upon it. . . . Even all nations shall say, wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto this land? What meaneth the heat of this great anger?'

"These words made upon me, even then, a very strong impression, and the idea thenceforth engaged me, to go and see that land to which God had especially manifested his goodness and his retributive justice, and which he had set as a manifest example to the whole world, but especially to Christendom. In my twenty-fifth year I was laid on a bed of sickness, and by the cords of His mercy was led to vow unto Him a sincere repentance. . . . I now endeavoured, after the injunction of the Evangelist, to care for nothing in the world but food and clothing, and gaining these by the labour of my hands, to trust in Him who knows beforehand what we require. Formerly, I had thought it impossible to journey to the land of Canaan without a well-filled purse, but now I said to myself, 'You seek no longer the things of this world, you care not in what state of life you may be placed, you desire neither courts nor palaces, so it must be indifferent to you where in the world you may be found; and clothing will not fail you, if you are content to labour in whatsoever thy hand findeth to do.' In this persuasion I left England in my thirtieth year, and reached Constantinople and Smyrna. Up to this period, I had been without care, anxiety, or restlessness; full of courage, joy, and faith, and had failed in nothing; but now, I began to lay aside my humility, I refused to work, and my previous contentment of mind gave place to restlessness, care, and trouble, and all was lost. I took ship again for England. . . . My greatest trouble was, that I felt that my heart was not at peace with God. I now took up the trade of a bookseller, and after twenty years of business, I found myself blessed with many temporal enjoyments. Serenity and contentment again returned to my mind, and

nothing hindered, but that I should resume my former project of visiting Jerusalem and the earthly Canaan.

"The object which I had in view, I have already explained. It was, as a stranger from a far country, to see how exactly and righteously God had fulfilled his threatenings to his once favoured people, and thus, at the same time, to convince myself of the truth of his prophecies, and to be a witness of the same truth to those who had not opportunity to see those things with their own eyes.

"Among other results of my journey, I must especially mention the discovery that what is now received as Mount Calvary cannot be the true one. I trust that the veil of error will now be removed from the eyes of the whole world, and such a blow be given to the godless honouring of this place, that the deceived people may at length open their eyes, and consider how long they have been groping in the dark, and fancied that those offerings could be well-pleasing to God, which are so opposed to the service which God requires." (*Vorrede.*)

"The 'holy places' are brought together in this church as in a 'raree-show'. It is the greatest spiritual toll-house, as it is also the most godless place, in the whole world: and it forms a fearful stumbling-block to Jews and Mahometans. (pp. 44, 51.) How could the place of burial have been only fifty paces distant from that of the crucifixion? How was it that the cross was allowed to have been removed? Did they bury it by permission, or secretly? It could not have remained on Calvary: for if the Jews discovered that the Christians were in the habit of coming hither, to pray to a piece of wood, this being contrary to the precepts of their religion, they would have burnt the cross, and stoned the blasphemers. (51-52.) How is it that the rock, in which they show the rent of the earthquake, is hollow underneath, and reposes on two stones? (55.) How is it that we hear nothing of Melchizedek's grave, and of Adam's head, in the tradition of the Jews? From whom did the Christians receive the information? (56.) How could Calvary be so near to the Temple, and in the very heart of the city? (158, 193.)

"Another error into which the learned are fallen, is that Jerusalem does not occupy the same place as the old. For not only does the present city stand within the ancient boundaries, but it occupies the most central and the principal portion of the old city: and therefore I could scarcely believe my eyes, when I considered how many travellers and learned men had fallen into this error. For, indeed, it is impossible that the walls on the east and west sides, confined as they are by deep valleys, can have been otherwise than as at present existing. To be persuaded of this, you have only to look at the position of the city from without.* (164, 165, 177.)

"I can only explain how so palpable an error has been handed down and

* See the general view of Jerusalem in Bartlett's *Walks about Jerusalem*.

received from antiquity, by considering that it is in God's anger that they have been smitten with blindness, and been groping as blind men in darkness, even in noon-day. For when in the third and fourth centuries the knowledge of Christ was gradually lost sight of,—especially the fundamental principle that salvation is obtained only by faith in his name,—erring men laid their salvation in inanimate objects, in lifeless places, in wood and stone; and thus God was pleased to visit them with darkness, so that they mistook even the places which they designed to honour." (167, 168.)

Other objections which he adduces are those of—*Population*: He asks, how the city, restricted in the manner insisted on by the advocates of the sepulchre, could have contained the population specified by ancient historians, and this in a land where the houses are seldom of more than two stories in height? (176.) *Impolicy*: How could the Jews have built their wall in a situation by which the city would be exposed to the superior position of Mount Calvary, while the western valley was so near to them? (177, 178.) *Want of correspondence with Scripture*: The Evangelists say nothing of Golgotha being on a mount, but rather lead us to infer that it was in a valley: (189, 190:) and *Probability of Deception*: He objects the frequent recourse to rocks and caves. Indents in the rock are pointed out as caused by Stephen when he fell: and impressions in the rock are shown at Gethsemane, as proceeding from the feet and hands and one knee of the Saviour. (75, 81.)

"After long consideration how it could be possible that the early fathers could have erred so grossly as to choose this false site instead of the true one, in a manner so contrary to the evidence of their senses, I found for them the following excuse. It is manifest to all confirmed Christians that God, who, as eternal Love, only desires that fallen creatures should be raised up again, should permit those means which men adopt in sincerity of heart. This, however, is certain, so soon as such means degenerate into empty custom, and fall into misuse, they are deserving of abolishment and curse, like the brazen serpent in the wilderness. The first authors and founders of these things had doubtless a good design and honest intention therein, and believed that it was even incumbent on them to observe with becoming solemnity the anniversaries of the death, and resurrection, and ascension of our Lord, and that the places of those events should be sought out; and thus to remind themselves, or rather to bring home to their hearts, what the Saviour had done and suffered on their

behalf. Had they thus only regarded the thing, and not to the honouring of the outward places, it might have been excusable that they should openly have selected this hill, knowing all the while that it was not the true site; and that some one should have cut the footsteps in the Mount of Olives, when Helena desired to build a church there. From such original intention, which, however, was not a pure one, afterwards grew the gradually increasing corruption in religion, which has now reigned for so long a time, and still exists. That such places are worthy of curse, we must consider as a sufficient reason—the placing of remission and forgiveness of sins on the pilgrimage to, and honouring of, such places. For thus was lost the chief and fundamental article of the Gospel, viz. that we obtain forgiveness of sins only by faith in the name of the Son of God, together with that which follows therefrom, that God purifies our heart by such faith. But this is certain, that no dead, but a living faith, is necessary.

“The foregoing considerations had induced in me respect to the early fathers, although there yet remained many difficulties: but when, after my return to my native country, I read the following account* of Synesius, afterwards Bishop of Ptolemais, such respect well-nigh vanished from me altogether. He writes thus to one of his friends: ‘The populace despise things easily to be understood: you must have recourse to imposture. A philosophical spirit, which searches after truth, permits itself to lie when there is occasion: for there is the same analogy between light and truth, as there is between the eye and the people. If the eye received too abundant light, it would be hurtful to it, and obscurity is more useful to those whose sight is feeble. In the same manner is falsehood useful to the populace, and truth is dangerous to those who have not power to contemplate it in its simplicity. If the laws of the Church permitted such proceeding I would embrace the priesthood, but on condition, that I might be a philosopher at home, provided I appeared in public as a relator of fables. . . . What is there in common between the people and philosophy? Truth should be kept secret: the populace require a different teaching.’

“I readily allow that few doctors of the Church were so shameless as he: but this I say, that the ground and desire of lying exists in all unregenerate men, and such men are unable to contend against it; nay, they feel an inward pleasure in such cleverly-imagined fables. Of this accursed lust it happens that all travels and topographies of the Holy Land are filled with such tales; thus writes one after another, although a half-witted can comprehend that it is but a fiction. Thus the cause is manifest as the light of day why the tales, the lies, the histories, and the other deceits at Jerusalem and in the Holy Land are in-

* In Maturin Veyssiere la Croze, *Hist. du Christianisme d’Ethiopie et d’Armenie*, La Haye, 1739, pp. 11, 12. Synesius was ordained by Theophilus, A.D. 410. He is accused by M. La Croze of having forged the writings of Dionysius the Arcopagite, in favour of monophysism.

roduced, and how these damnable doctrines of Satan's synagogue* have swept over Eastern Christendom as a mighty flood, and been followed by a turning back into sin, and an imbibing of the errors of Mahometanism. Nor should we wonder that they, in return, are smitten with blindness, so that not only can they not find the tomb of Christ, but even the site thereof remains unknown: which fact I think to be prefigured by the tomb of Moses, of which it is said that 'no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day'." (193-196.)

III. Johann Friedrich Plessing, *Ueber Golgotha und Christi Grab*. 12mo. Halle, 1789. pp. 1-542, divided into 46 Sections.

This work was intended by its author to supply the deficiencies of Korte's description, and consists of a most able and elaborate exposition of the falsity of the so-called Holy Sepulchre. I proceed to notice some of his principal arguments.

1. *Golgotha was the place of public execution.*

The Golgotha of Jerusalem answered to the Pompeian way of Mamertia, the Corvus of Thessaly, and the Sestertium of Rome. (i. 1, 2.) The gate which led to this place corresponded to the Esquiline Gate, (Lipsius,) or the Porta Metia (Pareus) of Rome, and the Porta Charonia of Athens. (iii. 16.)† The place of execution, among the Romans, was near a public thoroughfare,‡ that the execution might be not so much a punishment as an example. Quintil., *Declam.* cclxxv. (v. 27, 28, 32, 33.) Thus we read, 'They that passed by,' etc. Matt. xxvii. 32.

2. *The place of Christ's burial was held in no esteem by the Apostles and early Christians.*

The Apostles were living witnesses of Christ's crucifixion and resurrection: what need had they of lifeless stones? The disciples have received instruction

* "The church of the 'holy sepulchre' and its chapels are the sepulchre of the Christian religion of the East, wherein all vitality is swallowed up, where the very stones receive the homage which belongs to the Redeemer alone." (Rev. W. J. Woodcock, *Script. Lands*, p. 158.)

† "Causa nominis quod ibi decollare homines solerent, qualia loca Romæ erant Sestertium et Gemoniæ." Matth. Hilleri, *Onomasticum Sacr.* s. v. *Golgotha*. Jerome refers to the Gemoniæ at Rome, the Ceadas at Sparta, and the Barathrum at Athens (*Opera*, iv. i. 137; iv. ii. 547.) See also Suidas, s. v. *Bápa-Opov*, *Kaúēas*, and *Kedēas*.

‡ He conceives it to have been on the Joppa road, which lay north-west of the city; but he determined this position from a mistaken notion of the Dung Gate. The road to Bethlehem, across the valley of Hinnom, would also be a great thoroughfare. It was, indeed, the great South Road.

from the Apostles, and seen them sealing their testimony with their blood: what need have they of other witness? S. Chrysostom states that the Apostles and early Christians "had not busied themselves with it, partly because they were fearful of so doing, and partly because they were occupied with other matters." *Hom. lxxxiv. in Joh.* The acknowledgment is important that they did not busy themselves about the place of burial; but we are better able to appreciate the character of the early Christians, than to believe that their reason for so doing was that of fear. Minucius, in refuting the calumny of Cæcilius, says, we neither honour nor fear the cross. "*Cruces etiam nec colimus, nec horremus,*" xii. 4, and xxix. 7. (x. 72, xlii. 368.) The sepulchre might have passed into other hands, and been used for other purposes, and thus, gradually, all knowledge of it would be lost. (ix. 61.) The Christians had fled to Pella before the siege of the city by Titus, and they remained there till the reign of Hadrian, when Aquila was appointed as governor. Epiphanius, *De Mensuris et Pond.*, xv. 171. Sulp. Sev. *Hist. Sacr.* ii. 31, n. 4. (xviii. 133.) Indeed, had they desired to return, the troubled state of the country would have precluded their so doing. (xi. xliii.)* The first pilgrimage that we read of is that of Alexander, a bishop in Cappadocia; Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 11; and the next is referred to by Firmilianus, in a letter to Cyprian; Cypr. *Epist.* 75. But these earlier pilgrimages, down to the time of Eusebius, were always to Bethlehem and the Mount of Olives. Cyril interprets Ps. cxxxii. 7, 'We will go into his tabernacle, and fall low on our knees before his footstool', as referring to Bethlehem, *Catech.* xii. 20; as he refers, Zech. xiv. 4, to the impression of the feet on the Mount of Olives. Eusebius, Jerome, Origen, all consider that Bethlehem is the place referred to in the former passage. (xix. 149-158.) During this time, the bishops of Jerusalem had resided at Pella, where we find one of them, Simeon the son of Cleophas, put to death in the reign of Trajan, in the year 120. (xv. 102.) Up to their return to Jerusalem, they had always elected Jewish bishops, but at this period we find the election falling upon a Roman, Marcus. (xviii. 136.) Hadrian not only received them kindly, but took them into his especial favour and protection; and, as we find from Grosius, Lampridius, and Epiphanius, he forbade their being condemned without proof, he built a temple in honour of Christ, he appointed as governor a man whom he knew to be favourable to their opinions, and he allowed them to remain in Jerusalem after the insurrection of Barcochba, though he prohibited the Jews from so doing. (xxvi. 203, 204.) This circumstance, alone, would show that the Christians could not have been present at the second siege of Jerusalem, or they would

* The Christians were treated by Barcochba in the most cruel manner for refusing to join him in his revolt. The country was so desolated, that wolves and hyænas are recorded to have entered the city in the year 133; (Dion Cass. lxi. 14:) and the celebration of the passover was transferred from Mount Nisan to Mount Ijar. (Bp. Muenther in *Bib. Sacr.* i. 425, 226.)

have been excluded in common with the Jews. (xxvi. 193.) How could Hadrian have thus invited them, had he, as represented by later writers, purposed to insult them, by desecrating the spots which they held as sacred? (xxvi. 202-204.)* “How awful is the consideration that the Spirit of God should be brought forward as a lying witness, in order to account for a pretended desecration of the spot by the heathen! (195.) The statue of Jupiter Capitolinus was not over the grave, as pretended by Jerome, nor over the place of crucifixion, as pretended by Paulinus, but over the temple of Solomon; and it was erected, not in enmity to the Christians, but the Jews. Did Hadrian hold the goddess Venus in so little esteem, to be of so foul and degrading a nature, that he was content to build her a temple over a tomb; and could he think to raise a temple to the king of gods in a spot of infamy, in a place of public execution? (205, 206.) On the contrary, the emperor gave to his city perfect religious freedom, and the Christians might, had they so desired, have built their church at the Holy Sepulchre; but, in accordance with the Psalms and the Prophets, they chose Zion for their residence, and erected there their churches, which they called synagogues. (xviii. 142-148.) Either, therefore, they did not regard the sepulchre with feelings of peculiar sanctity, or they were ignorant of its situation; and, consequently, the story of the temple of Venus is a fable. But it is probable that in the time of Hadrian the position of the sepulchre was no longer known, for in the second year of his reign, and previous to his rebuilding it under the name of *Ælia Capitolina*, he entirely destroyed the remainder of the city, which had escaped in the siege of Titus. (xiv. 99, 100.)

3. *The finding of the ‘Holy Sepulchre’ was a matter of worldly polity.*

The fourth century believed in dreams, visions, and other proofs of divine attestation. (xxi. 164.) It was by means of a dream that the empress Pulcheria discovered the bodies of the forty soldiers who were slain by Licinius; it was by a dream that Ambrose freed himself from the authority of Rome, and set up his church at Milan, through the discovery of the precious relics of Saints Gervasius and Protasius; and it was thus that the Bishop of Jerusalem sought to free himself from subjection to the Bishop of Cæsarea, by feigning Helena to have been instructed in a dream as to the position of the cross and sepulchre. (xxi. 164; xxiii.; xxxiv. 268.) Would Mahomet have established his kingdom, if he had not given out that he was the prophet of God? Would Constantine have succeeded in inspiring that confidence in his troops which enabled them to overcome all their enemies, if he had not pretended to have seen a vision of the cross? Euseb. *Vita Const.* i. 29; ii. 8. (xxxi. 171.)

The heathen ideas which still animated Constantine and Helena, led them to search for the cross of Christ. The heathen believed that, by the use of

* The same opinion is expressed by Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, p. 308.

certain words, hymns, signs, and other actions, according to the instructions of theurgy, the gods might be induced to confer particular benefits on their worshippers, to grant their requests, and to bestow victory and protection. The emperor observed that the Christians constantly made use of the sign of the cross,* and he believed that such sign had an extraordinary virtue in protecting the person using it from the power of evil spirits. He found himself opposed to Maxentius, a man who employed all manner of magical arts against his enemies. To whom shall he apply in such extremity? He is overwhelmed with concern. What shall he do? He has it! He will turn the superstitions of the people to his own advantage. How natural then does not the dream appear, that Christ appeared to him, and commanded him to make use of the cross?† Nor were his expectations frustrated. He obeys the revelation, and conquers Maxentius. We find him afterwards acknowledging, "So soon as I displayed thy sign (the cross) I raised together a victorious host," *Vita Const.* ii. 55: and Eusebius observes, "The emperor honoured this conquering sign, because he thereby obtained secret power from God. By this sign have the hosts of the enemy been put to flight, and the legions of evil spirits been destroyed. By this sign has the pride of those who withstood God been humbled, and the tongue of the godless blasphemer silenced. By this sign are the savage nations brought into subjection."‡ *Orat. de laud. Const.* 740. (xxvii. 211-215.)

But his thoughts are influenced also on behalf of Jerusalem. He reflects that other cities rose into importance from the celebrity of their fanes. But if he be asked where was the principal seat of his religion, what could he answer? He resolves therefore to embellish the city, and to erect sumptuous temples: (xxxi. 237-244:) and he believes that the city shall remain impregnable so long as the wood of the true cross should be supposed to remain there. (xxi. 171.) Need we be surprised, then, at the discovery of the sepulchre? Even before

* Cyril insisted on the efficacy of the cross in exorcising evil spirits. (*Catech.*, iv. 14; xiii. 3, 36.) A story is told of the Emperor Julian, who, being initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, at Ephesus, by Maximus and Chrysanthus, and seeing spectres of fire, involuntarily made this sign of the cross, on which they disappeared. He then observed, "There is some efficacy in this sign of the Christians": on which Maximus, with ready wit, answered, "Do you think you have frightened the gods? No; but they will not hold converse with a profane person, such as you appear."

† Cyril considered this as the 'appearance of the sign of the son of man.' (*Epist. ad Constantiam*, v. and vi. p. 213.)

‡ It seems probable, from the present dispute between the French and the Russians, relative to the 'Holy Places', that the so-called 'Holy Sepulchre' may again become a pretext for political intrigue and temporal aggrandizement.

the event was accomplished, we find Constantine making preparations for the intended church. "Quippe jam pridem hoc apud se constituerat, idque quod erat futurum, divina quadam alacritate præviderat." (*Vita Const.* iii. 29; xxvii. 217.) How could the doting Helena be indifferent to so specious an undertaking? She does whatsoever is desired of her. She considers herself the favoured instrument in the hand of God for bringing to light this 'salutary sepulchre.' She is even made to believe that she has surpassed the Virgin Mary.—"Illa (Maria) quasi sancta Dominum gestavit—ego crucem ejus resuscitatum. Illa generatum docuit—ego resuscitatum. Illa fecit ut Deus inter homines videretur—ego ad remedium peccatorum divinum de ruinis elevabo vexillum." Ambrosius, *In Concione de Obitu Theodosii Aug.* n. 43, t. ii. *op.* p. 1210. (xxvii. 218.)

Cyril collects together most of the passages in the Bible descriptive of the praise and glory of Zion and Jerusalem, only to apply them to the seat of his bishopric, and to make it of more consideration in the eyes of Christendom. The following passages are thus misapplied:—Is. xlv. 23; Zach. ix. 9; Ps. xlvii. 1, 13; xcvii. 8; cxiii. 6: (*Orat. in occursum Domini:*) Is. lx. 1; i. 26, 27; ii. 3; xlix. 18; lx. 8; lxvi. 8; lxv. 20. (*Catech.* xviii. No. 34, p. 301.) And these pretexts ultimately led to the appointment of Juvenal, the Bishop of Jerusalem, as Patriarch, in lieu of the Bishop of Cæsarea. (xxxiv. 269, 270.)*

4. *Objections to the received tradition.*

Hadrian having demolished the whole of the ancient city, it must have been a work of considerable time to people his new city. Ælia was therefore necessarily of more restricted area than the ancient city. How, then, is it possible to suppose that the town of Hadrian could in any part exceed the ancient limits?† Granted that the walls were entirely destroyed, and the foundations

* The bishop and the clergy of Jerusalem have seen the zeal with which Helena has performed her pilgrimage, the simple and pious credulity with which she has listened to, and inquired after, every vague tradition; they have beheld the glorious temples rise up at her command, and the costly gifts she has bestowed upon them; and, shall they remain silent? She is already in the decline of life, and who knows how soon she may be carried off? One hint from them might cause her to persuade the Emperor, or resolve, even herself, to do more for Jerusalem than she had already done for Bethlehem; for the church at Bethlehem far exceeded in grandeur that of the Mount of Olives.

† Nothing can be clearer than the language of Brocardus:—"Nec verum est, ut quidam opinantur, ipsam urbem nunc in alio loco sitam esse, quam fuerit dominicæ passionis tempore. . . . Talis sic dicunt quia regionem et urbem ipsam non viderunt. Situs Jerusalem est, et semper fuit, talis quod stante templo Domini intra ejus mœnia vanum fuisset, imo impossibile eam ex toto ad alium

rooted up, the external line of wall was too strongly marked by nature to allow of its being obliterated. Can we suppose that Hadrian would carry his line of wall along garden-land on the lower slope of a hill,* and thus lay it open to an enemy on the higher ground of Calvary, instead of availing himself of those strong defences, so celebrated by all writers? (xvii: xxvi. 208.) But is it true, that the site of the Sepulchre lay outside of the city, even in the time of Constantine? Eusebius writes:—"In provincia autem Palestina, apud civitatem quæ Hebræorum regia quondam sedes fuit, *in ipso urbis meditullio*, ad locum dominici sepulchri, Basilicam immensæ amplitudinis et ædem sacram in honorem sanctæ crucis omni magnificentiæ genere exornavit." *Orat. de laude Const.* ix. 741. (xxvi. 208; xlv. 394.) The expression used by Eusebius, "opposite to that old Jerusalem," would apply to the Temple, in opposition to which, as it were, the Christian church was erected.

The discovery of the cross is not mentioned by Eusebius, and this omission is important, as it takes so principal a part in the narratives of subsequent writers. The attempt, indeed, was made to interpolate the circumstance in the writings of Eusebius, but the forgery was detected by Gelasius, *Dist.* xv. 3. Not only is the Aquitanian Pilgrim, who visited Jerusalem in 333, silent respecting the cross, but Juvenius, Gregorius of Nyssa, Ambrosius, Grosius, Philostorgius, Basilius of Seleucia, Sedulius, Alcimius Avitus, Palladius, and Eumenius are alike silent. (xlii. 364. For various contradictions as to the period and manner of discovery, see xlii. 365, 366.) The pieces of the cross in many churches are as new as if they had been only just cut off. Salmasius apud Bartholin. *de latere Christi*, pp. 269, 270. From the variety of woods of which these are composed arose the tradition, that the foot was of cedar, the body of cypress, the arms of palm-tree, and the tablet of olive-tree.

"Pes crucis cedrus, corpus tenet alta cupressus,
Palma manus religat, titulo lætatur oliva."

J. H. Ursini, *Urb. Bibl.* xv.

Is it probable, that the holes for the cross would be sunk down a few inches in the live rock,† instead of being fixed and rammed into the earth? Do not

locum transferre propter locorum munitionem; ex omni parte consimilem enim munitionem alibi habere non posset ullo ingenio." (*Descriptio Terr. Sanct.*, viii. 43.)

* The ground outside of the church of the 'Holy Sepulchre' is 25 to 30 feet higher on the north-west, than on the east and south-east sides. (Ersch und Gruber, *Encyclopædie*, art. Jerus. s. 315. b.)

† A recent traveller, who had formed a very erroneous idea respecting Mount Calvary, had promised some of his friends to bring home some earth from "the place where the cross had stood," but on arriving there he found nothing but rock and marble. (*Morgenblatte*, Jan. 1843, No. 22.)

Juvencus and Cyril say that Golgotha was a field, a garden? (xliii. 385.)* Cyril says expressly that it was not above the ground, as the tombs of the kings, *Catech.* xiii. 35, p. 200. He compares it to a pit, such as that in which Joseph was cast, and calls it λάκκον, and he believes that Jeremiah prophesied of Christ's grave, when he said, 'They have cut off my life in a dungeon, and east a stone upon me', *Lam.* iii. 53; as David did, when he said, *Ps.* lxxxviii. 4, 6, 'I am counted with them that go down into the pit'.† (xliii. 358.)‡ This manifest disagreement with the Scripture narrative, caused Modistus, in a subsequent age, to give the tomb a form entirely different from that of Cyril's. (xliv. 391, 398-400.)§

But where is the rock which rose above the pavement of the Church of the Resurrection, and in which the soros for the body was? Had not Hakim levelled it with the ground? Could another rock arise in which the tomb of Christ might be shown?—If the patriarch Nicephorus built a new grave it could not have been of rock. (p. 423.) William of Baldensel, in the year 1336, states, that it was not composed of one mass of rock, but of many fragments put together, and compares it to the towers of Hippicus, Phasaëlus, and Mariamne, "the stones of which were so artfully joined together, that each tower looked like one entire rock," *Jos. Bell.* v. 4, § 4.|| (pp. 424, 426.)

We are told, that Constantine built two splendid and very large churches, one over the grave, and the other over the place of crucifixion. Let any one take the plan of the present church, and say how these two large churches could have stood, side by side, without touching; and the two sacred places being so near to each other, why they should not have been included in the

* How is it, if it required digging for in order to be found, that while the adjoining parts of the ancient city are forty feet beneath the surface, Golgotha remains on a level with the ground?

† 'Εθανάτωσαν ἐν λάκκῳ ζωὴν μου καὶ ἐπέθηκαν λίθον ἐπ' ἐμοί. "Extinserunt in fovea vel lacu vitam meam, et posuerunt lapidem super me." Λάκκος est fovea intra terram. Putat tamen Cyrillus sepulchrum Domini ea voce intelligi non solum in hoc Jeremiæ loco, sed etiam in *Ps.* lxxxvii. 5, (*Ps.* lxxxviii. 4, 6,) ubi David non tam de se, quam de Messia dicit: "Æstimatus sum cum descendentibus in foveam." (ἐἰς λάκκον).—Casaubon, *Exercit. ad Annal. Baron.* xvi. 99.

‡ Lucas Wadding states, they descended formerly to the grave by a flight of marble steps: "Ipsam Christi per cancellos aut fenestras duntaxat cernere licet, olimque patebat aditus per scalas subterraneas marmoreas." (*Annal. Ord. Minor.*, vii. ad ann. 1342, § xxiv. p. 265.)

§ "Illud sepulchrum fuerat in petra excisum; et illa petra stat *super terram.*" (Willebald, *Hodæporicon.*)

|| J. A. Schmid, *De Tumba Servatoris*, i. 2, § 6, p. 26. I have not been able to find the book.

same structure. (pp. 486-490. See Cyril *Catech.* xiii. 39.) “*Welch ein elendes Gedicht ist nun nicht die Identität des heiligen Grabes?*”*

IV. *Biblical Researches in Palestine.* By Rev. Dr. E. Robinson and Rev. E. Smith. 3 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1841.

“Such is the account which Eusebius, the cotemporary and eye-witness, gives of the churches erected in Palestine by Helena and her son Constantine. Not a word, not a hint, by which the reader would be led to suppose that the mother of the emperor had anything to do with the discovery of the holy sepulchre, or a building of a church upon the spot. But, as I have already remarked, this was the age of credulous faith, as well as of legendary tradition and invention, if not of pious fraud; and this silence of the father of church history respecting Helena, was more than made good by his successors. All the writers of the following century relate as with one voice, that the mother of Constantine was from the first instigated by a strong desire to search out and discover the Holy Sepulchre and the sacred cross on which the Saviour had suffered. A divine intimation had pointed out to her the spot; and, on her arrival at Jerusalem, she inquired diligently of the inhabitants. Yet the search was uncertain and difficult, in consequence of the obstructions by which the heathen had sought to render the spot unknown. These being all removed, the sacred sepulchre was discovered, and by its side three crosses, with the tablet bearing the inscription written by Pilate. The tablet was separated from the cross; and now arose another dilemma, how to ascertain which of these three was the true cross. Macarius, the bishop, who was present, suggested an appropriate means. A noble lady of Jerusalem lay sick of an incurable disease; the three crosses were presented to her in succession. The two first produced no effect; but at the approach of the third, she opened her eyes, recovered her strength, and sprang from her bed in perfect health. In consequence of this discovery, Helena caused a splendid church to be erected over the spot where the crosses were found.” (*Bibl. Res.* ii. 14, 15.†) “Neither Cyril nor Jerome‡ make mention of Helena in any connection with either the cross or the sepulchre.” (ii. 16.)

* Such is the tradition connected with which Church of the ‘Holy Sepulchre’ an “English Secretary of State, in the nineteenth century, expressed with becoming force and feeling the regret with which the unseemly altercations (of the Greek and Latin churches) about *shrines sacred to the common associations of all Christians* must be regarded by every man of piety and reflection.” (*Times*, Feb. 21, 1853.)

† Quoting Rufinus, ob. 410; Theodoret, fl. c. 440; Socrat., fl. c. 440; and Sozomen, fl. c. 450.

‡ Nor the Bordeaux pilgrim. (Rob., *Bibl. Sacr.*, p. 185.)

The following is the substance of other arguments put forward by Dr. Robinson:—

He asks, whether it be probable that the 'Second Wall' would have been carried along so weak a line as the lower slope of Acra, (i. 392;) and whether it could have taken in the 'Pool of Hezekiah', and excluded the Holy Sepulchre, when in so doing it must have formed a sharp angle? and he refers to the remains of an old gateway by the Damascus Gate, which must have formed part of this second wall. (ii. 68, 69.) He also shows, as Korte and Plessing had done before him,* the possibility of their being in error in this instance, by their having erroneously fixed upon the site of another spot—that of the Ascension, showing from the parallel passages in St. Luke (xxiv. 50, 51) and Acts (i. 12), that the ascent took place from Bethany, on the further slope of the Mount of Olives, and not from the summit of the mountain. (ii. 77; *Bibl. Sac.* i. 177.)†

Thus, then, in this following century, sprang up the sacred myth which we are now required to believe. Each succeeding writer embellishes the story where he thinks it wanting,‡ till at length Helena's name is ascribed to almost every ancient church in the country. Mr. Newman contends only for the two earlier testimonies, Eusebius and Cyril, and acknowledges that later testimony coming from foreign lands, and exaggerated by popular belief, "whether true

* Korte, *Reise nach dem ehemaligen gelobten Lande*, ii. 9, p. 163; Plessing, *Ueber Golgotha*, xx, 163.

† Bartholomew de Salignac, a French pilgrim in the beginning of the sixteenth century, relates of this building,—“I will acquaint you with a fact which is undoubted by the faithful. Those who, standing near to the place of the footmarks of the Blessed Jesus, lift up their eyes towards heaven in a direct line, will see a luminous opening in the ætherial regions, as though the heavens had opened asunder. What do you suppose, O Christian brother, that this can mean, unless it show to the servants of Christ the way by which the glorified Lord Jesus ascended into Heaven? But they say that, if you change your position a nail's breadth, this heavenly way will immediately vanish from your sight.” (Barth. a Saligniaco, *Itin. Terre Sancte Descript.*, ix. 3.)

One footmark is more visible than the other; and Treter considers it probable that, in the act of ascension, the right foot might have been supported by an angel. (Radzivil, *Hieros. Peregr.*, Ep. ii. 82.) Other accounts say that the Turks have removed one footmark to the mosque of Omar. The writer cannot state whether there be one or two footmarks, for he did not go within the building.

‡ Adrichomius introduces an aged Jew, who, being starved for seven days, by order of pious Helena, consents to pray to God to reveal the site to him; and on his prayer an earthquake ensued, and he was instantly converted. (*Theatr. Terræ Sanctæ*, 176.)

or false, is exposed, *primâ facie*, to suspicion.”* If so,—in what does this boasted miracle consist? That Constantine, being desirous of finding the Holy Sepulchre, found (whether recently or long excavated) a sepulchre, which he called the sepulchre of Christ; and that in a later age, according to evidence which must be viewed with suspicion, the discovery was attributed to Helena, who is then said to have also found the true cross, the reality of which was attended by an especial miracle,—the spear, the crown of thorns, the four nails, the tablet with its inscription, and the other objects of monkish evidence.†

He concludes the consideration of this question by observing :

“Thus, in every view which I have been able to take of the question, both topographical and historical, whether on the spot or in the closet, and in spite of all my previous prepossessions, I am led irresistibly to the conclusion, that the Golgotha and the tomb now shown in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, are not upon the real places of the crucifixion and resurrection of our Lord. The alleged discovery of them by the aged and credulous Helena, like her discovery of the cross, may not improbably have been the work of pious fraud. It would perhaps not be doing injustice to the bishop Macarius and his clergy, if we regard the whole as a well laid and successful plan for restoring to Jerusalem its former consideration, and elevating his see to a higher degree of influence and dignity.” (ii. 80.)

“Another circumstance also engaged their attention; Cesarea was at this time the metropolitan see of Palestine; and that of Jerusalem, which formerly had sunk so low, was now pressing its claims and striving to regain its ancient pre-eminence. Even so early as at the Council of Nicæa in 325, its claims had been presented; and they were then acknowledged and affirmed, saving, however, the dignity of the metropolitan see. *It is worthy of notice, that the discovery of the sepulchre took place the very next year.*”‡

These were among the principal points put forward in the *Biblical Researches*; in noticing which, the *Quarterly Review* (of Dec. 1841), after doing justice to Dr. Robinson’s learning and

* *Essay on Miracles*, p. cli.

† In answer to the objection—“How can the wood of the cross have been preserved in the earth for three hundred years?” Mr. Newman asks—and I will give the question in his own words—“Moreover, if the discovery was not really made, there was *imposture* in the proceeding, an imputation upon the Church at Jerusalem, nay, in the event, on the whole Christian world, so heavy, as to lead us to weigh well which is the more probable hypothesis of the two, so systematic and sustained a fraud, or the discovery of a relic, or in human language, an antiquity, three hundred years old?”

‡ Robinson, *Bibl. Sacra.*, i. 170.

research, adds:—he “has been dispassionate, almost to tenderness, in his treatment of this poetic legend;” and concludes, by depicting “the fatal and inevitable effect of pious fraud, of long superstition: it may work its object with generations of believers, but the time must at length come when it will injure, often most seriously, the cause which it wished to serve.”

V. *Essay on the Miracles recorded in Ecclesiastical History.*
By (the Rev.) J. H. N(ewman). 8vo. 1842.

Sect. V, Art. 5. *The Discovery of the Holy Cross.*

This section of Mr. Newman's Book is written to disprove and nullify, if possible, the evidence brought forward by Dr. Robinson. Though written by one who, as the title of the Essay indicates, is a believer in the miracles of the middle ages, and one, therefore, who is willing to accept traditions which are rejected by the Protestant Church, the Essay shows the writer to have been actuated by sincere motives. Though endeavouring to vindicate the “Catholic” Church, Mr. Newman does justice to her opponent. He acknowledges that Dr. Robinson, “whose learning none can question, and whose zeal for Scripture all must honour, . . . writes with gravity and temper;” (pp. clviii. clxviii. ;) but he accuses him of objecting to the site, “with the view, not simply of disproving the fact, which is a point of secondary importance, but of fixing upon the Fathers and Church of the fourth century the imputation of deliberate imposture, and that for selfish ends. . . . It stands to reason which party is *more likely* to be right in a question of topographical fact, men who lived three hundred years after it, and on the spot, or those who live in 1800, and at the antipodes.” (pp. cli. clv. clvii.) The following is the nature of his apology:—

“The reality of our Lord's tomb was attested by a miracle: and Eusebius alludes to the occurrence of miracles at the Sepulchre. Nay, the very fact, that a beam of wood should be found *undecayed* after so long a continuance in the earth, would, in most cases, be a miracle.” [Mr Newman then adds:—]

“There are few people who would once acknowledge this, that would find any further difficulty in the tradition, that miracles were wrought by it.” (p. cliii.)

But, though Mr. Newman wishes it to be inferred that Eusebius here alludes to the discovery of the *cross*, the facts of the case will not bear out the inference. It is true, that Constantine, in his letter to Macarius, speaks of “a miracle beyond the capacity of human reason,” and writers have too hastily supposed, that this refers to the discovery of the *cross*, narrated by subsequent authors and thus tacitly acknowledged by Eusebius: but a reference to Eusebius himself, (iii. 28, immediately before he introduces Constantine’s letter,) clearly shows that the miracle here alluded to, is simply the discovery of the *sepulchre*. (See the passages at length, iii. 28 and 30, of Eusebius, *ante*, p. 316.)* If, therefore, Mr. Newman affirms, that “the main *authority* for the present site of the Holy Sepulchre is Eusebius,” (p. clvi.) and that it be requisite, that the reality of the tomb be attested by a *miracle*; it is quite clear that Eusebius is to be acquitted of believing, or wishing it to be inferred, that any such miracle took place as that supposed. The mistake into which later writers have been thrown, is owing to the fulsome and extravagant language in which Eusebius writes.

In answer to the objection raised against the site of the Church of the Ascension, he observes:—“One does not see how a tradition can be said to *contradict* Scripture, which, on the face of the matter, does but take one text *instead* of another.” (p. clvii. note g.) Mr. Newman must have written this inadvertently: he cannot have intended to set Scripture against Scripture, in order to support a theory which he finds to be apparently in accordance with one passage, though it is opposed

* “A cave that had now been cut out in the rock, and which had received no other body. For it was necessary that it, which *was itself a wonder*, should have the care of that corpse only; for it is *astonishing* to see even this rock, standing out erect and alone on a level land, and having only one cavern within it.” (Euseb., *Theophania*, p. 199.)

to another. He objects, that Bethany is not on Mount Olivet ; but suggests, that the name was that of a district, which extended to Mount Olivet. He urges, that " it is not fair to object that the Church of the Ascension *falls short* of a sabbath day's journey, without accounting for the circumstance, that Bethany *exceeds* it : " and he represents Dr. Robinson as affirming, that the Ascension did not take place from the Mount Olivet, and therefore as opposing Scripture ; (pp. 1571, 58 ;) and he finally escapes by the argument of the uncertainty of the length of a Sabbath day's journey. (pp. clvii. and clvii.) There are two misstatements made here. Dr. Robinson, as we have seen, shews Bethany to have been on the lower slope of, and therefore *on* Mount Olivet.* and it is Mr. Newman, not Dr. Robinson, who misquotes Scripture ; for in the first chapter of Acts, the 10th verse, narrating the Ascension, refers to Bethany, and is therefore in accordance with Luke xxiv. 50, while the Sabbath day's journey mentioned in verse 12, refers only to the Mount of Olives, over which they then passed, not to the village of Bethany, or the place of the Ascension.†

In answer to the question, " Whether the Second Wall went across Acra, or outside of it ? " he suggests, that the ruins by the Damascus gate, considered by Dr. Robinson as forming part of the Second Wall, may be of prior date to the building of that

* This may be illustrated by Josephus's description of the wall which Titus built around Jerusalem, and which is said to have taken in the Mount of Olives, although we know, from the circuit of the wall being only thirty-nine stadia, that only the base of the mountain could have been included. (*Bell.* v. 12, § 1.) Thus, the Ascension having taken place from Bethany, the Evangelist represents it as occurring on the Mount of Olives.

† Mr. Williams, who repeats Mr. Newman's defence, acknowledges : " If it can be proved that this tradition, whose origin is lost in the antiquity of the Ante-Nicene period, is palpably false, this fact will serve greatly to weaken the force of traditionary evidence in general, and of that relating to the Holy Sepulchre in particular." (*Holy City*, 1845, p. 367.)

Footmarks were shown in many pagan temples of the divinities who were supposed to have stood there. A like superstition is evinced by Mussulmans on

wall. (p. clxi.) Dr. Robinson, however, clearly shows it to have been a gateway.* He then reverts again to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. He contends, that Dr. Robinson's objection of the smallness of the city and its dense population, would be but very little affected by the site of the Holy Sepulchre. (pp. clx—clxii.)

Lastly, notwithstanding the various points already discussed, he pretends that "Dr. Robinson's arguments rest on a definite and single fact, and for that single fact he offers no (certain) proof." It is that connected with the 'pool of Hezekiah.' His objection is twofold: *first*, he contends that the angle complained of is unimportant; that "if Calvary were a place for execution and burial of criminals, there would be a reason why the wall should avoid it;" and that moreover, Dr. Robinson shows a bend in his own line of wall: and, *secondly*, he denies the identity of Hezekiah's Pool, charging Dr. Robinson with having fixed it solely by tradition. Quoting 2 Chron. xxxii. 30, he says, "First, the inspired writer tells us that Hezekiah brought the water into the *City of David*, and the pretended pool is *not* in the city: and next, that he brought it to the *western* side of the city, and the pool is on the *north*:" and he charges Dr. Robinson with disregarding the sacred text, which he professes to consult. He sums up his objection, by asking, "Could it be, that a pool which Scripture says was within the walls, should be situated upon a place of execution, which Scripture as surely places without them?" (pp. clx.—clxix.)

In answer to this *coup-de-grace* it may be observed, that if the site referred to were the ancient Calvary, and the city were

behalf of the footmark shown by them in the Dome of the Rock. The following is the account of a tradition respecting the Church of the Ascension held and originated by Christians: "It is a remarkable circumstance that the spot last trodden by the Divine footsteps, when the Lord was taken up to heaven in a cloud, never could be covered with pavement like the rest of the floor; for whenever it was laid on it, the ground, impatient of every thing human, rejected it, and shook the marble in the faces of those that brought it; forming thus a perpetual evidence of the dust being trodden by God, inasmuch as you may see the impression of his footsteps. But though what was thus trodden, is daily and eagerly carried away by the faith of the multitudes who flock thither, the spot yet sustains no loss, for the earth still retains its own peculiar form, as if marked with the impression of his feet." (Taylor, *Anct. Christianity*, ii. 289, quoting Paulinus, bishop of Nola, Epist. xi.; Sulpitius Severus, *Hist. Sacr.*, ii. 33.) Plessing alludes to the same tradition, and asks: How is it that the impression, which was then in sand, is now in rock?

* *Bibl. Sacr.*, p. 190.

restricted in its width, (which is most improbable,) it could have been purified and taken into the city, and Calvary removed further off; the sudden *bend*, which he accuses Dr. Robinson of having in his own plan, is that where the wall *curves* round gradually towards the Tower of Antonia, southward from Bezetha, which bending is perfectly independent of the sudden angle by the so-called church of the Holy Sepulchre; and which bend Mr. Williams imitates in his second edition. The charge about tradition, is entirely gratuitous, Dr. Robinson having proved the position from the Bible; (see *Bibl. Res.* i. 488, 489;) and, with regard to the reference quoted, (2 Chron. xxxii. 30,) it is Mr. Newman who is in fault, in consequence of his confining the 'City of David' to the Acropolis of Zion, and thereby causing it to present a wrong bearing from the pool in question. And, lastly, if there be any weight in the argument of the improbability of a pool being situated in the vicinity of a place of public execution, it is manifest that the objection in equal force will attach to the place of execution being in the vicinity of a public pool. But we must now listen again to Dr. Robinson.

VI. *Bibliotheca Sacra*. Vol. i. Edited by Dr. Robinson. 8vo. New York, 1843. Art. III. *The reputed Site of the Holy Sepulchre*. By the Editor.

In this article are considered, more at large, several arguments for and against the Sepulchre, which were imperfectly entered into in the *Biblical Researches*. The following is an abstract of the Professor's reasoning :—

The silence of the Bourdeaux Pilgrim has been considered corroborative of Eusebius' silence; but Mr. Newman objects, that the former "is silent also about the place of the ascension and of St. Helena's church there; though no one denies this part of St. Helena's history. So unsafe is it to argue from a negative." (p. ccxvi.) In answer to this, Dr. Robinson brings forward a quotation from this very author, to the effect that, "*ibi facta est Basilica jussu Constantini.*" (*Itin. Hieros.*, 595.)

But it may be asked, how are the silence and indifference of the Apostles

and early Christians to be accounted for? (p. 167); and how is it that Eusebius, writing ten years or more before the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre, in speaking of the pilgrimages to Bethlehem and the Mount of Olives, did not refer to the Holy Sepulchre, had there been any certain tradition respecting its site? It is urged by Mr. Newman, that "the *warrant* for the preservation or recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, is the pagan temple raised over it upon the destruction of the city by Hadrian, which became a lasting record of the spot;" but if the discovery of the sepulchre was effected by a miracle, then the tradition respecting the temple of Venus, etc. and the assistance rendered by Jews and Christians, is a fabrication; or, if this be true, then the finding of the sepulchre could be no miracle. Neither, indeed, is the testimony concurrent; some describing a temple of Venus, others a statue of Jupiter. Hadrian also is mentioned by some writers, and not by others. (pp. 182—184.) Not only also is the tradition itself untrustworthy, but the various particulars are alike incredible. Dr. Robinson asks, whether it is likely that the crosses would be buried in a country where wood is so scarce that the floors and roofs are generally vaulted? (pp. 166, 167:) but we may ask further, how is it that only three crosses were found, if this were the place for the crucifixion of criminals, and if, as is asserted, it was the custom of the Jews to bury the instruments of death with the corpses of malefactors?* or, if it be said, this was by miracle, then how is it that the miracle was extended to the crosses of the two thieves, when it would have been equally apparent if the 'real cross' only had been preserved?

As to the Pool of Hezekiah, independently of the difficulty which we should experience in bringing water into the acropolis of Zion, were that considered as the 'City of David,' there would yet remain the reservoir in question, which, call it by whatever name one may, must, from its military importance, have been included within the walls of the city, and not exposed to an enemy; in whatever case we view it, therefore, the city wall must have gone round this pool or reservoir. (pp. 199, 200.)

He shows how unsafe it is to trust to tradition for the determination of sacred sites, by referring to instances of former error.

"In the vicinity of the Convent at Mount Sinai, there have been pointed out to all travellers for many centuries, not only the places where Aaron cast the golden calf, and Moses broke the tables of the law, and the sites of other like events, but also the spot where the earth opened and swallowed up Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, with their followers. . . . But it so happens, that according

* *Sanhed.*, xlvi. 1; Lightfoot, *Heb. and Talm. Ex. on Acts*, viii. 2; Nic. de Sepul. Heb., iii. 5, § 5. But this custom prevailed only amongst the Jews, not among the Romans. (Plessing, *Golgotha*, x, 62.)

to the Scriptures, this miraculous occurrence took place after the Israelites had reached Kadesh, eleven days' journey from Horeb and Sinai. (*Num.* xvi. xiii. 26. *Deut.* i. 2.)" "Eusebius and Jerome both describe the site of Ramah, the city of Elkanah and Samuel, as being near to Lydda, which lies N.W. of Jerusalem. . . . Now we know that when Saul had visited Samuel at this Ramah, and was about to return home by Gibeah, 6 miles N.N.E. of Jerusalem, his way led by the sepulchre of Rachel, which is 5 miles S. of the same city, a topographical impossibility." Eusebius places Aceldama on the N. of Zion; Jerome, 70 years later, fixes it on the S. where it remains unto the present day. In like manner the Beersheba of the Crusaders, which they placed at Beit-Jibrin, a point considerably N. of Hebron and Gaza, cannot have been the true site: and the Scala Santa of Rome, up which, for centuries, the "faithful" have painfully crawled upon their knees, cannot have been, as represented, the stairs of the 'house of Pilate,' for this is stated, ever since the fourth century, to have been identical with the fortress Antonia, "where we know that the Roman armies during the siege of the temple, levelled everything to the ground, in making their approaches." "But the most striking instance to illustrate the falsity of the claim in behalf of an 'antecedent probability,'—one, too, in which the probability, and the testimony on which it rests are even stronger than in the case of the sepulchre itself,—is that of the reputed place of our Lord's ascension on the *summit* of the Mount of Olives." (pp. 174-177.) . . . The church of St. Stephen, erected by the Empress Eudocia in A.D. 460, is thus alluded to by Mr. Williams. It is "an *unhappy* circumstance that the site of the proto-martyr's sufferings was found for many years without the Damascus gate . . . and what is more provoking is, that the Empress Eudocia erected a large church at the supposed place of his martyrdom." (*Holy City*, p. 364.) Dr. Robinson then pleasantly retorts, that "the people and clergy residing on the spot must have known the place, at least they were much more likely to know it, than those of the fifteenth century, or than any partial witnesses of the nineteenth century." (*Bibl. Sacr.* iii. 638-642.)

He concludes his Essay by repeating his conviction, that—

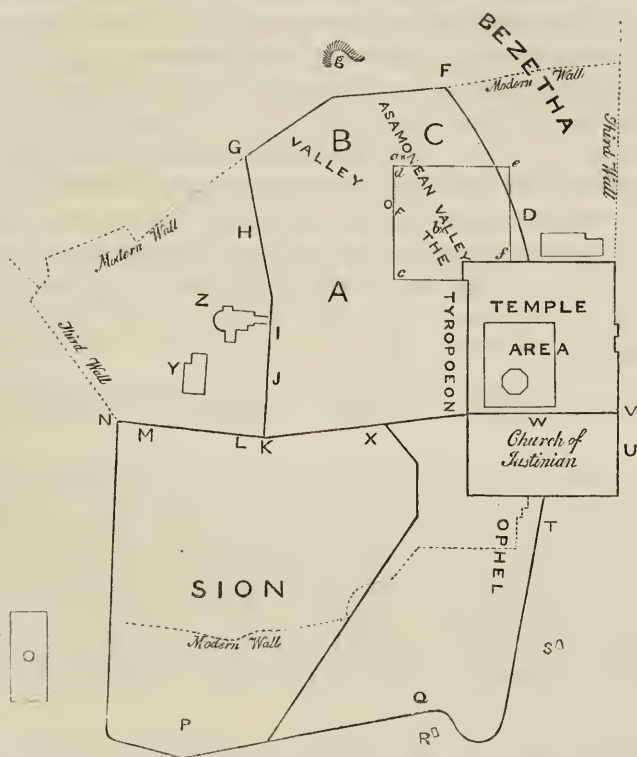
"The Golgotha and the tomb now shown in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre are not upon the real places of the crucifixion and resurrection of our Lord:"* and with respect to his opponent, after accusing him of *suppressio veri*, and of *suggestio falsi*, he adds, "Indeed, I can hardly expect to find my own views subjected to a severer scrutiny by any future antagonist more able, nor probably by any one more disingenuous." (p. 202.)

Alas! he was woefully mistaken: no sooner had his last

* See the same conviction similarly expressed, after a careful analysis of the whole evidence, in Bachicne, *Hist. und Geog.*, Beschreib. von Paläst. ii. § 135; and in Ersch and Gruber, *Encyclopädie*, art. Jerus. ss. 274 a, 315 b.

Essay been published, than a zealous advocate sat himself down to oppose it, and in two years afterwards, appeared

VII. *The Holy City.* By the Rev. George Williams, M.A. Lond. 1845.



Plan of Jerusalem as composed from Mr. Williams's description.

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| A. (No Man's Land.) | Q. Fountain Gate—Valley Gate. |
| B. Aera. | R. Pool of Siloam—The King's Pool. |
| C. (No Man's Land.) | S. Fountain of the Virgin—The Dragon Fountain. |
| D. Sheep Gate, or Valley Gate. | T. The Dung Gate. |
| F. Tower of Hananeel? | U. The Horse Gate. |
| G. Damascus Gate—Fish Gate. | V. The "Tower that lieth out." |
| H. Old Gate. | W. The Water Gate. |
| I. Gate of Ephraim—Valley Gate. | X. The "turning of the wall, even the corner." |
| J. The "Broad Wall." | Y. The Pool Amygdalen. |
| K. The Corner Gate—The Tower of the Furnaces. | Z. The Church of the "Holy Sepulchre." |
| L. The Gate Gennath. | a. Traditional site of the "House of Herod." |
| M. The Water Gate. | b. The "Porta Judiciaria"—The Via Dolorosa. |
| N. The Tower Hippicus—The Armoury. | c, f, e, d. Antonia. |
| O. Birket es Sultan.—The "Pool that was made." | g. Grotto of Jeremiah. |
| P. The Tomb of David. | |

The motive of the book he candidly states in his Preface,—

"And now, should it be asked what occasion there was for another volume, I

will offer the best apology I can. A work of much research has now been for some years before the world, one unavowed but *ill-disguised* object of which is to bring discredit on the early local traditions of Palestine, so as ultimately to involve the venerable Fathers of the Church in the charge of dishonesty, or unaccountable ignorance. The *affectation of candour and impartiality** with which the inquiry into the value of the ecclesiastical traditions is there conducted, has given an additional weight to the observations in the minds of those who have neither the means nor the opportunity of testing their accuracy for themselves; so that *much higher value has been set upon the arguments than they deserved*. I do not hesitate to declare that one object of the present volume," &c. . . . "My only desire is to act as a humble man-at-arms in the attempt to 'tear from the unbelievers the precious Tomb of the Captain of our Salvation,' and in common with all engaged in the 'Holy War,' I must feel grateful to a generous adversary for placing me under such a glorious banner, thereby, I trust unwittingly, arraying himself with the disciples of the Koran and the Crescent, the avowed enemies not of the Sepulchre alone, but of the Holy Church Catholic." (p. vi-ix.)

Similar imputations to these are scattered throughout the book.

After having had the privilege of reading so able, learned, pious, and withal so gentle and temperate an essay as that contained in the *Biblical Researches*, it is sickening to find a work of such sterling merit set aside, by many Protestants, for one, among the principal objects of which is the endeavour to "vindicate the ancient church" "from the objections which have been

* Contrast all this with Mr. Newman's testimony (p. 332). Mr. Finlay, another advocate for the identity of the 'Holy Sepulchre', though on other grounds, thus speaks of the 'Biblical Researches': "The opponents as well as the supporters of Dr. Robinson's views, appear to consider the 'Biblical Researches' as the chief source of information on the subject, for they use it as their guide even while they attack its conclusions. . . . The most learned and impartial statement. . . . He states his case in a clear and candid manner." (*Essay on the site of the Holy Sepulchre*, 8vo., Lond., 1847, pp. 9, 10.) For similar sentiments, even more strongly expressed, see the *North British Review* for Feb. 1845, and the *Quarterly Review* of Dec. 1841. See Dr. Robinson's own feelings, as expressed in *Bibl. Sacr.*, i. 157, 171, 172: and see the ample testimony given to the value of the *Biblical Researches*, compared with the stricture on the "hateful, spiteful controversy of Mr. Williams" in the eminent geographer of Berlin, Carl Ritter, *Die Erdkunde*, vol. xvi. Abtheil. i. pp. 305, 380.

raised to [what Mr. Williams considers as] her most venerable traditions." (p. 365.) Referring to the charges brought against Helena, the author says—"Such was the person whom modern Christians can pity and despise, whose name they dare to cast out as evil, and to stigmatise in language *it would be a sin to repeat.*" (p. 168.) He censures Dr. Robinson for not having filled his pages with the traditions of the native Christians of Jerusalem, those very persons whose fables he was desirous of exposing. (p. 257.)

Mr. Williams is an advocate of the 'Catholic' Church, and a supporter of the prescriptive rights and dignities of the priesthood. On his being sent out as chaplain to the late excellent Bishop of Jerusalem, Dr. Alexander, he had an opportunity of assisting that prelate in his endeavours to extend the blessings of a pure Christian doctrine, "to the Jew first, but also to the gentile." So far as Mr. Williams can be understood relative to what he has thought fit to write respecting "the English Mission" at Jerusalem, (p. 473,) it would seem, that he is averse to the manner in which it has been established, if not indeed to the establishment of any mission at Jerusalem: he "believes the Greek Church, whatever be her deficiencies, to have been, on the whole, remodelled after the pattern of the primitive and purest ages of Christianity," (p. 485,) and he deprecates any interference with that church which might tend to "a schismatical separation from those who are 'over them in the Lord.'" But Mr. Williams's severest anger is directed against the "American Congregationalists" at Jerusalem. (p. 467.) The effects of this mission is "a most distressing subject" to Mr. Williams, (p. 472), and he draws an absurd and preposterous picture of the miserable state of "the most favourable specimen by far of all (the conversions) with which he had any dealings." (p. 470.)* Speaking

* Contrast this with Dr. Hogg's testimony to their usefulness. (*Visit to Alexandria*, etc., ii. 270.)

of the books distributed by the missionaries in the East, he adduces ‘Luther and his Times’ “as one of many like mischievous books issued from the Malta press, now happily abandoned, or in better hands than formerly.” (p. 469.) But though Mr. Williams is thus averse to the Protestant missions, he speaks in other terms of the labours of the Jesuits, (p. 465,) though he laments the schism which they introduced into the orthodox Greek church.

Nor are his views changed at the time of publishing his Second Edition. Speaking of the labours of Bishop Gobat, he gives a copy of the prelate’s encouraging Report to the Home Society, of the conversion of many of the native Christians to the Protestant faith, the establishment of schools, &c. on which he observes—“A sad state of things . . . who can bid it God speed?” (ii. 617.)

As for the “American and European missionaries,” he endeavours to rid himself of them altogether, as David did of Uriah, by tauntingly advising them to leave their present field, and go among savages, in order to earn for themselves a martyr’s crown! (ii. 597.)

It has been necessary to give the preceding extracts that the reader may understand the principles by which Mr. Williams is actuated as an author. With one imbued with such sentiments, with one who, being a minister of the Church of England, “felt it a pleasure to sojourn, and a privilege to suffer in the house of Saint Veronica,” (p. 307,) the writer of this notice can feel no sympathy. But in order to form a just estimate of the value of Mr. Williams’s arguments and opinions on matter-of-fact questions of topography, we must further see how little likely he is to be led aside by ‘old wives’ fables.’

“It is *interesting*,” (he says) “whatever be the value of the tradition, to be shewn the tomb of Melchizedek, the place where Abraham offered up Isaac, and the tree which occupies the spot where the ram was caught in a thicket by its horns: it serves at least to bring these transactions most vividly before the mind, and to give a *vitality* (!) to the Sacred History,” &c. (*Holy City*, p. 3.)

After recounting a tradition of the Jews, that the ‘Ark of

the Covenant,' with its holy contents, is miraculously preserved in a secret chamber of most difficult access, prepared by Solomon in the sacred rock, within the mosque at Jerusalem,—a tradition which is reported by the Crusaders, but who incline to believe that it was buried by Jeremiah, in a cave under Mount Nebo,—Mr. Williams remarks—

“ However unsatisfactory these accounts may appear, it is surely a *matter of no little interest, and it is every way probable*, that He who had honoured it as the seat of his glory for so many centuries, would preserve it from such desecration as it must have undergone, had it fallen into the hands of the Chaldeans.” (p. 47.)

The miracle of Narcissus, who poured water into the lamps of his church on one of the Vigils of the Feast of Easter, and it was by a miraculous and Divine power, changed into the fatness of oil, being one of the miracles accepted by Mr. Newman, is naturally related by Mr. Williams, who adds:

“ Another *scarcely less remarkable* story related of this Bishop would prove that he was under the especial protection of his Divine Master.” The story is, that three men having slandered him, and prayed that some grievous evil might overtake them if they spoke falsely,—the first was consumed by fire, the second was wasted with some loathsome disease, and the third wept himself blind. (p. 152.)

“ The story of the luminous cross which is said to have appeared in the heavens in the time of S. Cyril, is too *interesting* to be passed over in silence, and too *well authenticated* to be rejected as fabulous.” (p. 177.)

In speaking of the traditionary sites of the sepulchre, Mr. Williams says:

“ They may still be not without their use to one who is more intent on turning to good account a visit to these sacred scenes, than disposed to ridicule and despise feelings which he cannot understand or appreciate. The same may be said of other traditionary sites in and about the Holy City.” (*II. C.*, p. 307.)*

* The following are some of the traditionary sites referred to in Mr. Williams's work, and which furnish materials “to turn to good account.”

The cave of S. James; the cave of S. Peter, where he wept bitterly; the cave where the lion assisted to bury the corpses of the Christians slain by the Persians and Jews in the invasion of Chosroes II; the crypt where Solomon tormented the dæmons; the chamber in which Solomon wrote the Book of Wisdom; the house of Hezekiah; the house of Caiaphas; the house of Simon

" I grudge not those their faith, the credulous train,
 Who tread the path enthusiasts trod before,
 Dupes of the convent's legendary strain
 For pious Helena forged in days of yore ;
 Who fix each spot, each fancied site explore
 Of every deed in Scriptural annals read :—
 'Tis thus, when life's pulsation beats no more,
 Misjudging friends o'er wasted features spread
 Imposture's mask to cheat the mourners for the dead."

The Pilgrimage, xx.*

Atque aliqua ex illis quum Regum nomina quæret
 Quæ loca, qui montes, quæve ferantur aquæ;
 Omnia responde; nec tantum si qua rogabit;
 Et quæ nescieris, ut bene nota, refer.

(Ovid. *Art. Amat.* i. 219-222.)

These quotations are enough ; and we may therefore imagine the zeal with which the author would endeavour to repel the aspersions cast upon the ' Catholic ' church, which if proved, would, as he admits, convict her rulers of " flagrant wickedness." (p. 312.) We pass on to notice some of his arguments.

He endeavours to explain the silence of Eusebius as to several particulars afterwards gradually engrafted on his original narrative by Sozomen, Theodoret, and others, each furnishing his quota towards that tradition which was becoming the treasury of the church, by the assertion that—

" They were quite as well informed as we can be as to what Eusebius had written on the subject, and they were following his narrative ; therefore it is highly improbable they would venture, under any circumstances, to contradict his statements, or even to make any important additions without some sufficient warrant ; for *they* were not so very far removed from the time of these

the Pharisee ; the house of St. Anne, and the birth-place of the Virgin Mary ; the postern of the good thief ; the retreat of the apostles ; the place of the Tower of Temptation ; the place of the chief corner-stone ; the shoe-marks on the pavement of the temple of the soldiers who slew Zachariah ; our Lord's footmark when he stood before Pilate ; the place where the friends of our Lord stood afar off ; and the prison in which our Lord was detained while the preparations were making for his crucifixion.

* Lord Francis Egerton.

transactions as to render it impossible for *them* to recover from other quarters some particulars which the earlier writer had failed to record.”*

It will have been seen that Dr. Robinson has adduced as one of the reasons why it is probable that the site of the so-called Church of the Holy Sepulchre was included within the walls, the proximity of the ‘Pool of Hezekiah,’ founding his opinion both on the Bible and on tradition. It could not be supposed that Dr. Robinson would be allowed thus quietly to trespass upon the peculiar property of his opponents. Mr. Newman, who would have considered *tradition* sufficient to demonstrate the truth of any legend he might have himself brought forward, most innocently accuses Dr. Robinson of having no other evidence than tradition. Mr. Williams on the other hand laughs at the idea of his traditional evidence mounting up no higher than to the beginning of the seventeenth century, (p. 270), though he is unable to bring forward any counter-tradition of earlier date to oppose to it. Subsequently, however, we find a lengthened and an ingenious attempt to substitute another ‘Pool of Hezekiah,’ and that “from Scripture alone,” (without tradition !).

The circumstance whether the pool in question be or not the ‘pool of Hezekiah’ is of considerable importance as affecting the authenticity of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: not indeed that the rejection of this pool would prejudice the arguments of those who object to the site of the sepulchre; but, as acknowledged by Mr. Williams, (p. 269,) “the pool . . . if rightly placed . . . would bring that part of the modern city, and so the Holy Sepulchre, within the ancient walls.”† Hence the labour and study with which he seeks to disprove the position.

* The words in *italics* refer to Mr. Newman’s argument relative to the comparative weight of opinions in the third and the nineteenth centuries. See *ante*, p. 332.

† “If the Pool of Hezekiah was included, I am equally ready to admit the ground in question must have been within the second wall, and could not have been the real place of the Holy Sepulchre.” (Lord Nugent, *Lands Classical and Sacred*, p. 31.)

He begins by changing Dr. Robinson's Acra and Bezetha, and converting the Asamonæan valley of Dr. Robinson into the 'Tyropæon,* thus making it run up towards the 'Gate of Ephraim.' Outside of this gate he supposes to have once existed the 'Upper Pool,' the water of which he conducts along his Tyropæon to the Pool of Siloam, which he makes the 'Lower Pool.' (p. 400.) It is necessary here to examine the passages relating to these pools, more especially as they are admitted by Mr. Williams to refer, one and all, to the 'Pool of Hezekiah.' (p. 393, 394, and note 2.)†

"Hezekiah also stopped the upper water-course of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the *west side* of the city of David." (2 Chron. xxxii. 2, 3, 4, 30.) "He made a pool and a conduit, and brought water *into* the city." (2 Kings, xx. 20.) "He fortified his city, and brought in water into the midst thereof; he digged the hard rock with iron, and made wells for waters." (Eccles. xlviii. 17.) "Ye gathered together the *waters of the lower pool* . . . ye made a ditch (reservoir) *between the two walls* for the *water of the old pool*." (Isaiah, xxii. 9, 11.)

"When Hezekiah saw that Sennacherib was come . . . he took counsel with his princes and his mighty men to stop the waters of the fountains which were without the city, and they . . . stopped all the fountains, and the brook that ran through the midst of the land, saying, why should the Kings of Assyria come, and find much water?"

Mr. Williams thinks that he complies with all the requirements of these particulars, by making the 'Pool of Siloam' identical with the 'Lower Pool,' the 'King's Pool,' and the 'Pool of Hezekiah.' (p. 400.) He supports this opinion by coupling together two texts.—On the capture of the city by Nebuchadnezzar, the Jews "fled by night, by the way of the gate *between two walls*, which is by the King's garden." (2 Kings, xxv. 4; Jerem. xxxix. 4, lii. 7.) "The gate of the fountain repaired Shallun, and the wall of the Pool of Siloah, by the King's garden." (Neh. iii. 15.) The first objection that arises to this argument is the difficulty Mr. Williams would experience, and which I see he has prudently avoided, of laying down the situation of the gates upon his plan. Supposing, as he does,

* See his plan, p. 339. † This is denied in the second edition. (See ii. 491.)

that the Ephraim gate is identical with the Valley gate, how is it possible for him to work his way round to the Pool of Siloam? (Compare Neh. iii. 13-15.) Again, Hezekiah is reported as having brought water *into* the city, but Mr. Williams carries it *through* the city, into a pool exactly opposite and outside,* and therefore liable to the same objection as formerly. In the next place, though by making Bezetha give way to Acra, he has carried the latter quarter of the city more eastward, yet is he not able to comply with the Sacred text, for the water channel of his Tyropæon intersects the city from north to south, instead of entering it on its western side. In order to give colour to this translation of the different quarters of the city, he represents Josephus as saying that the *lower* city lay over against the Temple in the manner of a theatre; but on referring to the passage, (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 5,) we find Josephus states that the *whole* “city (not lower city) lay over against the Temple, in the manner of a theatre:”† and let Mr. Williams take heed how he venture to interpret the passage as having reference to Acra, or the lower city, lest his Tyropæon be in danger: for Josephus immediately adds, “and (the city) was encompassed with a deep valley along the entire *south* quarter.” Again, by misinterpreting the passage in Isaiah, he makes it appear that Hezekiah collected together the waters *into* the ‘lower pool’, instead of *from* the lower pool. This is evident from a consideration of the circumstances. The waters of the valley of Gihon were collected first in the ‘upper pool’, and from thence by locks and conduits, they descended to the ‘lower pool.’ These were outside the city; and, on the approach of the Assyrians, Hezekiah resolved to divert the water from the upper pool into a new reservoir within the city,‡ instead of

* Villalpandus states that there were two pools of Siloam: one on the south of the city, the other, identical with Gihon, on the north-west. (*Apparatus*, pp. 190, 191.) See also Bachicnc, *Palästina*, vol. ii. § 154.

† Ἀντικρὺν ἡ Πόλις ἔκειτο τοῦ Ἱεροῦ θεωτροειδῆς οὔσα.

‡ Speaking of the upper Pool in the valley of Gihon, Dr. Robinson states that “in the winter season it becomes full; and its waters are then conducted,

allowing it to flow into the *old* reservoir of the lower pool. And lastly, the 'upper pool of Gihon,' from which he starts, cannot be placed in the position he supposes. If any other

by a small rude aqueduct or channel, to the vicinity of the Jaffa Gate, and so to the Pool of Hezekiah within the city." (i. 352.) It is probable that the ancient conduit by which Hezekiah supplied his pool, lays beneath the surface of the ground, and that the rude aqueduct here spoken of is of recent date. Antoninus of Placenza (A.D. 600) records that, "on putting the ear to the ground, on the side of Golgotha, you will hear the sound of running water." Old authors affirm that the fountain of the upper Pool flowed by the place of Golgotha. (Reusner, *Allen Jerus.*, fol. lxvii.; Korte, *Reise*, p. 183.) After speaking of the aqueduct which supplies the *Piscina del Calvario* (Pool of Hezekiah) from the Upper Pool, and which passes beneath the wall, Mariti says there are no traces of this aqueduct within the city, but "quanto poi ai condotti che possono essere sotto la città, crederei che questi fossero nella maggior parte scavati nella rocca, anche all' altezza di un uomo, giacchè tali esempj non mancano in quelle parti." (Gio. Mariti, *Istoria dello stato presente della città di Gerusalemme*, Livorno, 1790, i. 196.) That several conduits lie concealed beneath the present surface of the city, would appear from the discovery made on digging for the foundations of the Protestant church on Mount Zion. At a depth of about thirty-five feet they came upon "an immense conduit, partly hewn out of the solid rock; and where this was not the case, it was solidly built in even courses, and cemented on the face with a hard coating of cement, about one inch thick, and was covered over with large stones." Its course lay east and west. After tracing two hundred feet of it towards the east, and describing a chamber connected with it, the architect, Mr. Johns, states: "There is no doubt on my own mind that they have been used for the purpose of supplying the inhabitants with pure water; and this is proved by there being several apertures opening from the streets at distant intervals; the aqueduct was nearly level, the fall being so slight as to allow the water to remain level, so that by means of a line and bucket water could be procured at any time." (Bartlett, *Walks about Jerus.*, pp. 89, 90.) Notwithstanding, or rather in opposition to, this evidence, Mr. Williams calls it a *sewer*, (ii. 44,) in the hope of thereby creating an argument against the Tyropœon. "For surely had there been 'a narrow ravine immediately under the north brow of Sion, serving as a drain for the waters falling on the adjacent part of Sion, and also for those on the southern declivity of the ridge,' *Bibl. Sacr.*, iii. 419, this *cloaca maxima* would have followed that natural course, to the saving of considerable labour and expense." (*H. C.*, ii. 32.) Although these names were known long before the subject became a controversy, Mr. Williams says "Upper Pool", "Lower Pool", "Gihon", "they are all quite recent names"; and, accordingly, he gives to the pool the name of Mamillah, or Babila, a supposed saint of the Christian era. (*Suppl.*, pp. 65, 66.) [Owing to

argument were necessary to prove this, it would be the hill of Gihon, the name of which, Dr. Robinson says, tradition has appropriated to the hill on which the supposed Holy Sepulchre stands, though the Professor himself disbelieved it, asserting—"There is no trace of any hill so named in Scripture, or other ancient history. The name of Gihon, as applied to this ridge, seems to be first mentioned by Brocardus, about A.D. 1283." This, however, is an oversight: Manasseh, we are informed in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14, "built a wall *without* the city of David, on the *west* side of Gihon, in the valley, even to the entering in of the 'Fish Gate.'" This passage, which I think very important, seems to prove, both from the retention of the name of Gihon,*

Owing to neglect, the subterranean aqueduct which supplies the Pool of Hezekiah is become obstructed, so that whereas in 1600 the pool was so full that there were only thirteen steps above the water, you now have to descend (in 1767) by forty-seven. This pool supplied the pool of Bethesda, and the other pools of the city. (Mariti, *Istoria*, i. 207, 208.) Mr. Williams speaks of the pool as not exhibiting ancient workmanship; but Mariti says of it, "Era la medesima in parte una grotta naturale, alla quale aveva supplito l'arte con una grandiosa fabbrica." (i. 204, 205.)

* The "Latin Convent is thought to have been on Mount Gihon." (Pococke, *Descript. of the East*, vol. ii. Pt. i. pp. 10, 15, 28.) "Ascending a part of Mount Gihon, we came to the Monastery of the Franciscans." (Geo. Sandys, *Relation of a Journey begun A.D. 1610*, pp. 158 and 160.) "Il y en a une partie dedans, et l'autre dehors, beaucoup plus grande." (M. J. D(oubdan), *Voyage de la Terre Sainte*, 1657, p. 107.) "La città e situata sopra i monti celebri Sion, et Moria, sopra l'Acra, e una parte di Gion." (F. S. Mantegazzo, *Relaz. del Viaggio di Gierusal.* Milan, 1616, p. 213.) The Jesuit Besson also makes Gihon one of the hills within the city. (*La Syrie Sainte*, ii. 66, 80.) "It is a broad hill or swell of land rising somewhat higher than the north-west part of the city itself." (Robinson, *Bibl. Res.*, i. 353.) Indeed, the ground in question is the highest in the city, and therefore the least likely to have been excluded. "The highest part of the city is a little west of the Jaffa Gate, at the point where the wall leaves the top of the hill near Gihon, and runs," etc. (Rev. J. D. Paxton, *Letters on Palestine*, 1839, p. 114.) A broad ridge or swell of land which lies north of the basin at the head of the valley of Hinnom, and extends down into the city, forming its north-west part. Indeed the north-west corner of the city wall is directly on this ridge, from which spot the wall descends immediately towards the north-east, and also, though less rapidly, towards the south-east. (*Id.*, p. 391.) The "lower extremity is more steep and rocky than the higher

from the relative position of the gates as recorded in the third chapter of Nehemiah, and from the precise details of the verse itself, referring, as it does, to several particulars, that the *hill upon which the so-called Holy Sepulchre now stands was inclosed by a double wall, even previously to the time of Nehemiah.*

The following is an abstract of Mr. Williams's line of argument in proof of the northerly position of the Upper Pool:—

The 'Damascus Gate' is considered to be the same as the 'Gate of Ephraim.'

The Gate of Ephraim appears to be identical with the 'Valley Gate.'

But the Valley Gate was before the 'Dragon Well.'

Now the Dragon Well may be the same as the 'Serpent's Pool,'

And the Serpent's Pool was close to the 'Monuments of Herod;'

While the Monuments of Herod lay on one side of the 'Camp of the Assyrians,'

And on the other side of the Camp of the Assyrians lay the 'Fuller's Monument.'

But the Fuller's Monument may have been in the 'Fuller's Field,'

And the Fuller's Field was near to the 'Upper Pool.'

"Thus then is the 'Upper Pool' of Isaiah identified with the 'Dragon Well' of Nehemiah."

But the Assyrian host once stood by the 'Conduit of the Upper Pool,'

Which may therefore be imagined to denote the 'Camp of the Assyrians.'

Now the Assyrian Camp was at Bezetha, to the north-east of the new city,

Therefore the Upper Pool of Isaiah was at the north-east of the city:

And therefore the Upper Pool was near to the Damascus Gate.

Q. e. d. (*Holy City*, p. 391-393.)

We have already seen that some of these postulates are untenable. Another faulty link in the chain is the supposed identity of the Valley Gate and the Gate of Ephraim,* a position which

portions." (*Bibl. Sacr.*, i. 189.) Schultz agrees in placing it in the Christian quarter of the present city, "a rocky projection or promontory setting in from the west." (*Jerus.* p. 96.) Führer, (*Itinerarium*), C. J. Offerhaus, (*Exercit. Philol. vet. Hieros.*) Bernardino Amico, (pl. of *Jerus.*, pl. 43,) I. Berggren, (*Voy. en Orient*), and Leeman, (*Palästina*), all place it on the north-west of the city. Other writers make it situate on the west of the city: indeed, Mr. Williams is the only writer who has sought to give it a different locality.

* In his second edition, Mr. Williams supposes the Valley Gate to be on the east of the city, afterwards on the south, and then on the east, (*post*, pp. 421, 422.) The Gate of Ephraim, which was right in the first edition, he changes, in the second, to the western wall. (Vol. i. Suppl., p. 114.) Thus we see every link broken in this postposterous chain of reasoning.

is quite irreconcilable with Neh. iii. and xii. as I shall be prepared to show when I come to speak of the Gates of the City.

Though it would appear from Josephus (*Bell.* v. 4, § 2; and 12, § 2.), that the 'Camp of the Assyrians' was near the Fuller's monument, and, therefore, at the north-east of the city, it equally appears, from v. 7 § 3; and 12 § 2, that a considerable distance from Kidron intervened: "That place which was called the 'Camp of the Assyrians', having seized upon all that lay as far as Kidron."—"Titus began the wall from the Camp of the Assyrians . . . and drew it down to the lower parts of Cænopolis." There is nothing, therefore, to contradict the supposition, that the Assyrian camp, under Rabshakeh,* extended from the Upper Pool of Gihon down to the eastern side of Bezetha overlooking Kidron. Indeed, we are told, that Titus formed his camp in that place where the camp of the Assyrians had been, (7 § 3,) and in 4 § 3 we are told, that Titus's camp was at the north-west corner. Previous to taking the Third Wall, Titus encamped over against, and on the outside of Psephinus (3 § 5, and 4 § 2,) and from the passages already cited, it is evident, that on taking the Third Wall, he fixed his camp immediately inside the place of his former encampment, the position of which being close to Psephinus, was naturally chosen from its "affording, at sunrise, a prospect of Arabia, and of the Hebrew territories as far as the sea."† (*Id.* 4 § 3.)

This subject naturally leads us to the further consideration of the Valley of the Tyropæon, which is another point in the topography of Jerusalem which Mr. Williams strives to set aside, in order to protect the foundations of the 'holy sepulchre.'‡ The motive with which Mr. Williams attacks the statements of the learned Professor is only too evident throughout the volume.

* Sennacherib approached the city in an opposite direction.

† That the 'Fuller's Field' was supposed, even in the middle ages, to be in this locality, appears from Adamnanus, (*Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ*, i. 1,) who places the "Porta Villæ Fullonis" on the west side of the city.

‡ It cannot be too clearly stated, that it is Mr. Williams, not Dr. Robinson, who seeks to change the position of Gihon, and the Tyropæon.

In the instance before us, he *exposes* Dr. Robinson for having described the north wall of Zion as being above the valley of the Tyropæon: "But this," he observes, "is an assumption without any warrant from Josephus; who says not a word of a *valley*, and never in any one passage hints at the Tyropæon being near the Hippicus;" but, curiously enough, in the preceding and opposite page he considers it necessary to "remind the reader that Acra was the hill sustaining the lower city, *separated* from Zion, or the much higher hill which contained the upper city, *by the valley of the Tyropæon*;" and three pages after, Mr. Williams, quoting Josephus, says, the ancient city "lay upon two hills, over against each other, *separated by an intervening valley*, at which the houses terminated;" and in p. 104, he says, "The city occupied two hills separated by a valley, called by Josephus the Tyropæon." But should it be said, that the force of Mr. Williams's objection is in the supposed circumstance that the Tyropæon does not extend *along the north* side of Mount Zion (which, however, we know from other passages that it did), but that it ran along the eastern side, I would ask, how then does he define the hill of Acra? As shewn in his plan,* it lay on each side of the Tyropæon; if so, the Tyropæon does not, as described by Josephus, divide Acra from Sion. If, however, he should place it on the eastern side of that valley, then Acra would be to the east instead of the north, and entirely apart from Sion, and the Tyropæon could only be spoken of as dividing Sion from Moriah. But, in order to show the full absurdity of Mr. Williams's proposition, we will examine where he places the line of his Asamonæan valley. "I think that the traces of it remain to this day clearly visible, in a ridge which slopes down from the traditionary site of the house of Herod to the outer inclosure of the mosque, and which is crossed by the 'Via Dolorosa,' as it approaches the Seraglio, or house of Pilate."† (p. 280.) Fortunately, we discover the 'house of

* See p. 339.

† This is followed by an equally absurd refutation of Dr. Robinson's Bezetha, which it is not necessary to notice here, as I purpose offering a different inter-

Herod' in Catherwood's plan of the monkish sites of Jerusalem. (Dr. Olin's Travels, vol. ii.) It is immediately in a line with the 'Cave of Jeremiah' and the Tombs of the Kings. If, therefore, we draw this line, we have the limitation of Acra on one side, as the Tyropæon forms it on the other; and we thus find his Acra restricted to 450 feet at its greatest width; or equal to half the width of the temple,* while one-half of even this space was covered with Antonia. That one of the pieces which I have called 'No-man's land' is discarded by Mr. Williams, is evident, for he says, "what Dr. Robinson calls Bezetha, is the Acra of Josephus." (*II. C. ii. 40.*) In this case, also, it would be impossible to understand how "the corresponding rows of houses on both hills end" at the valley of the Tyropæon.

But Mr. Williams further objects that the Professor's Valley of the Tyropæon† cannot be that valley, because there is now no valley there; and that his Asmonæan Valley‡ being a valley, cannot be the Asmonæan Valley, for that was filled up by the Asmonæan princes. But it is contended on the other side, that though Josephus describes the Asmonæan Valley as having been filled up, his manner of so doing might induce us to imagine that he is describing the object and intention rather than the result. It is quite clear that they commenced the work, but it is not equally clear that they completed it. Dr. Robinson, indeed, describes "all the western entrances of the mosque as being reached by an ascent, and some of them at least by steps."§ As for the Tyropæon, Dr. Robinson describes its present state with great minuteness,|| clearly showing that the valley is still

pretation of the passage referred to; but whether this be true or false, it does not lessen the absurdity of Mr. Williams appealing to this mound as connecting Bezetha with *Moriah*!

* See his plan of Jerusalem, *ante*, p. 339.

† See *post*, p. 363, Prop. i.

‡ The valley running from the Gate of Ephraim. § *Bibl. Res.*, i. 394.

|| He first describes the rise of ground from the Tyropæon southwards towards Zion, (p. 388,) but as this is acknowledged by all, we will refer only to what he says respecting the northern bank. "The Tyropæon commences, as a shallow depression, near the Yaffa Gate. When one enters this gate and takes

perceptible.* Mr. Williams flatly denies this, and their statements are so contradictory, that, in the absence of further evidence, I must be excused if I accept the Professor's testimony. But, even if there were now no inequality of ground, the wonderful alterations in the soil which have taken place in the lapse of nearly twenty centuries, (in many parts amounting to a difference of *forty* feet in height,)[†] would render it not at all surprising that, with the vicissitudes and sieges which the city has undergone, the northern brow of Zion, which was originally thirty cubits in height, and crowned with lofty towers, should, on its dismantlement, have fallen down and filled up the vallum or fosse beneath. Thus then we see that the city of Jebus, like the subsequent Jerusalem, consisted of an upper and a lower city; the former serving as an acropolis to the habitable city beneath. It was probably the lower city which the men of Benjamin conquered, but these were dislodged again by the Jebusites, who appear to have retreated to the upper city or acropolis, which fortress being subsequently taken by David, the city ever after remained in the possession of the Jews.‡

the first street leading northward, he has before him, at first, a *considerable ascent* . . . in the (second) street leading northward, below the Pool of Hezekiah, and also in that along the Bazaars (the third) this ascent is less perceptible." (*Bibl. Res.*, i. 391.) One of the streets is nearly level, but it is arched over, and is believed to be let into the crest of the hill. (See *Bib. Sacr.*, iii. p. 429.) This has lately been ascertained to be the fact. See *post*, p. 370.

* Dr. Aiton, desirous of satisfying his mind that Calvary stood on a mount, (the very worst evidence he could possibly have obtained for the truth of the sepulchre,) reports the observation of a monk who addressed him with, "Don't you see, sir, how steep every one of these streets are which lead to Calvary?" "and this was an undoubted fact." *Lands of the Messiah, Mahomet, and the Pope*, p. 197.

† How strikingly does this illustrate the prophecy of Micah, (iii. 12,) "Jerusalem shall become heaps."

‡ In the description of this event, we are told that "David took the stronghold of Zion: the same is the city of David." (II Sam. v. 7.) There is, however, another passage of Scripture which is apparently at variance with this, and which has occasioned great difficulty to commentators: "Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is Mount Zion: on the sides of the north

Mr. Williams's book abounds in every page with imputations of "dishonesty," "want of candour," "unfairness," etc. on the part of Dr. Robinson; but in the instances alleged the exaggeration and dishonesty are never on the part of Dr. Robinson. Thus, in p. 267, after accusing the Professor of "mistranslating Josephus in order to avoid the obvious difficulty," "omitting" one word, and "inserting" another, adding—"Is this honest?" Mr. Williams goes on to say—"I never could find any traces of the valley which Dr. Robinson calls the Tyropæon; that which separated between Zion and Acra. Indeed he himself seems to have had some difficulty in doing so; his first attempt was altogether unsuccessful:" and he refers in a note to *Bib. Res.*, i. 353. On examining this reference it will be found, that Dr. Robinson having satisfied his mind as to the position of the Tyropæon, but, being desirous of ascertaining whether any trace of the continuation of a valley existed in any other situation *outside the city*, which might possibly be considered by others to lay claim to this designation, "returned across the higher ground on the north of the Upper Pool, towards the Damascus Gate, in order to examine whether perhaps the valley of the Tyropæon extended up at all *beyond the city* in that direction. There is, however, no trace of any valley, or of any depression, in this quarter, before reaching the declivity stretching down to the Damascus Gate."*

(is) the city of the great king." (Ps. xlviii. 2.) The difficulty may be explained either by considering that "David dwelt in the fort, and called it the City of David," (II Sam. v. 9,) and that on the north side of this lay the city of the great king, and which had, for some time, been in the occupation of the men of Judah:—or we may explain it by a passage in the prophecy of Isaiah, (xiv. 13,) in which Lucifer is described as desiring to "sit upon the mount of the congregation, (Mount Zion), in the sides of the north," where it is evident that the lower city north of Zion could not be referred to, and therefore that the northern part of Zion is here signified. Josephus, in narrating the same circumstances, clearly calls the whole of the city by the name of David. (*Ant.*, vii. 3 § 2.)

* The east and westerly direction of the Tyropæon is insisted on by Bachiene, Reisner, Bernardin Surius, Sandys, Dr. Arnold, and in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopædie*. Mariti calls it a portion of the valley of Gihon. "Ai tempi nostri parte della valle di Gihon, cioè quella che passava presso la Porta Giudiciaria, resta dentro la città, ma vedesi ripiena." (*Historia presente di Gerus.* i. 8.)

In order to bring the church of the 'Holy Sepulchre' outside of the ancient walls, Mr. Williams endeavours to assign the greatest possible eastern extension to the gate Gennath. It will be seen, by referring to the *Biblical Researches*, that the northern cliffs of Mount Zion are of least altitude on their western extremity, near to the tower Hippicus;* but that from this point eastward, they increased in height owing to the fall of the Tyropæon. But Mr. Williams, in describing these cliffs, leads us to imply, that the valley fell rapidly towards the *west*: (!) seemingly as if to make his readers believe that the situation which he has assigned to Gennath, is more in accordance with the nature of the ground. Thus—"the absurdity of supposing an exit for a city gate . . . down a precipice of thirty feet is obvious." "The cliff below, which would probably continue (eastward) some further distance;" etc. (p. 261—263;) and it is not till twenty pages afterwards (285, 286) that he explains this anomaly, by describing a dip in the hill of Zion, through the centre of the Jews' quarter, near which he supposes to have stood the gate Gennath, supporting the conjecture by the tradition of a gate, "through which St. Peter passed to the house of St. Mark," (!) So far from disputing that a gate may have existed in this locality, I conceive that there were several gateways between the upper and the lower cities. (Josephus, *Bell.* v. 8, § 1.) Psalmanazar considers that the 'Middle Gate' (of Jeremiah xxxix. 3) belonged to this spot.†

Mr. Williams further objects to "the absurdity of supposing an exit for a city-gate through such a royal palace;" but instances are too common, both in ancient and modern times, of such arrangement.‡ Many of the palaces of Europe have public thoroughfares through their courts, and we need only to call to mind the general custom of the East of administering justice

* See also, Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, p. 435; and Adrichomius, *Theatr. Terræ Sanctæ*, p. 167 b.

† *Univ. Anc. Hist.*, iv. p. 229.

‡ See several instances in Burder's *Oriental Customs*, and Paxton's *Illustrations of Scripture*.

in the gate in ancient times, to feel that the erection of a palace in such a spot would be no impropriety. It will, moreover, be recollected that Jezebel's palace was over the gate of Jezreel. (2 Kings, ix. 30, 31.) See also Judges v. 28.

But Mr. Williams says that *remains* of the second wall exist in the situation which he has described.* These remains consist of the pier of a gateway, the crown of a circular arch, a colonnade of four or five columns, 10 feet apart, and the spring course of an arch. (pp. 286, 287, 2nd edit. Suppl. 83.) The circumstance of a colonnade being in his supposed line of city wall, is alone sufficient to disprove the fact, and, in ii. 56-58, the colonnade is omitted. The remains are shewn by Mr. Whiting to be portions of the palace of the Knights of St. John. (*Bibl. Sac.* v. 96.) The spring course of an arch, Dr. Wilson shews to have formed part of a vault;† and, indeed, Herren Krafft and Wolff,‡ who support the position of the present sepulchre, reject the antiquity of these remains. Dr. Tobler also is said to reject them.§

VIII. *Jerusalem.* Dublin University Magazine, Sept. 1845.

This able article, which formed a review of Mr. Williams's book, has been unanswered,|| and it is therefore only due to its talented writer to recapitulate some of the evidence there brought forward. Happily enough, the witness, whom he discovered, was a fellow-countryman, and it was thus that he was enabled at the same time to do honour to his mother-land, and to assist by unexceptionable evidence in the establishment of the truth. Arculfus, a French bishop, after making a pilgrimage

* See also, Lord Nugent, *Lands Classical and Sacred*, pp. 36-39.

† *Lands of the Bible*, p. 437.

‡ *Reise in das Gelobten Lande*, s. 81. See also *Bibl. Sacr.* iii. 452-461. Mr. Woodcock observes, that "a personal examination of the details of the streets of Jerusalem shows, not only in the lines mentioned, but almost everywhere, evidences of masonry as ancient and massive as that which he selects." *Script. Lands*, p. 159.

§ *Golgotha, seine Kirchen und Klostern*, s. 310.

|| See page 372.

to the Holy Land, about the year 695, was shipwrecked on the island of Iona, in the west of Scotland. Here he was received by Adamnanus, who was then Abbot, to whom he recounted the particulars of the holy places which he had visited. These details Adamnanus committed to writing, and obtained from the bishop a ground plan of the sacred buildings.

“ We made diligent inquiry of holy Arculfus, but especially as to the sepulchre of our Lord, and the church erected over the same, the plan of which he also drew for me on a waxed tablet; which church is all of stone, of great size, rising with three concentric walls all round from the foundation upwards, having a broad aisle betwixt each pair of walls, and three altars curiously contrived in three places in the midmost wall. Twelve columns of wonderful size sustain this round church. There are eight entrances—four to the north-east, and four to the south-east. In the centre space of this inner round church is a *circular vault* cut all out of one and the same rock*, wherein three three-times-three men can stand and pray, and from the top of the head of a man of moderate stature, standing up, to the vault of that little house,† is a foot and a half in measure. The entrance to this little vault‡ looks to the east, and on the outside it is wholly encrusted with choice marble, and sustains upon the top a large golden cross. In the northern part of this vault, in the inside, is the tomb§ of our Lord, *cut out of the same rock*” (as the vault itself); “but the floor of the vault is lower than the place of the tomb; for from the margin to the side of the tomb is a space of about three handsbreadth in height. This, Arculfus, who often frequented the tomb of our Lord, and who accurately measured it, informed me. Here it is fit to notice the difference between what is called the monument”|| (or sepulchre) “and the tomb; for that so often mentioned round vault is what the evangelists, by another name, call the sepulchre, from the mouth whereof they describe the stone as rolled back when our Lord arose. But the tomb is properly that place in the vault, that is to say, in the northern part of the sepulchre in which the body of our Lord, wrapped in linnen grave-clothes, lay buried: the length whereof” (the tomb or soros) “Arculf measured with his proper hand, to seven feet in measure. Which said tomb is not, as many falsely allege, double, and having as it were a partition cut out of the same stone, dividing and separating the two legs and two thighs, but is all plain from the head to the feet, affording a bed large enough for one man lying on his back, having its entrance, like the opening of a cave,¶ in the side,

* Tegurium. (Tugurium.) A circular vaulted inclosure. (Crates erigantur inter se acclives testudineato testo, more tuguriorum. *Virg. Eccl.*, 69.) Faciolati, *Lexicon*.

† Domuncula.

‡ Teguriolum.

§ Sepulchrum.

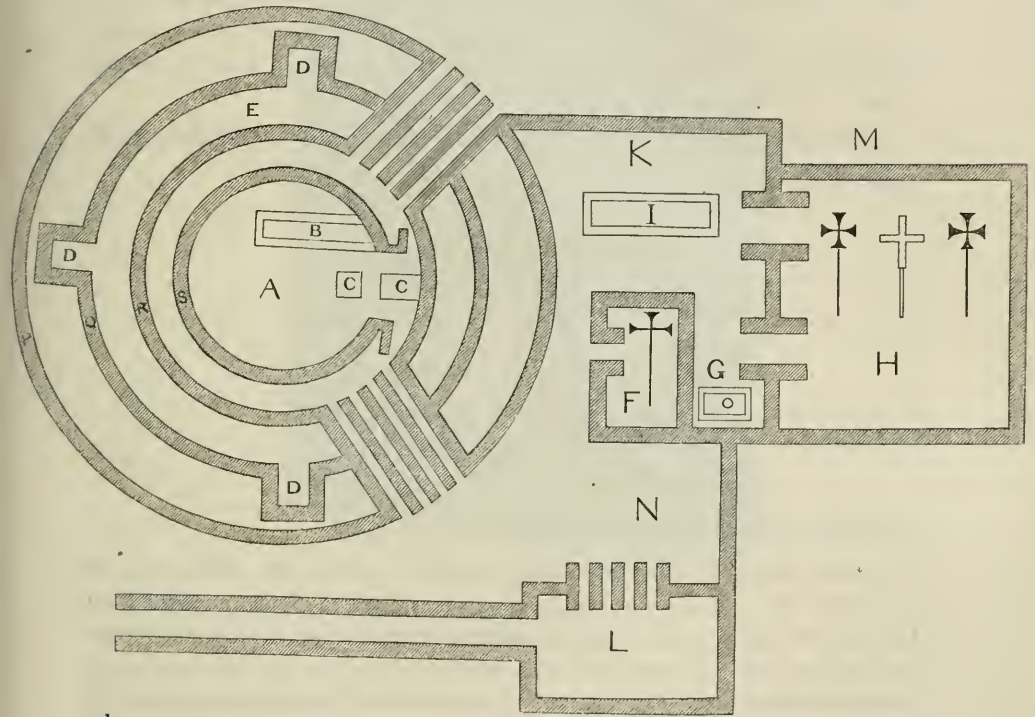
|| Monumentum.

¶ Spelunca.

looking towards the south side of the tomb, and a low lid wrought into a projection above . . .

"The accompanying picture shews the form of the above-mentioned round church, with the *round vault* (rotundum tegurium) situated within it." (Lib. i. cap. ii.)

"The stone door of the sepulchre, Arculf describes as divided into two parts, whereof the smaller part is wrought with iron tools, and is seen standing in the



Plan of the "Holy Sepulchre," as sketched by Arculfus, in 695.

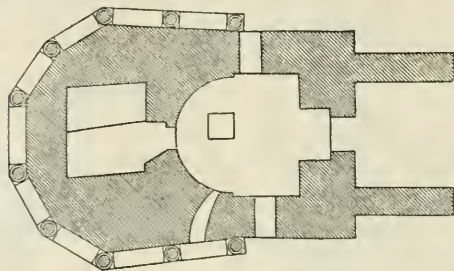
- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| A. Tegurium Rotundum. | II. In quo loco crux Dominica cum binis latronum crucibus sub terra reperta est. |
| B. Sepulchrum Domini. | I. Mensa lignea. |
| C. Altaria Dualia. | K. Plateola in qua die et nocte lampades ardent. |
| D. Altaria. | L. Sanctæ Mariæ Ecclesia. |
| E. Ecclesia. | M. Constantiana Basilica, hoc est Martyrium. |
| F. Golgothana Ecclesia. | N. Exhedra, cum calice Domini. |
| G. In loco Altaris Abraham. | |
| P. The outer Colonnade. | |
| Q. The wall of the Church. | |
| R. The inner Colonnade. | |
| S. The Sepulchre. | |

} These letters are not indicated by Arculfus.

manner of a square altar, in the said round church, before the door of the above-mentioned vault or sepulchre of our Lord; but the greater part of the same stone is also tooled round in like manner, and forms the altar under the

grave-clothes, which is in the east part of the church. But as to the colour of that *rock, out of which that often mentioned vault* has been hollowed by the irons of the stone-cutters, and which has our Lord's tomb in its northern part, *cut out of one and the same rock*, and which is the sepulchre, that is to say the vault, above-mentioned, Arculf, in answer to my inquiries, told me that that edifice of our Lord's sepulchre, not being covered with any decoration inside, even to this day, shews throughout the whole of its cavity the tracks of the tools which the stone-cutters or excavators used in that work ; but the colour of that same rock of the tomb and sepulchre was not uniform, but appeared mixed, and of *different colours*, to wit, *red and white*, so that the said rock is seen of a *piebald colour*." (Adamnanus, *De situ Terræ Sanctæ*, i. 3.)

The following cut represents the form of the sepulchre as it existed in the seventeenth century—



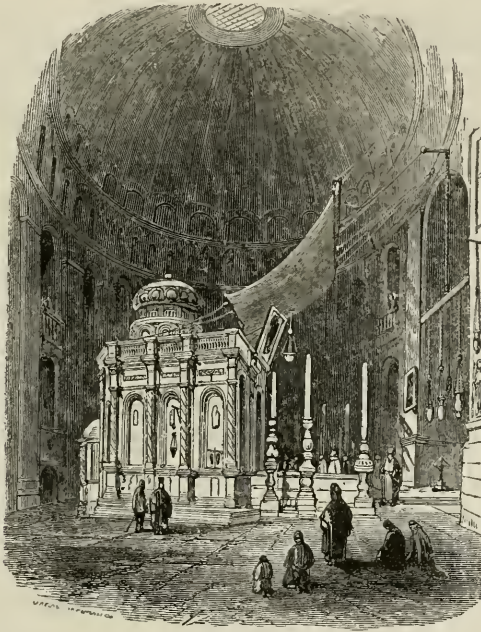
The reviewer goes on to say—

"Here form and colour are alike conclusive against the genuineness of Macarius's cave. A circular vaulted chamber is not to be found among all the tombs of that era throughout Judea; and the mottled colour of the stone proves the structure to have been factitious, for the natural rock of the spot is *grey limestone*, and of grey limestone the present substituted sepulchre is composed. We say substituted, . . . for the present sepulchre has not even the credit of being the original fabrication.

While the form and colour alone of the cave of Macarius testify to its spuriousness, the modern cave is convicted by its form, by the colour of its material, by its size, and its site, all together. It is square, Macarius's was round; it is a square of 6 feet 9 inches;* Macarius's was a circle of about 12 feet in diameter; it is open at top, Macarius's was arched; it can hold five

* Mr. Scoles, an unquestionable authority, gives the dimensions as 6 feet 8 inches by 6 feet 1 inch, and says "more than half of this chamber, on the north side, is occupied by the tomb." Consequently the standing room must be 6 feet 8 inches by less than 3 feet in width. Paschasius Radbertus says three palms, which is but little more than two feet.

persons,* Macarius's could hold nine; it is of grey limestone, Macarius's was of mottled stone, red and white. It bears from Calvary north-west; Macarius's, as shewn on Arculf's plan, due west. Every circumstance shews it to be suppositious—a forgery of a forgery, fabricated in an impossible place.” (pp. 273-275.)†



The “Holy Sepulchre.”‡

“I bow not, therefore, in the gorgeous pile
Where golden lamps irradiate the gloom,

* *Four* is the proper number, and they must pack close.

† The Church of Constantine was dedicated in	A.D. 335
Was burnt by the Persians, under Chosroes	614
— rebuilt by Modestus	629
— destroyed by Emir el Omra, in time of Christopher, Patriarch of Jerusalem	936
— burnt by the Fatimite Khalifs	969
— rebuilt, and afterwards destroyed again utterly and purposely, by Khalif el Hakim	1010
— rebuilt by Monomachus	cir. 1048
And burnt, ultimately	1808
And rebuilt	1810

‡ Favoured by the publishers of Bartlett's *Walks in Jerusalem*, Messrs. Hall and Virtue.

And monks their votaries and themselves beguile
 To think they worship at their *Saviour's* tomb.
 For rites like theirs let annual crowds illumine
 Their odorous censers, scattering far and wide
 Their fumes: I doubt the tales the monks assume
 For gospel truth, and were not this denied,
 Much they misuse the spot where their *Redeemer* died."

The Pilgrimage, xxiv.

The reviewer next attacks his position of Gihon, and the pool of Hezekiah.

"Mr. Williams is a good specimen of the pious sophistication and ostentatious credulity which have taken the place of the sincere reasoning and manly spirit of inquiry that used to distinguish the men of Cambridge. He makes a merit of persuading himself into the idlest beliefs by the silliest circles and ambages of argument, and is continually engaged in pious frauds on his own understanding. To get rid of Hezekiah's Pool he makes the most laborious exertions, and after painfully confounding all the water courses of Jerusalem, makes out that the waters of Gihon, which Hezekiah brought straight down to the *west* side of the city of David, and gathered in the *midst* of the city, are the waters of Siloam, on the *east* of the city of David, *outside* the walls altogether, brought, not from Gihon at all, but from some hidden source, as he thinks, north of the Damascus gate.

"Why, ... how will it help your argument, though Acra and Millo were shewn to be called the city of David in every chapter of Chronicles, since Siloam is east of Acra, and east of Millo, and east of all Jerusalem? But Mr. Williams says—'This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the reservoir which Hezekiah made is clearly placed, by the language of Holy Scripture, at the end of the valley, viz., at the pool of Siloa.' This, however, we are painfully obliged to say, is not true. . . . After contending with such blind and unscrupulous devotion for the authenticity of the sepulchre, Mr. Williams, as may be expected, yields himself up in a delirium of credulity to the superstitious genius of the spot. We have seen Mr. Wilde's account of the effects of the fire of 1808, in cracking the marble covering of the supposed tomb. Here is Mr. Williams's version of that event, with some prefatory observations, which afford a good specimen of the mystical pleonastic style affected by writers of this new monkish school." . . . (p. 241.)

Mr. Williams here narrates what he calls "a most remarkable fact," that although the heat was so intense that the columns of the church were completely pulverized, the lamps and chandeliers melted like wax, etc., etc., "the holy cave

itself received not the slightest injury externally or internally ; the silk hangings and ornaments remaining unscathed by the flame, the smell of fire not even having passed over them.”*

IX. *Bibliotheca Sacra*. Vol. iii: or *Theological Review*, No. XI. Aug., and No. XII. Nov. 1846. *On the Topography of Jerusalem*. By E. Robinson, Prof.

In this volume Dr. Robinson elaborates some of his former arguments, and refutes the objections raised against them. In the “Researches” the various topographical features of Jerusalem are pointed out and explained, in order to give the reader a clear and correct view of the disposition of the ancient city ; but in the present volume the learned professor proves, step by step, the arguments which he had before adduced. He does this in the form of propositions: they are as follows:—

1. The Tyropœon was a depression or ravine (*φάραγξ*) running down eastward from near the Yaffa gate. The hill Akra, on which was the Lower City, was the ridge immediately north of Zion and west of Moriah.

2. The hill Bezetha was the hill immediately adjacent to the present area of Haram, on its north-north-west quarter.

3. The gate Gennath, at which the second wall of Josephus began, was in the first or old wall *near* to the tower Hippicus.

4. The second wall of Josephus ran on the *west* of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and included that site within the Lower City.

5. The southern portion of the present Haram-area formed part and parcel of the ancient Temple-enclosure; and was not first built up at a later period.

* This miracle of the nineteenth century will be brought forward in a succeeding age as having been attested by the evidence of a minister of the Protestant Church of England; and be compared to the miraculous escape, recorded in Holy Scripture, of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, “upon whose bodies the fire had no power, nor was an hair of their head singed, neither were their coats changed, nor the smell of fire had passed on them.” It was thus that the credulous Christians of the middle ages believed that the emissaries of the Khalif el Hakim “endeavoured to break in pieces even the hollow tomb of the Sepulchre, with iron hammers, but without success;” and “when they found it impossible to break in pieces the stone of the monument, they tried to destroy it with the help of fire, but it remained firm and solid as adamant.”

6. The fortress Antonia appears to have occupied the whole northern portion of the present Harem-area.

7. The fountain Gihon was on the west of the present city, probably in the upper part of the valley of Hinnom.

8, 9. [Two other propositions follow, of a more general character.]

These propositions I am willing to accept, with the exception of the second and the sixth, which I will consider in another place, but which I would thus state—

2. The hill Bezetha was the hill immediately north of the ancient Temple-area.

6. The fortress Antonia occupied the north-west angle of the ancient Temple-area.

The first proposition relates to two points: first, with regard to the valley of the Tyropœan. It has been seen that Dr. Robinson bestowed considerable care to the examination of this line, and it was not without deep conviction on his mind that he asserted the former existence of a valley; but owing to the changes which the valley has since undergone he advanced his proofs with caution and circumspection. Mr. Williams gave an unqualified denial to these statements. But Dr. Robinson is not the first to make this assertion: in fact, it has always been held to be the Tyropœon, till Mr. Williams endeavoured to place it elsewhere. Brocardus, so early as the thirteenth century, writes:—"The valley which ran down on the northern side of Mount Zion, from the Tower of David to Mount Moriah; bending," etc.* The Rev. Eli

* "Proinde vallis quæ a turri David descendebat contra latus Aquilonare montis Sion usque ad montem Moria, et reflectitur," etc. (Cap. viii.) Mr. Williams objects that "Brocardus was no antiquary." His evidence would have been more trustworthy if he had been less so, as the "*Holy City*" itself would have been increased in value had Mr. Williams paid less deference to the traditions of antiquity. Bernard Lamy, a learned priest of the Oratory, says, "Inferior civitas a superiori urbe distinguebatur profundâ valle, quæ ab occidente in orientem portendebatur: nomen hujus vallis Tyropæum." (*Appar. Geog.*, xiii. 1, p. 316.) "Nördlich von Zion, von diesem durch den obern Theil des Tyropœum getrennt, welches als eine geringe Vertiefung beim Jafathore beginnt,

Smith confirms the Professor's statement as to the rise of the street behind the church of the Holy Sepulchre: (p. 431:) and Dr. Durbin, another writer, observes—"the second valley, opening from the citadel,—first eastwardly, and then turning to the south,—is called the valley of the Tyropæon."* Later still, we have more complete evidence in "excavations actually made at different points in the valley itself," one of which was in the grounds belonging to the palace of the Knights Hospitalers, which stood immediately south of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and a few yards from the Tyropæon. After excavating to the depth of 15 or 20 feet, they came upon the roof of an arched chamber, so that the level of the ground in this spot must have been at least from thirty to forty feet below the present level. Another excavation occurred about 150 yards from the Jaffa gate, and the depth here also is described as equally profound.† All this weight of evidence Mr. Williams finds it convenient to set aside as "the shadow of an argument for the pseudo Tyropæon."‡

erhebt sich die Höhe Akra." (Dr. Fr. Arnold, *Palästina*, p. 89.) Dr. Schultz speaks of "the large sewer in the street of the bazaars, covered with broad flat stones, and which runs from north to south." (*Jerus.*, p. 61; *Bibl. Sacr.*, iii. 431.) Bachiene, (*Hist. und Geog. Beschreib. von Palästina*, ii. § 136, p. 307, 308, and charte viii. p. 400,) Adam Reisner, (*Jerus.*, p. xxi. b. and pl. p. ix,) Sandys, (*Relation*, p. 156,) Bernardin Surius, (*Le pieux Pelerin*, p. 374,) Ersch and Gruber, (*Encyclopädie*, p. 285 a, 319 a, b, and taf. ii.,) Bernardino Amico (in his map of Jerusalem, pl. 43;) and recently Wilde, (*plan*, and p. 231,) all give it a direction from west to east, and then to the south.

* *Observations in the East*, i. 288. New York, 1845.

† Rev. G. B. Whiting, in a letter to Dr. Robinson, printed in *Bibl. Sacr.*, vol. v. pp. 94, 95.

‡ *Holy City*, 2nd edit., Suppl., p. 130. Mr. Williams brings forward, as evidence, some authors of the middle ages who happen to say nothing respecting the valley; but, by the same laws of negative inference, he might insist that there was never a line of cliffs along the northern brow of Zion, because these same writers are alike silent respecting it. (ii. 61, 62.) He "has confidence in the accurate observation, in the correct memory, and the fair statement of Mr. Eli Smith," who states that between two parallel lines running west and east from the north-west angle of wall, to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre,

The second part of the first proposition asserts that the extension of Acra into Bezetha, proposed by modern writers, is in want of conformity with the description by Josephus, according to which the hill lay between two valleys, whereas, by their scheme, Acra would be bounded on the east by the *ridge* of Bezetha. (p. 426.) Dr. Robinson refers to Adrichomius, Villapandus, D'Anville, and many others, in support of his position of the four hills, (436,) and observes—"If, on the other hand, the hill on the north of Moriah be assumed as Akra, and the valley from the Damascus gate as the Tyropœon, then Akra was *not* adjacent to Zion, nor did it face it; nor was it separated from it only by a single valley; but between these two hills there lay two valleys with an intervening ridge, and the distance between the nearest parts of Zion and Akra was more than a quarter of a mile." (p. 423.)

If Mr. Williams had designated the boundaries of the four hills by coloured lines, he would have left a gap of a triangular form, having Zion on the south, the 'Holy Sepulchre' on the west, and the street of Ephraim (which he calls the "street of the valley") on the north-east,—without a name;* but which, on the *plan* accompanying his work, he calls Acra, though in his *text* it can only be ascribed to Zion; for he endeavours to identify this street with the line of the Tyropœon, which Josephus plainly says separated Zion from Acra. Thus, as Dr. Robinson observes, he is "left upon the sharp horns of a dilemma." (p. 423.)

Among other arguments which Dr. Robinson adduces in support of the third Proposition, he notices the passage of Josephus where Titus is described as reconnoitring the defences of the

and from Hippicus along the northern brow of Zion, "there would be a decided depression between them, into which water would run from both," (*Bibl. Sacr.*, iii. 434,) and yet, Mr. Williams professes not to be able to withhold his "surprise that Dr. Robinson did not see, or, seeing, did not acknowledge, how very discordant this testimony is with his theory." (ii. 30.)

* See the plan, p. 339, under letter A.

city, and resolving to commence his attack opposite the high-priest John's monument, "because in this part the fortifications were lower, and the second wall made no junction, they having been negligent in walling up those parts where the new city was not very thickly inhabited; but rather there was an easy approach to the third wall, through which he hoped to take the Upper City."* He endeavours to explain the passage by supposing, from the circumstance that there was "no junction," that therefore the point of junction of the second wall *with the first* had fallen into decay; and this conjecture he supports by another passage from Josephus, where Simon is described as *fortifying* the wall.† (p. 446.) Here again he finds it requisite to *explain* Josephus' words; though the effort is purely gratuitous, the want of junction evidently having reference to the third wall, and the fortifying, to the manning the walls in this portion of the city, and putting them into a state of defence. This passage, however, we shall have occasion to examine in another place.

In further support of the fourth Proposition, he urges upon Mr. Williams the objection, that, according to the position of Acra which he insists upon, the western wall would cross the very termination or point of the ridge, and would be overlooked or commanded by the higher ground on the west and north-west.‡ (p. 450.)

The fifth Proposition, though ably argued by Dr. Robinson, cannot, under our present knowledge of the interior of the Haram-es-shereef, be considered as fully *proved*. Dr. Robinson affirms that the east, south, and west walls are co-existent, and then argues that the southern portion of the Haram must necessarily form part of the ancient Temple area; but his opponents assert that the northern portion is one mass of rock, and therefore that *it* must have formed a portion: but that they

* *Bell.*, v. 6, § 2.

† *Id.*, v. 7, § 2, 3.

‡ See, also, Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, p. 436.

cannot both be right is evident from the fact, that the present Haram would contain more than two such areas as that covered by the Temple of Solomon.

To these he might have added a tenth Proposition, to the effect that the Asamonæan valley was not completely, but partially filled in: for he attempts to prove this by showing that "It was in order to connect the Temple with the lower city, that the Maccabees heaped up earth in the valley; thus either raising its bed or forming a mound across it," (p. 420,) for "the expression does not imply that they so filled up the valley as to obliterate all traces of it; such is not the meaning of the word *χώνυμι*. It may here signify one of two things, viz. either that the Maccabees, by filling in the earth, raised the general level of the valley, or that they built a mound or causeway across it." (p. 418.)

Among the miscellaneous Propositions, (IX.) is one relating to the Tomb of Helena,* which Dr. Robinson wishes to substitute for the 'Tombs of the Kings;' but I think without sufficient authority; for in describing the course of the Third Wall, Josephus, after mentioning the 'monuments of Helena,' says, "it then extended farther to a great length, and passed by the sepulchral caverns of the Kings, and bent again at the corner." (*Bell.* v. 4, § 2.) On referring to the map, it will be seen that the distance from the tombs in question to the 'corner tower' is incompatible with this great extension spoken of by Josephus. But in another passage we have a more precise indication of the locality of this monument. As Titus arrived opposite to the city, he rode to the tower Psephinus, for the purpose of reconnoitring, but on rounding this tower, a number of Jews suddenly issued from the " 'Women's Towers'

* The mention of this monument calls to our recollection the fable related of it by Pausanias, according to whom it contained a door, which opened of its own accord on a particular day and hour of the year, and then closed again; neither was it possible to open the door on any other day, except by violence. (*Paus.*, viii. 16.)

through that gate which was over against the monuments of Queen Helena," &c. This position of the monument in the neighbourhood of Psephinus, is very clearly indicated by Dr. Schultz, in his Map of Jerusalem.*

Dr. Robinson has recently returned from another tour in the Holy Land, the results of which he has communicated to the Royal Geographical Society, and which will shortly be given to the public. After going through the arguments of his opposers, he can find no reason for changing his former opinion respecting the plan of the City of Jerusalem. Through especial permission afforded to him, of beholding the area from a house on the wall, he was enabled to confirm the accuracy of Mr. Catherwood's plan of the Haram-es-shereef, measured within the area, in opposition to that of the Royal Engineers, which was taken from without. He adduces further proof of the valley of the Tyropæon, by the accumulation of rubbish—the chapel of the church of St. John being twenty-five feet below the present level—and by careful inspection of the streets running northward from the street of the Jaffa Gate, all of which have a very perceptible rise; and he discovers that the reservoirs of water near the Damascus Gate, pronounced from their taste to be the "Waters of Siloam," and therefore insisted on by Mr. Williams as evidence of a northerly direction of the Tyropæon, are reservoirs of rain-water, the peculiar taste of which arises from the water being stagnant.

Through the kindness of the Council of the Geographical Society I am permitted to give the following extract from Dr. Robinson's paper :—

"The street which runs North in the rear of the Church of the Sepulchre, rises very considerably in that portion of it; although at its Southern end it appears to decline Northwards. But just at this Southern end is the Greek Church of St. John; beneath which there has been dug out a chapel standing on ground at least twenty-five feet below the present level of the two streets at that point. In the Bazaars, the water is conducted off by a sewer running

* Schultz, *Jerusalem*. 8vo., Berlin, 1845.

towards the South; and further North, opposite to the Church of the Sepulchre, the main street is carried along a *covered passage cut through a ridge of solid rock*. Turning down at the South end of this covered passage, along the street leading by Helena's Hospital, so called, we enter on the left the court of the Prussian Consul, and ascend by two flights of steps to his garden and dwelling, (formerly Mr. Lanneau's,) on the same ridge. Following the same street further down, we find it crossing very obliquely the crest of the descending ridge. If, again, from the street running South along the depression or valley, one enters the street next South of the one just described, he first ascends West rather steeply; the street then turns North, and he ascends quite as steeply, until it turns West again. Here another street comes into it from the South, up a rather steep ascent. From all this it appears that there is on the North of Zion a rocky ridge, on which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre stands; and which ends below in a rather broad point, about in a line between the said Church and the great Mosque. This is the ridge which, with the adjacent tract, according to the description of Josephus, must be regarded as Akra."

X. *The Holy City*. Second Edition. By Geo. Williams, B.D.
2 vols. 8vo. 1849.

After lamenting the evils consequent upon his not having been enabled to revise the sheets of the first edition of his work previous to their going to Press, Mr. Williams makes the following apology to the author of the 'Biblical Researches.'

"The chief of these (evils), and that which has occasioned me the greatest regret, is one which I must seize the earliest opportunity of acknowledging in public, as I have already done in private, to the party principally aggrieved. It is, that, in my zeal for what I held, and still hold, to be important truth, I forgot the courtesy and consideration due to those who differed from me. Whatever opinion I might have formed of the arguments and conclusions of Professor Robinson, I was not justified in imputing motives, of which I could be no adequate judge; and I would gladly recall, as I do sincerely retract, all those harsh insinuations and personal reflections, which ought not to have been applied to a gentleman and a scholar, and which would not, I hope, have escaped the censorship of a maturer judgment, had they been subjected to my revision in their passage through the press. I have endeavoured to weed them carefully from the present edition." [This apology, which would be satisfactory only if seen by all those who had perused his first edition, is nullified by the paragraph which immediately follows:—]"and I heartily hope that personalities which have indeed been too freely indulged on all sides, will be no more allowed to embarrass the sufficiently perplexing questions with which we are engaged." (*Preface*.)

But is an apology of this nature, even if not equivocally expressed, a sufficient reparation to the evil which has been caused? What appears to be the facts? A predetermined spirit has been evinced to throw over the arguments of objectors at whatever cost. If counter arguments can be produced, well: if not, recourse must be had to bold assertion, to flat denial, to ridicule, to priestly censure;* and if all this is likely to be of no avail, then insinuations of want of candour, of sinister motives, of dishonesty, must be cast out, and the matter in question so mystified, that many are led to think that he has the best arguments who talks loudest. The case reminds one of a dishonest lawyer, who, knowing his own client to be in the wrong, traduces and vilifies the character of the plaintiff, and then, having gained a verdict, and robbed him of his estate, turns round to the Jury, and tells them that he has just been informed, from credible authority, that the plaintiff is a person of the highest character, and of the most unblemished integrity. But is the Second Edition free from such imputations? Far from it. There are too many expressions of contumely and bitterness, which, to say the least, are highly improper, when addressed by one Clergyman of the reformed Church to another, whose difference of opinion is owing, not to a reception of error, but to a conscientious denial of that which, if proved, is only of secondary importance, and whose reasons for doing so are, that honour should not be transferred to the inanimate substance which is due to God alone.

Mr. Williams's Second Edition not being in continuation of his previous volume, but rather an amplification of his former subject, I have thought it better to incorporate the additional arguments here brought forward, with those contained in the First Edition, in order to prevent this notice from becoming too desultory and confused. To have considered these addi-

* No sarcastic allusion to the Church is here intended: but the writer wishes to urge the impropriety of Mr. Williams' having employed such a tone to a person like Dr. Robinson.

tional arguments in this place would have necessitated the reopening of the whole subject. It is sufficient to find that Mr. Williams asserts, in his Second Edition, that "not an inch of debateable ground has been ceded."

It is proper to observe, that an enlarged plan, copied from the Ordnance Survey, accompanies this Second Edition, and that 'A historical and descriptive Memoir,' illustrative of this survey is contained in the first volume, (pp. 1-164;) [the arguments in which have been already considered;] and that a long chapter, (iii. pp. 129-194) by Professor Willis, on 'the Architectural History of the Holy Sepulchre,' appears in the second volume. The latter addition does not come within the scope of this article: there is one circumstance, however, contained in this essay which it is right to notice in this place. I have stated that the objections put forward in the 'Dublin University Magazine' have not been answered: for although the name of the Review appears in Mr. Williams's introductory Preface, no mention is made of it in the body of the work, but the argument is taken up, as if *de novo*, in the following manner.

Mr. Williams states, in reference to the testimony of Arculfus, that an answer to the objections will be adduced by Professor Willis. (ii. 80.) On turning then to Professor Willis's article, we meet with the following defence:

"The capacity of the chamber was somewhat greater in Arculfus' time than it now is, but perhaps not more than may be accounted for by the space occupied by the artificial lining of the chamber, and the construction of the altar, which covers the *loculus*," (tomb.) p. 179. Then referring to the circular form described by Arculfus, he adduces a passage in Willibald, (A.D. 765) where it is stated that "The Sepulchre was cut out of the rock; and that rock was above ground, and is square below, and contracted above." (*Illud sepulchrum fuerat in petra excisum; et illa petra stet super terram, et est quadrans in imo, et in summo subtilis.*) The Professor then argues "The *quadrans in imo* refers to the square form of the chamber *within, to which Arculfus does not allude*, but merely describes the external form of the 'tegium' as round. *In summo subtilis* appears to allude to the pavilion of fine workmanship which was erected on the Sepulchre." (pp. 176-179.)

It is to be regretted that Professor Willis, who with this

exception has confined his subject to the consideration of the architecture of the church, did not leave the defence of the Sepulchre itself to the author of the 'Holy City', who would have been so well qualified to have undertaken it. By stooping to so weak and false an argument, he has damaged the character of his otherwise, I doubt not, valuable remarks, and identified himself with the movement in favour of these ecclesiastical traditions. How can 'quadrans in imo' be proved to signify *square within*? and even if it did, how could the circumstance that the Sepulchre seen by Willibald was square within, disprove the clear and precise description of Arculfus, or the equally clear and well defined double line of the wall of the *tegurium* in his plan? By such a system of logic he would find no difficulty in proving, from the 'Parentalia,' that the Church of St. Paul, as built by Wren, was a Gothic Cathedral.*

* Mr. Williams regards it as his "fortune and his privilege to be the first of modern travellers to put in a plea for the ancient traditions of Jerusalem." This requires some qualification. Dr. Olin, the President of the Wesleyan University in New York, published his travels in Egypt, Arabia, Petræa, and the Holy Land, in 1843, two years before the appearance of Mr. Williams's work. Dr. Olin pleads for the antiquity of the Holy Sepulchre, and for several other sacred sites; and many of his arguments have been subsequently re-adduced. The work, however, is quoted by Mr. Williams only on one occasion, and then only because it allows him to cast a fling at the *uncatholicity* of English travellers. (First edit., p. 426.) But there is this difference to be observed between the two writers.—The former is painfully alive to the falsity of monkish traditions, (ii. 291,) and acknowledges that "a general and indiscriminating suspicion of all monkish legends and traditions, is perhaps the true, philosophical position, but he found it extremely difficult to resist the strong current of opinion and feeling that prevailed upon the spot. Indeed (he) yielded to it....for the time at least, (ii. 277)....he found believing far more agreeable than cold incredulity. He endeavoured to carry with him everywhere a paramount reverence for truth, and the spirit of fair and watchful criticism, but he could not, and would not, deny himself the luxury of communing freely with the glorious objects that fill and surround the holy city." (ii. 294.) The latter writer, on the other hand, insists upon what the former merely endeavours to believe, and endeavours to believe what he rejects. It would be folly and a cruelty to interfere with the fond reveries of the former; it is our duty to withstand and expose the determined errors of the latter.

XI. *An Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem.* By James Fergusson, F.R.A.S. 8vo. Lond. 1847.

This remarkable book, which displays, on the part of its author, great originality of purpose, a quick and acute perception, with much study and research, has the advantage of being written by one who is intimately acquainted with the history of art; than whom, therefore, no one could be better qualified for the task he has undertaken. We cannot, however, but regret the too dogmatical style in which it has been cast. Every page abounds with some such expression as—proof positive—conclusive evidence—minutely correct—no one who knows anything about the matter will think differently:—which is as much as to say, This is my opinion, and every sensible man will think with me.* The consequence of this has been, that many, who would otherwise have been disposed to accept the premises, begin to question whether the evidence adduced is of that irrefragable nature which it is supposed to be.

The object of the book we find to be,

“To vindicate the Bible and early Christian tradition from the slur indirectly cast upon them by our inability to trace, in Jerusalem, the scenes and localities they describe; and, if possible, to place them on a sound and rational basis.” (p. *ult.*) [Or, as he expresses it in another place,] “There is a hiatus in the arguments of all those who have opposed (the present traditions), in their not being able to say, or even hint, where the true sepulchre was, . . . and till this is done, I fear it is not in human nature to admit any argument, however reasonable; for there is, and always has been, in the human mind, or at all events, in a certain class of human minds, a principle of idolatry which has given form to the faith of millions of millions, through thousands of years, and which requires that for the calling forth or exercise of their faith, some tangible object should be presented to their corporeal senses—whether in the form of a relic—of a holy spot with which an act may be associated—or a graven image which will represent what the mind is too lazy to conceive—and which requires, in this instance, a sepulchre, and it matters little whether it be the true one or not; it answers their purpose.” (pp. 76, 77.)

* This is the more reprehensible in an author, whose arguments, however ingenious and however plausible, are necessarily of a hypothetical character.

Here I consider to lie the weakness of the book: the author should have been content to show the true *church* of the sepulchre, not the true *sepulchre* itself; he should have striven not to obtain the consent of “millions of millions” of his readers, but to announce the truth, even though he met not with one supporter. But of this anon.

The subjects of what we may regard as his propositions are the following:—

1. (The size and situation of Herod's Temple.) This he asserts to have been 600 feet square, and no more, and to have been situated at the S.W. angle of the present Haram es Shereef; and he further asserts, that the eastern wall of the present platform formed the third wall of Agrippa.*

2. (The position of Hippicus, and the course of the ancient walls.) The tower he places at the N.W. angle of the present city, near the Latin Convent; and the First Wall he makes to include both the Upper and Lower cities, thus denying the existence of a northern wall to the Upper city. (pp. 36, 39.)

3. (The true position of Zion:) which he makes identical with the “hill” upon which stands the rock Sakhra, now covered by the dome of the rock. (p. 58.)

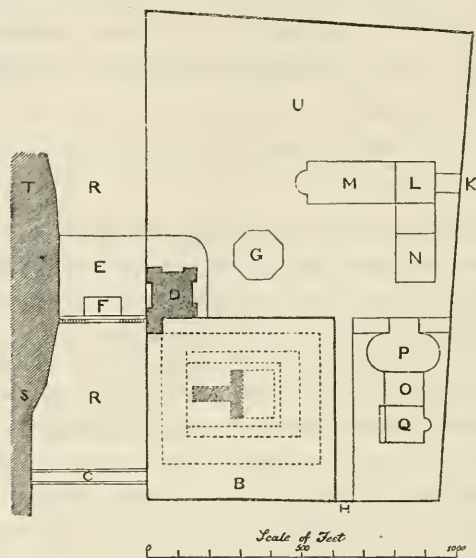
4. (The site of the Holy Sepulchre [which he makes this Sakhra,] and of the Christian buildings erected by Constantine and Justinian.) (pp. *prima et ult.*) *i. e.* That the so called Mosque of Omar was the church of the holy sepulchre built by Constantine; but that, in the eleventh century, the Christians *transferred* the sacred site to its present position. (Part III.)

5. To these may be added the following proposition, which, however, will not bear an argument. That Antonia, Baris, the castle Aera, Millo, Bethsur, and the “City of David”, were all one and the same thing. (pp. 33, 65, and pl. vi.)

1. In support of the first proposition, Mr. Fergusson shows that Josephus invariably describes the Temple as being 400 cubits square, (p. 6,) and in proof that this dimension should be reckoned according to the common cubit of six handbreadth, or eighteen inches, which would give us a length of 600 feet, he again adduces Josephus as stating, that the circuit of the Temple was four stadia; thus giving us the same dimension of 600 feet, or thereabouts. He then points out, that the plan of substructions under the Haram exhibits a wall running N. and S. at exactly the distance of 600 feet from the S.W. corner; (p. 8;) while another striking confirmation of this location of the Temple is

* It is said by Josephus to join the *old* wall, not the northern or eastern sides of the Temple.

exhibited in the circumstance, that the south wall of the platform of the Dome of the Rock is also at exactly 600 feet distance from the south wall of the Haram; (see pl. iv.); thus giving the line of the eastern and northern sides of



Mr. Fergusson's Plan of the Temple.

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| A. The Temple. | K. The Golden Gateway. |
| B. Herod's Stoa Basilica. | L. Atrium } Basilica of |
| C. The Bridge. | M. Martyrium } Constantine. |
| D. Tower of Antonia. | N. Church of Golgotha. |
| E. Millo, Baris, Acre, Antonia, Bethsur, and City of David. | O. Atrium. |
| F. Council House. | P. Xenodochium. |
| G. The Anastasis, or Church of the Holy Sepulchre—Sion. | Q. Church of St. Mary. |
| H. Justinian's Gateway. | R. Parbar Suburbs. |
| | S. The Upper Market Place. |
| | T. Acre. |

the Temple: the western and southern being identical with the present Haram inclosure. On the western wall he finds a causeway at 600 feet distance from the S.W. angle, which causeway he supposes to be the remains of the old wall which connected the Temple with the upper city; (p. 17;) and in support of the antiquity of the southern wall, he asserts that the foundations under the mosque Aksa are of greater antiquity than the other substructions; (p. 118;)* and that these later substructions, at the S.E. angle, terminate precisely at the extent of 600 feet from the western wall, and occur just in the position where we know, from Procopius, that Justinian built his church in honour of the Virgin Mary.

* The Mahometan writers unequivocally affirm that the mosque of Aksa stands on the site of the Temple of Solomon. (See Jalal-Addin, p. 42; Medjir-ed-din, p. 95.)

He then suggests, that the *bridge*,* discovered by Dr. Robinson, corresponded with the central avenue of the Basilican Stoa. The bridge† is 39 feet from the S. corner of the area, and 51 in width; its centre, therefore, is 64 feet 6 inches from the S.W. angle. The side avenues of the Royal Portico were 30 feet, which, added to half the central avenue, (45 feet,) give $52\frac{1}{2}$, to which must be added the thickness of the wall, with its sets-off and amount of battering, which he estimates would form a total, approximating to the former dimensions. (p. 12.)‡

2. The second proposition is so unsupported by facts, and so opposed to what everybody admits, that it is sufficient to say of Mr. Fergusson's theory, that, according to his own acknowledgment, (p. 39,) it is opposed to the testimony of Josephus, so far as relates to the position of the three towers Hippicus, Phasaëlus, and Mariamne. The reality of a north wall to the upper city is equally clear from Josephus.

* The Hebrew word is *Aliyah*, which signifies an *arched bridge*. Rev. Moses Margoliouth, *Pilgrimage to the Land of my Fathers*, ii. 365.

† The "bridge" is referred to by Bernhard, "Ubi templum in vicinia mui ab oriente locatum ipsique urbi, transitu pervio, *ponte* mediante, fuerat conjunctum," etc. *Recueil de Voy.*, iv. p. 797.

‡ Mr. Williams objects, that because one arch would be too low, and three arches (his own suggestion) too high, that therefore it could not have been a bridge. (*H. C.*, ii. 389.) It appears not to have occurred to him that it might have consisted of two arches in height. This bridge is supposed by Dr. Robinson to have been the "ascent by which (Solomon) went up into the house of the Lord," (I Kings x. 5; II Chron. ix. 4;) but it seems more natural to connect this ascent with the stairs at which those who went up to the house of the Lord were annoyed by the Macedonians within the fortress of Acra, who lay in wait against the sanctuary, (I Macc., iv. 41;) or with the south gate of the Temple, which communicated with the palace of Solomon.

Professor Willis enters into an ingenious speculation relative to the Basilican Stoa. Reckoning 10 piers in the mosque Abu-Bekr, 8 in the Aksa, 7 for the space between Aksa and the eastern substructions, and adding the 16 piers of the substructions, he obtains 41 piers, which is just the number required for the 162 columns of Josephus arranged in four rows. (*II. C.*, Suppl., note A, pp. 125-128.) But Mr. Fergusson shows that the piers are too irregularly placed to have supported a colonnade above; though one of his objections, which is relative to the size of the columns being 37 feet in height, is answered by the fact of their being only 27 feet, according to Josephus. (*Ant.*, xv. 11, § 5; Fergusson, *Essay*, p. 10.)

3. The third proposition is still less in accordance with reason. Dr. Lightfoot's theory, that Zion existed to the north of Acra, and Dr. Clarke's, that it lay to the south of the Valley of Hinnom, were less extravagant, because each of these theories had some argument in support of it; but to place Zion to the north of Moriah, and on a rock not fifty feet square, does seem below comment.* In endeavouring to attach Zion to the Temple Mount, Mr. Fergusson quotes several passages from the Bible, in order to prove that Zion and Jerusalem were different places: (p. 74:) but it is singular that Mr. Fergusson did not perceive that these passages, and some seventy more which might be mentioned, are all examples of parallelism or apposition, and that he could not have more effectually shown that Jerusalem and Zion—in its extended sense—are put for the same thing: and it is even more singular, that he should have quoted such a passage as, "The people shall yet dwell in Zion at Jerusalem," (Isaiah xxx. 19,) when he himself endeavours to show, a few pages subsequently, (p. 78,) that this place was "outside the city," and "free from houses."

4. The fourth proposition consists of two statements:—that the Sakhra is identical with the holy sepulchre of Constantine; and that it is in truth the Sepulchre of our Lord.

Even granting the size of Solomon's Temple, and the position of Antonia, as laid down by Mr. Fergusson, the authority for which will be presently considered, and divesting it of all other difficulties, there is one argument which militates strongly

* Mr. Williams's idea, that the rude rock of the Sakhrah formed a fitting threshing-floor for Aurnah, is nearly as absurd, (*H. C.*, Suppl., p. 417); and an equally astonishing theory is that of Professor Willis, who regards the cave of the Sakhrah as the cesspool of the Jewish altar. (*Id.*, ii. 341.)

The Turks describe a well or pit beneath the floor of this cave, which they call the "Well of Souls." It is probable that, on taking up or examining the floor, a gallery would be found, running in a southerly direction towards the site of the Temple; this rock marking the situation of the Antonia, between which buildings a subterranean communication existed in the time of Josephus. (*Ant.*, xv. 11, § 7.)

against it, viz., the fact that the houses had so far extended beyond the walls, that twelve or thirteen years after the crucifixion of our Lord, Agrippa found it necessary to inclose a larger area of ground than the whole of the city had formerly occupied, and that the portion of this new city which was first inhabited, was that very quarter, Bezetha, which lay immediately north of the Temple. This spot, therefore, although then outside the wall, was in the midst of houses, and consequently a most unlikely place to have been selected for the place of crucifixion and burial.* That it was not the sepulchre discovered and adorned by Constantine, is not so easy to disprove; on the contrary, there are "evidences of a startling nature in support of what (he) advances." (p. 78.)

He affirms that, though modern tradition attributes the Dome of the Rock to the Turks, there is no ancient record among the Mahometans to that effect, (pp. 108, 130, 142, 179,) while several may be produced among the Christians in favour of its having been built by them. After stating his decided conviction that the building was erected by Constantine, (pp. 83, 84,) he adduces as a singular circumstance, that Adamnanus, who visited the city about 695, or only a few years after the time when the building is said to have been completed by Abd-el-Malek, should give us an accurate description of the Aksa, but neglect to say one word relative to the other new and handsome mosque, the Dome of the Rock; and from this circumstance he infers, that it was not a mosque, but the church of the holy Sepulchre built by Constantine. (pp. 146—148.) This he thinks confirmed by the account given us by Mahometan historians,† of Omar's entrance into the city. Desiring the Patriarch Sophronius to lead him to the site of the Temple of Solomon, he was taken first to the church of the Sepulchre, then to the church on Mount Zion, then to the Castle of David, and finally to the place where he afterwards built the mosque Aksa; on which Mr. Fergusson asks, "What could have induced the Patriarch to lead Omar to the present Sepulchre, and say, 'This is the Mosque of David'?" (p. 135.) But the whole account is so doubtful, that I prefer to accept the account of Euty-

* He supports his argument (pp. 85, 86) by reference to Mr. Finlay's theory of a supposed census and "survey," by the Romans, of the whole of Palestine, of so minute a description that every locality was indicated, and every field measured, (*Essay on the site of the Holy Sepulchre*, by George Finlay;) but as this evidence is rejected by Mr. Williams, who would have been but too glad to have made use of it, it is unnecessary to notice it further.

† The Christian account is different. See Eutychiei, *Annales*, ii. 284.

chius." He next comments on what he regards as the cautious, if not suspicious language* of the interpolation to the 'history of St. Willibald,' which he believes to have been written in the latter end of the eleventh century, shortly after the transference of the site—"Nunc est ecclesia in illo loco qui dicitur Calvariae locus: et hæc fuit prius extra Hierusalem, sed Beata Helena, quando invenerit crucem, collocavit illum locum intus in Hierusalem."† On this circumstance, Messrs. Michaud and Poujulat observe, "*ce qui fut regardé par les Chrétiens comme un miracle du ciel.*"‡ The church of Calvary, moreover, which Arculfus described as *pergrandis*, is now only a shed against the outside wall. (p. 160.) Sæwulf, who visited the city in 1103, mentions a tradition which he discredits, that the Dome of the Rock (*Templum Domini*, as it is called by the Christians), was built by Justinian.§ (p. 180.) Albert Aquensis even more distinctly states, that "many assert that this church, which is called *Templum Domini*, is not to be understood of that ancient and wonderful work of King Solomon, but the edifice which was afterwards rebuilt by Christians."|| Jacob de Vitry affirms to the same effect.¶ (p. 181.)**

* Ibi nunc est ecclesia—cruces lignæ ad memoriam sanctæ crucis, etc.—lapis magnus in similitudinem, etc.—in illo loco qui dicitur Calvariae locus.

† *Act. Sanct. Ord. Bened.*, Sæc. iii. Pars ii. p. 375.

‡ *Correspondance d'Orient*, vol. v. p. 145.

§ "Quidam autem dicunt civitatem fuisse a Justiniano imperatore restauratum, et Templum Domini similiter sicut est adhuc—sed illi dicunt secundum opinionem, et non secundum veritatem, Assirii enim quorum patres coloni erant illius patriæ a prima persecutione, dicunt civitatem septies esse captum et destructum post Domini passionem, simul cum omnibus ecclesiis, sed non omnino præcipitam." (*Recueil de Voyages de la Soc. Géo. de Paris*, iv. 840.)

|| "Hoc templum, quod dicitur Domini, non illud antiquam ac mirabile opus regis Salomonis intelligendum est.... verum templum hoc postea a modernis et Christianis cultoribus reædificatum plures attestantur." (*Gesta Dei*, p. 281.)

¶ "Templum autem Domini sanctum—a fidelibus tamen et religiosis viris opere rotundo et decenter et magnificè—iterum est reparatum." (*Gesta Dei*, lxii. pp. 1080, 1081.)

** Mr. Fergusson's reviewer here remarks: "Are we not forced to smile at the mighty deeds of chivalry—the achievements of knights and warriors—the bursts of priestly eloquence—the victories of pilgrim hosts,—when we find that after mountains of treasure lavished, and rivers of blood spilt in the cause, Christian Europe is at last discovered to have knelt before a gross imposture, and borne away the palm in triumph, without having so much as recognized the shrine it had sacrificed so much to honour?" (*Dubl. Univ. Mag.*, January 1848, p. 419. See also p. 426.)

William of Tyre informs us that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was round, but by reason of the adjoining and *overhanging cliffs* was dark. (Lib. viii. cap. 3, p. 421.) Where are these cliffs?

From the consideration of these and other passages, Mr. Fergusson believes that the Christians were turned out of the original sepulchre by the Mahometans, between the years 969 and 1029, during the Moslem oppression from Muez to El Hakim, and that they built another 'church of the Holy Sepulchre' in the present site, between the years 1031 and 1048. (p. 164.) But, in addition to the preceding arguments, Mr. Fergusson adduces several points of detail, which he thinks confirmatory of the transference. These are with respect to the intermediate distances of the several parts of the structure. Antoninus Martyrus says the distance from Calvary to Golgotha was 80 paces, (which we may make equivalent to 240 feet,) whereas the present distance is only 120 feet: and again, the place of the "invention" of the cross is described as 12 paces (or about 36 feet) from Golgotha, whereas the present distance is 150 feet. (pp. 126, 127.)

But the most important argument, and that which he considers an overwhelming proof, is the architecture of the structure; and this is undoubtedly a very strong point. To judge of it in all its force the reader must refer to Mr. Fergusson's book, in order that he may examine the beautiful drawings prepared by Mr. Catherwood and Mr. Arundale. Here there can be no mistake, and with all deference to Mr. Williams's opinion in other respects, whoever it was built *for*, the dome of the rock was evidently built *by* Christian workmen, however it might subsequently have been incrustated with Saracenic detail;* as the Aksa, which he endeavours to claim as the church of the Virgin Mary, was undoubtedly built, probably, as we now see

* A singular coincidence occurs in the fact, that whereas the original sepulchre is described as being "not uniform, but appearing mixed, and of different colours, to wit, *red and white*, so that the said rock is of a piebald colour", which the present sepulchre is not, the excavation in the rock of the Sakhrâh is thus described by Ali Bey: "From what I could discern, particularly in the inside of the cave, the rock seemed to be composed of a *reddish-white* marble." (*Dub. Univ. Mag.*, January 1848, p. 419.)

it, at a subsequent period, by Mahometan artificers. The Christian, not to say heathen, character of the architecture of the dome of the rock, is evident from an examination of the plans of S. Costanza, at Rome; Sa. Ma. Maggiore, at Nocera; a small church near Bonn, said to be by queen Helena; S. Stefano Rotundo (which Mr. Fergusson wishes to consider as a copy of the church of the Holy Sepulchre!); but more especially the so-called temple of Jupiter, at Spalatro; and the baptistery of Constantine, at Rome; each of which latter structures are octagonal, with an inner circle of columns, the temple of Jupiter being furnished likewise with an outer row, and porches at the four sides. The architecture of the Aksa is equally conclusive, with its pointed arches, and its wooden architraves.*

Such are some of the arguments brought forward by Mr. Fergusson in support of his theory. There are others which I have kept separate, from their being liable to objection. Thus his position of Goatha, like Mr. Williams's system of "juxtaposition," is made to depend upon its being mentioned in the preceding verse to the Horse Gate (Jerem. xxxi. 39, 40,) while even this support is taken away by the fact that the Horse Gate was situated south of the temple. The destruction of the church, and its restoration by Modistus, would be fatal to his theory, and it is therefore pronounced "apocryphal." (178.) "The age is fertile in falsehoods, but I have not met with one more startling than this." (p. 129.) But, unfortunately, we have seen that Sæwulf describes the city as having been "taken and destroyed seven times, together with all its churches." [see *ante*, p. 380.] Again, so far from an octagonal tomb being so "utterly anomalous, and unlike anything any Mahometan ever did in any part of the

* After a feeble effort to disprove this reasoning, Mr. Williams summarily asserts, "it ignores all historical records, and sets at naught all architectural evidence"; "the very foundation on which the theory is based, is a foundation of sand", (*II. C.*, Suppl. p. 418,) and he proves to his own satisfaction that "the architectural argument is found to halt throughout, and fairly break down at last." (p. 426.)

world," (p. 111,) it is a common type in many parts of the east: witness the mausolea of Constantinople and the Crimea. The attempt to change the circular plan of Adimnanus into an octagon (p. 150) is ill-judged; for nothing can be clearer than his words "*rotunda ecclesia*," illustrated as they are by his circular plan: but as the description and plan did not suit *his* church of the Holy Sepulchre, one or other must be changed, and of the two evils Mr. Fergusson chose the less. The stained glass Mr. Fergusson regards as a proof of the building being Christian, (p. 106,) though he could scarcely be ignorant that stained glass is a usual embellishment both of the sacred and domestic architecture of oriental nations. The endeavour to maintain the antiquity of the ceilings was as impolitic as it was unnecessary; for if they had been renewed a hundred times this could not have affected the question at issue; while that they have been renewed is, I think, evident by their appearance, which displays much more of the taste prevalent at the period of rebuilding the 'church of the Holy Sepulchre' after the fire of 1808, than that in vogue in the time of Constantine. The ceiling is certainly not Mahometan in design, though the Mahometans often execute flat ceilings, and those of the most elaborate description. Nor can I regard as of any weight the assertion that the present Sakrah was not the Sakrah of Omar. (130, 134.) The Mahometans were directed to face the Caaba, or the south: and, therefore, when congregated in the Aksa they would naturally have their backs to the Sakrah; which agrees perfectly with the account by Eutychius. Other objections are urged by Mr. Williams. (*H. C.*, ii. 90-116, and 416-427.)*

* Mr. Williams remarks: "Bold theories require bold arguments.... accordingly, whatever can be done to sustain his views—by suggesting the corruption of MSS., in the way of mutilation, interpolation, or omission—by variations in the original, or alterations in translating—is resorted to without scruple, sometimes without notice, [Mr. Williams gives no example,] always without authority." (*H. C.*, ii. 91, 92.) This opinion must be received with some qualification,

In support of the theory, however, it should be remembered that on the surrender of the city to Omar, he expressly bound himself to build only one mosque, which mosque we know was that subsequently enlarged into the mosque of Aksa; and we read of no violation of this treaty, which we might naturally suppose would have been loudly complained of had any taken place.

It is singular that the following Mahometan tradition of a transference of the 'sepulchre' should have escaped the notice of Mr. Fergusson. I should premise that the 'Dome of the Rock' is called by Mahometan writers *Bait-el-Mukaddas*, 'the holy house,' or 'the holy abode;' and that the 'church of the Holy Sepulchre' was originally called by the much more appropriate designation 'the church of the Resurrection.'*

"The Rock of the Baitu-l-Mukaddas, in the days of Solomon, was of the height of 12,000 cubits . . . upon it was a Chapel formed of aloes (or sandal wood), in height twelve miles . . . and the space between it and Heaven was no more than twelve miles. . . . Subsequently to its devastation by Nebuchadnezzar, when the Greeks obtained possession of it, they said, Let us build thereon a building far excelling that which was before. Therefore they built upon it a building as broad at the base as it was high in the sky, and gilded it with gold, and silvered it with silver. Then entering therein, they began to practise their associated (polytheistical) paganism, upon which it fell upon them, so that not one of them came out. . . . Hereupon he caused a second Temple to be built, which they did, spending a greater sum thereon, and having finished the second building, 70,000 entered it, as they had entered the first. But it happened to them as it had happened to the first. . . . Therefore

coming, as it does, from one, "through the whole of whose book", according to another writer, "we find that the superstitions, mistakes, foolish and corrupt observances and ceremonies, which have crept in and awfully disfigured the ancient churches in the East, are described with the most tender sympathy and respect, while he speaks of Protestants and Protestantism in terms of suspicion and contempt." (*Jewish Intell.*, Aug. 1845. Compare the *Churchman's Monthly Review*, of May 1845.)

* The change of name from the 'church of the Resurrection' to the 'church of the Holy Sepulchre,' is to be attributed to the circumstance, that the Resurrection of Christ afforded no material or tangible object to the sensual worshipper.

he assembled them a third time, and said, What think ye? and they said, We think that our God is not well pleased with us, because we have not offered unto him abundantly, therefore he has destroyed what we have done; therefore we should greatly wish to build a third. They then built a third, until they thought they had carried it to the greatest possible height, and surrounded it with crosses of gold and silver. . . . Then having entered it, they began to practice their associated paganism, as the others had done before them, whereupon down fell the third building upon them. Hereupon the King again summoned them together, and asked their counsel about what he should do. But their dread was very great; and whilst they were deliberating, there came up to them a very old man, in a white robe, and a black turban: his back was bent double, and he was leaning upon a staff. So he said, O Christian people, listen to me, listen to me! for I am the oldest of any of you in years, and am now come forth from among the retired votaries of religion, in order to inform you that with respect to this place, all its possessors are accursed, and all holiness hath departed from it, and hath been *transferred to this other place*. I will therefore point out this as the place wherein to build the Church of the Resurrection. I will show you the spot, but you will never see me after this day for ever. *Thus he cheated them*, and augmented their accursed state, and commanded them to *cut up the rock, and to build with its stones* upon the place which he commanded them. So, whilst he was talking with them he became concealed, and they saw him no more. Thereupon, they increased in their infidelity, and said, This is the Great Word. Then they demolished the Mosques (churches) and carried away the columns, and the stones, and all the rest, and built therewith the Church of the Resurrection, and the Church which is in the Valley of Hinnom. Moreover, this cursed old man commanded them, When ye have finished the building upon this other place, then take that place whose owners are accursed, and whence all holiness hath departed, to be a common sewer to receive the dung. By this they gratified their Lord. Also, they did this . . . and all filth and excrement was thrown upon the rock, until God awoke our prophet Mahomet." (*History of the Temple of Jerusalem: By Imam Jalal Addin al Siuti*, pp. 44-48.)*

According to another tradition,—

"We learn also from Omad, that . . . glad tidings were received of . . . the Spirit (Christ) having taken up his abode in the halting place of the night-

* Translated by Rev. Jas. Reynolds, B.A., for the Oriental Translation Fund, 8vo., Lond., 1836. This story, though a confused mixture of Eastern fable, a tradition of Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple, and a tradition of the transference of the Holy Sepulchre by the Christians, is so clear respecting the latter statement as not lightly to be set aside.

journey, the *resting-place of the Lord of the Apostles*, and signet of prophets, the resting-place of Apostles and Prophets, the mansion of Abraham." (*Id.* p. 213.) "This is the reposing spot of the Prophets: this the burial-place of the Apostles: this the region to which God sent his servant, and his apostle, and his *Word*, which he cast upon Mary, from whence came that Spirit, Jesus, whom God honoured by his Apostleship, and by his glory, and by his gift of prophecy." (*Id.* p. 235.)* "Omad proceeds to say, To return to the Sakhrāh. The Christians had built a church upon it, (on their capture of it from the Saracens) and had never ceased to lift up their hands in blessing it, and raising their eyes to salute and extol it." (*Id.* p. 246.)†

Abulfeda states that a building formerly stood upon the site afterwards occupied by the Bait-el-Mukaddas, but leads us to infer that it was the Jewish temple.‡

Nor are Christian writers wanting, who claim for it a Christian origin.§ Bernard says there are various opinions respecting the building. Some assert that the church was rebuilt by the Emperor Constantine, and his mother Helena, in reverence of the Holy Cross found by her.|| The statements of Albertus Aquensis,¶ and of the Cardinal Jacobus de Vitriaco,** are already before the reader. The former adds the particulars, that a golden vase of about 200 marks' weight was suspended in the middle, containing, according to some authors, the 'blood of our Lord,' but according to others, 'Manna.'

* The Mussulmān pretend that the body of Christ was buried there. (*Les deux Jardins*, in Michaud, *Bibliographie des Croisades*, ii. 603.)

† See also pp. 246, 409, of Jalal-Addin.

‡ Speaking of Helena, he says: "Quæ quidem super sepulchrum, in quo Christiani dicunt Jesum esse conditum, extruxit templum, dirutaque illa quæ super 'as Szachrat' erat æde, conferri curavit super ipsam cœnum totius oppidi ad ægre faciendum Judæis. Itaque mansit....usque dum ea potiretur Abd-al-Malekh, qui in ea extruxit 'Kubbat as Szachrat' eo modo quo adhuc hodie superstes conspicitur." (Abulfedæ, *Tabula Syriæ*, pp. 86, 87.)

§ See Sandys, *Relat. of a Voy.*, p. 192.

|| "De hujus templi restauratore, ut nunc est, variæ sunt opinionēs. Quidam enim sub Constantino imperatore, ab Helena matre sua reædificatum fuisse perhibent pro reverentia Sanctæ Crucis ab ea repertæ." (Bern. Thesaur., *De Acquisitione Terræ Sanctæ*; in Murator., *Rev. Ital. Script.*, vii. 712.)

¶ *Hist. Hierosol.*, vi. 24.

** *Historia Orientalis*, cap. 62, fol. 1220.

The Bait-el-Mukaddas was surmounted by a cross of gold, which is thus referred to by Ibn-Alatir.—“There was a large gold cross over the dome of the Sakhrah. The day that the city was surrendered (to Saladin), the cross was cut down. At this spectacle, the eyes of Christians, as well as of Mussulmen, were turned in this direction. When the cross fell, a general cry arose throughout the city and its environs: they were cries of joy to the Mussulmen, and of grief and rage to the Christians. The noise was such as if the world were about to be destroyed.”*

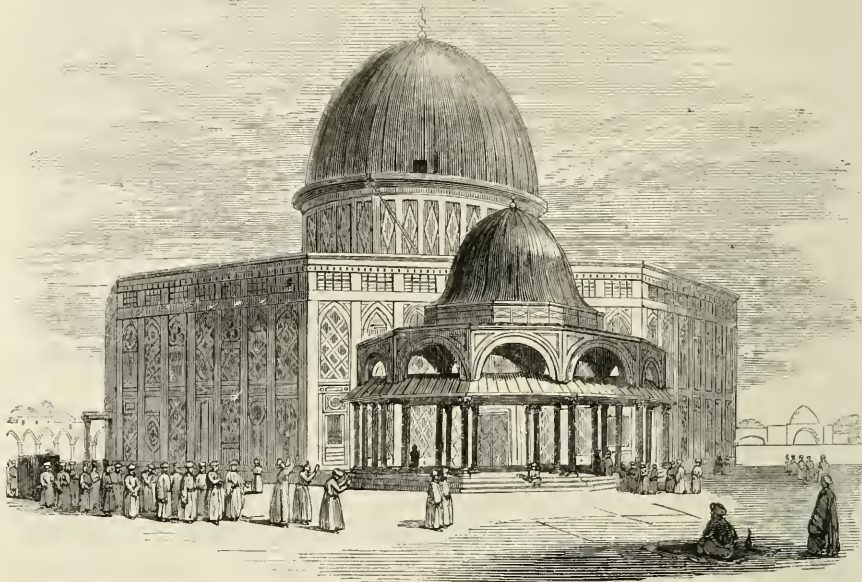
But while these vague traditions furnish us with little beyond a possible inference of Mr. Fergusson’s theory, that “the Dome of the Rock was the Sepulchre of Christ,” we must not close our eyes to the clear, and, with these exceptions, explicit testimony of history, that the Dome of the Rock was built for Mahometan purposes.

“According to the Muthir Alfaram, Abdul-Malik-ibn-Marwan built al-Sakhrah and the temple of the Baitu-el-Mukaddas: he spent upon this building the produce of a seven years’ tax upon Egypt. Again, it is said by Sabat-ibn-Juzi, in his book on *the Changes of Dynasties*, that Abdul-Malik — began the building in the year 69 *Heg.* and finished it in the year 72. Also, it is said, (that his son) Said-ibn-Abdul-Malik-Marwan built the Chapel of the Baitu-el-Mukaddas, and its outward covering. Again, we learn from Taher-ibn-Rija, and Yazid-ibn-Salam, that Abdul-Malik — wished to build a Chapel upon the Sakhrah of the Holy City, to be a free and lasting Chapel to Mussulmen; and did wish to do this without consulting, and asking the assistance of his subjects. . . . Then the Khalif assembled the best artificers of all his workmen, and commanded them to labour diligently at the work of the Chapel, and *made a vaulted crypt in it, before he built the Chapel.* Then he laid the foundation in the middle of the Mosque, and commanded that the Treasury † should be built upon the east side of the Sakhrah. . . . Thus he built and loaded it with riches; and he nominated as Commissioners for this purpose Rija-ibn-Haywah, and Yazid-ibn-Salam, and committed to the care of these the expenses of the building, and the things necessary for the undertaking, and that they should

* Reinaud, *Extraits des Hist. Arabes*, p 218.

† “The ‘Dome of the Chain’ is of great beauty. We have spoken of it in treating of the works of Abd-el-Melik-ibn-Mirvan. It served as a model for the dome of the Sakhrah.” Medjir-ed-din, in *Fundgruben des Orients*, ii. 89; see also Jalal Addin, p. 21, 24.

expend the treasure upon it to the last dinar, so as just to lay it out in the payment of expenses. They therefore undertook the building and the fitting-up, until the work was finished, and the building brought to a conclusion; and



Bait-el-Mukaddas—The Holy Abode.
Dome of the Rock.

there was not a word left to be spoken of it. Then they wrote thus to him, he being at Damascus,—‘God hath brought to an end that which the Commander of Believers hath commanded us respecting the erection of the Chapel of the Sakhras, the Sakhras of the Holy City, and the Mosque el Aksa, and there remains not a word to be spoken about it. Moreover, there remains some surplus above the money granted to us by the Commander of Believers to that end, after 100,000 dinars have been expended thereon. Let the Commander of the Faithful convert it to the object he likes best.’ And the Khalif wrote to them, ‘The Commander of Believers committed to your charge whatsoever should be fit and proper when he appointed you superintendents of the *restoration* of this glorious and blessed Temple.’ Then they wrote to him, ‘We have thought that it well deserved of us that we should augment the amount by the ornaments of our women, taking the superfluity of our wealth. Convert it, then, to the purposes you like best.’ Then he wrote to them, ‘A great sum hath been expended and paid by the public for the Chapel; therefore I will spend and lay out upon it for that which every one may look at,—gold work, and ornament, a sort of common part of mosaie outside; and then also

a second, to be a covering against rain, and wind, and snow.' But Rija-ibn-Haywah and Yazid-ibn-Salam had already surrounded it with a screen of lattice-work, with small interstices, and a curtain of silk hanging loosely between pillars.

"Also there were, every day, two and fifty, to whom were committed the saffron, which they were pulverizing and grinding. Some worked in the night, and perfumed it with the vapour of musk, and amber, and rose-water, for the purpose of making incense. . . . Then they began the descent of the structure behind the Sakhrāh, and every part as far as their hands could reach was considered as polluted, until they had poured a stream of water upon the whole of it; and that which their hands could not reach, they washed upon the surface. . . . Then they came with censers of gold, and silver, and aloes-wood of Kimar, and incense perfumed with musk and amber. And the curtain was hanging all loosely round the pillars. Then they took the incense, and made a circuit around (the Chapel) until the space between them and the Chapel was filled with abundance of the smoke of incense. Then they lifted up a corner of the veil, and the incense escaped, and the grateful odour was diffused until it arrived at the head of the market. Therefore the passers by smelt the odour of the incense, and put a stop to the business in which they were engaged. Then a crier cried out among the people, 'The Sakhrāh is now open to all men—whosoever desires to pray, let him come.' ""*

I have here exhibited some of the arguments for and against the theory, that the 'Dome of the Rock' was originally the 'church of the Resurrection' built by Constantine: others may be seen in Mr. Fergusson's book. I must confess that, as far as the evidence at present goes, I cannot accept the theory: the reader must judge for himself: it is sufficient for me to show that the building does not occupy the site of Calvary. On the one hand is the preceding Mahometan tradition, that the church of the Resurrection originally occupied the site of the Dome of the Rock; and some floating Christian traditions, that the Dome of the Rock was originally built by Christians: on the other hand is the circumstantial evidence of Mahometan historians, that the Dome of the Rock was built by Mahometans; in addition to which are numerous Christian traditions, which describe the church of the Resurrection as lying north of Sion and west of the Temple. The church of the 'sepulchre' was destroyed seven times by fire: the Dome of the Rock, if we may believe

* Jalal-Addin, *Hist. of the Temple of Jerus.*, pp. 184-189.

Mr. Fergusson, is in the same state as when finished by Constantine. Cyril describes the church of the Resurrection as shadowed by overhanging cliffs. It is difficult to imagine them in its present situation, or indeed anywhere but in the valley of Hinnom: it would be impossible to find them in the Temple area. Some Christian writers are brought forward, who hint at a transference of site, but their forms of expression are attributable, on the other hand, to an ambiguity of style. The improbability of the circumstance may be alleged against the site proposed by Mr. Fergusson; but who would have supposed, looking merely at the Bible narrative, and the plan of Jerusalem, that the Christians would ever have selected the present site for the building of their church? On the one hand, then, is the strong evidence of the architecture of the building: on the other, is the testimony of history and tradition.

Perhaps the key to the difficulty arising from the contradiction of traditional evidence may be found in the parallelism which exists between the two structures, and between the purposes for which they were erected. The religion of Constantine, as that of Mahomet, was founded by the sword; but there is this difference between them—the one made war the instrument of supporting his religious imposture, the other made religion a means of strengthening his political power. The motives which probably induced Constantine to build the Church of the ‘Holy Sepulchre’, and to make Jerusalem a holy city, have been already depicted:* precisely similar were the causes which led to the establishment of Jerusalem as a Mahometan city, and to the erection of its sacred edifices.† Do the

* *Supra*, pp. 324-326.

† “Abdel-Malik built at Jerusalem, in the year 72, (Hegira,) the cupola which covers the rock Sakhrāh, and the mosque called Aksa: the motive of which was to prevent the people from going to Mecca, which city was in the possession of his rival, Abd-allah-ben-Zobair.... They went round the rock, as they had been accustomed to do round the Kaaba.” (*Vie d’Abd-allah-ben-Zobair*, par M. Quatremère. *Journ. Asiat.*, 2nd serie, vol. x. p. 141.)

“Inauguratus est Abdul-Malek-ibn-Merwan, anno 75. Mittens hic Hierosolyma templum auxit donec petram in ipsum inferet hominesque Hierosolyma

Christians point to the pious Constantine, and hold forth to admiration his ardent zeal and Christian humility?—The Moslems record the saint-like Omar, entering as a conqueror into Jerusalem, clothed in his garments of camel's hair. Do the Christians tell of the pollution with which the 'Holy Sepulchre' had been covered by Hadrian?—The Moslems describe the desecration of the site of their temple, by the Christians in hatred of the Jews, by heaping over it piles of dung,* and the cleansing of it by Omar, who carried away the filth in the folds of his mantle. Have the Christians selected a false site for their 'Holy Sepulchre'?—and shall the Mahometans hesitate in setting up a supposititious site for their sacred temple? If the Christians designate their shrine as the 'Holy Sepulchre,'—the Moslems will call theirs Bait-el-Mukaddas, the 'Holy Abode.' If the Christians venerate a grotto hewn out of a rock,—the Moslems also will have a rock with a sacred grotto.† If prayers are considered to be more especially heard when offered in the grot of Calvary,—the Moslems believe that peculiar efficacy is to be attributed to prayers offered within the grotto of the Sakhras.‡ The one shows the stone on which the angel sat,—the other shows where the destroying angel sat in the time of David. If all the Fathers of the Church affirm that Adam lies buried beneath the rock of Calvary,—the Moslem Doctors will assert that he is buried with his head towards the rock Sakhras.§ If the Christians believe themselves to be authorized by Scripture in asserting that Golgotha occupies the 'midst of the

peregrinari jussit, Meccham verò adire vetuit propter Abdollaum-ibn-Zobair." Eutychius, *Annales*, v. 364. Jalal-Addin, p. 241.

* Jalal-Addin, p. 179.

† "This grotto is one of the most holy places of the earth." Medjir-ed-din, in *Fundgruben*, ii. 88.

‡ "Under the rock is a grotto in which the prayers of men are answered under all circumstances."—*Id.* "Holy pilgrims [Mussulmen] entering it, come forth quite free from sin."—Jalal-Addin, p. 52. See also pp. 48-50; 70-83: and Medjir-ed-din, *Fundgruben*, ii. 380.

§ Medjir-ed-din, ii. 375.

earth,*—the Moslems (certainly with equal reason) narrate that Sakhrāh is the centre of the earth, and that it rests upon the body of a huge serpent, whose head is in the east, and its tail in the west, supporting the whole world.† If the Christians insist upon the efficacy of pilgrimages,—the Moslems point to pilgrimages to the ‘Holy House,’ of far greater antiquity than anything of which they can boast.‡ Do the Christians show you the tomb of Melchizedek, and the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea, and the exact places where all imaginable things took place.—The Moslems show you the stone on which Jacob slept, and tell you of the place of Joseph’s burial,§ and of “the palm-tree upon which the rock Sakhrāh reposes, and under which issues one of the rivers of Paradise, beneath which sit Asia, the wife of Pharaoh, and Maria, the son of Amran.”|| Do the Christians give out that men shall be judged at the ‘Holy Sepulchre,’—The Moslems insist that “Israfil will call men to judgment from the rock Sakhrāh.¶

Nor are the Christians particular as to what they allege, so that it conduce to their pecuniary advantage. They are even willing to copy from the Turks. Even Omar’s cloak of camel’s hair they would be content to call the garment of John the Baptist, did they think the relic** would fill the coffers of their treasury. Not

* Ps. lxxiv. 12: “Thou hast wrought salvation in the midst of the earth.” (Cyril, *Catech.*, xiii. 28.) † Medjir-ed-din, ii. 387. Jalal-Addin, p. 18.

‡ “It was one of the rocks of Paradise; it was the first place cultivated on the earth, and it will remain forty years after the rest of the world is destroyed.” Jalal-Addin, p. 19: Medjir-ed-din, ii. 385, 387.

“It is not known whether in the life-time of Adam there existed any foundation of the Baitu-el-Mukaddas.” “This foundation was laid by Shem, the son of Noah.”

“Another tradition relates, that Adam performed the second pilgrimage to the Baitu-el-Mukaddas.” Jalal-Addin, pp. 100, 101.

§ “The Khalif al Muktadir-Billah saw Joseph in all his beauty, and gracefulness of form.” Jalal-Addin, p. 365.

|| Medjired-din, quoting Ybad-ibn-Samit, who had it from the lips of the Prophet. *Fundgruben*, ii. 384.

¶ *Id.* p. 378.

** When the Christians had gained possession of the Sakhra, they “erected

satisfied with breaking fragments from the Holy Sepulchre, which they carried off to other lands, they are accused by the Turks of breaking off pieces of the Sakhrah, which they sold for their weight in gold.* They adopt the Bait-el-Mukaddas, though they call it the house of Anna the prophetess, where the Virgin Mary lived, busied with the care of the Temple till the period of her espousals with Joseph,† and they believe that the Ark of the Covenant lies concealed beneath the rock.‡

From these considerations, I would submit the possibility that the form of the Bait-el-Mukaddas of Abdel-Malik was copied from that of the Church of the ‘Holy Sepulchre’ by Constantine.

XII. PLEAS IN JUSTIFICATION.

The Objections hitherto urged against the site now believed to be that of the ‘holy sepulchre’ are—its being in the centre of the modern city; its requiring the position of the western wall of Acre to be such as to greatly restrict the area of the ancient city; its requiring such wall to be built on greatly disadvantageous ground, across the lower slope of a hill; its being in such immediate neighbourhood of the Pool of Hezekiah, which

separately from the other buildings, at the ‘place of Mahomet’s foot’ a little Chapel, raised upon marble pillars, and said, “This is the place whereon Christ set his foot.” Jalal-Addin, p. 246 : Emad—Eddin, in Reinaud, *Extr. des Hist. Arabes*, p. 217. Michaud, v. 151. *Les deux Jardins* in the *Bibl. des Crois.* ii. 602.

* “The Christians had covered the rock with marble, because the priests had been surprised several times in knocking off fragments, which they sold for their weight in gold, to their brethren in the west. The stone was believed to insure happiness. Ibn-Alatyr, in Reinaud, *Ext. des Hist. Arabes*, p. 217. Jalal-Addin, p. 249. Michaud, v. 153. † Michaud, v. 150.

‡ Alb. Aquen. vi. 24, p. 281. The friends of Catholic tradition may object to this comparison of the ‘holy places’ with the fables of Mahomedanism; but it is this very fabulousness which makes the Oriental traditions more honest. The Eastern writers indulge their fancy to the extreme: they make use of the most extravagant hyperboles, and then, to show that all is fiction, they add—“But God knows.” “Thus men say: but Allah knows best.”

we know to have been within the city, that the wall could not have inclosed one without taking in the other; its being considerably to the east of the position, which must have been occupied by the gate Gennath; its too great proximity to what its advocates show as the line of the Second Wall; its locating the place of crucifixion and the place of burial at too close vicinity to each other; the probability of mistake, owing to the acknowledged error of several traditional sites, the absence of proof of many others, and the certain falsehood of all the rest. . To these topographical objections are to be added others of an historical nature, and others which must be received as valid from the very absurdity of their opposites; viz.—that the Christians and Jews were driven out of the city by the Romans; that no pilgrimages had taken place, and that the tomb of Christ had remained unknown, for three centuries; that its pretended discovery is rendered questionable by the lying wonders that were afterwards said to have accompanied it, (as the restoring to life a dead body, the finding the cross undestroyed, with its tablet written in Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew, the nails, the sponge, the spear, etc. etc.;) as also by the probability that Helena was deceived by Macarius; the inventing an exact location for each event which is narrated in the New Testament; and the demoralizing influence of the whole tradition;—all these and many other objections* have been urged against the accepted site of the ‘Holy Sepulchre,’ with such ability and eloquence, by various writers, that it would be unbecoming, as it is unnecessary, to consider them in detail: for what reader is so little interested in the question as to have abstained from examining the evidence which has been adduced?

Each and every one of these allegations had been met by the advocates of tradition, in a spirit of pre-determined hostility: no argument, however conclusive, is admitted to be of

* The Mahometan writers speak of “the place of magical incantations,” the “fascinating trick, and her net, and the priesthood with its spectres,” the “secret lurking places,” the “cheating magicians.” Jalal Addin, pp. 204, 205, 235.

any avail; it is either not listened to, or it is set aside from a secret conviction of the infallibility of holy tradition. The principal pleas, however, which have been raised against these allegations are the following:—

1. An appeal to the high character of Eusebius and Cyril, the chief witnesses, showing the improbability of their lending a hand to so infamous an imposture.

2. The argument of *Cui bono?*: or, Admitting that Eusebius and Macarius were so disposed, of what advantage could it have been to them to have fixed upon a wrong position;* one which, at that early period, must have been more evident than it is now, when it was so easy for them to have selected a site free from all suspicion.

3. Even if the Sepulchre and the site be false, Is it not better to believe them true, than to be in unhappy ignorance of this monument of our Lord's resurrection?

1. There is no action so good but what has an alloy of evil; so there is no action so evil but what carries with it some extenuation. We have already seen the motives which may have influenced Macarius.† Might he not, by simply taking advantage of the credulity of Helena, strengthen his influence in Jerusalem, and raise a monument which should be the means of quickening the faith of all succeeding generations? Granted that the site be fictitious, would not the worship of devotees be equally meritorious, if offered in faith? Might it not be the means, by promoting pilgrimages, of extending Christianity to foreign lands? Shall all these advantages be set aside by over-scrupulousness? Might not such a course have the effect of depressing the holy ardour of Helena's temperament?—It would be folly and sin to abstain from so salutary an act. Again, shall Eusebius refuse his connivance at so laudable an undertaking? Shall he forego this golden opportunity of causing the Church to triumph over her enemies? May it not be the harbinger of further bounties to the Church? Will not the action please the Emperor? Shall he afflict the aged Helena, and perchance give offence to Constantine, whom he affects to reverence as a

* Newman, *Essay*, clvii.

† See *ante*, p. 324, 326.

god!—His consent cannot be withheld. Again, shall Cyril, after twenty-five years experience of the advantages which have accrued, confess the pious fraud? Shall he destroy by an untimely word, the good which his predecessors have so wisely brought to pass? Shall he bring anguish to the souls of thousands who have felt consolation by a visit to the sacred shrine? Shall he incur the danger to which he might be exposed by the anger of an offended priesthood?—No, let him rather lengthen its cords, and strengthen its stakes.*

Mr. Newman observes, "What is to be urged against Eusebius, I know not."† The following are some of the extravagancies of Eusebius's style of writing, taken at random:—

He considers that the new quarter of the city, where Constantine built his church, was the 'New Jerusalem' spoken of in Revelations. (*Vita Const.* iii. 33.) In his oration in honour of the sepulchre, he is reported by his commentator, Valesius, to apply to it Zeph. iii. 8, "Therefore wait upon me, saith the Lord, until the day that I rise up for a witness." (*Septuag.*) Thus he "endeavoured to gain from the prophetic visions apt illustrations of the symbols it contained." (iv. 45.) In the same manner he applied to Ps. lxxxviii. 10, "Dost thou show wonders among the dead?" (*Comm.* p. 549.) He maintained that Constantine was, as it were, endued with a prophetic spirit; (iii. 29.) He resembled him to "his Saviour, who as the sown corn, multiplied from a single grain, so did our thrice blessed prince become multiplied, as it were, through the succession of his sons," (iv. 72,) whom he designates "a Trinity, as it were, of pious sons." (iv. 40.)

As for his pupil, the blessed Constantine "considered it evident that the

* Or, we may acquit all these of any knowledge or participation in the act, and lay the whole blame on the workmen, who would be only too willing to carry out their wishes,—like their descendants of Rome and Naples, who, if a suitable recompense be held out to them, are ready to find vases, statues, or bronzes, or anything else you may desire.

† In speaking of the 'invention of the cross,' Mr. Williams says: "However strange or startling the fact may appear, it is better to suspend the judgment, if we are not satisfied with the evidence, than to impute so great a crime as imposture and fraud to men who, for aught we know to the contrary, may have been eminent saints." (*Holy City*, p. 306.) But surely the Holy Scriptures prove that those whom we *do know* to have been "eminent saints" were guilty of dishonesty and falsehood, under the influence of temptation, even in the apostolic times: and it is to be feared that instances are by no means wanting, even in later times, of a like failing.

virgin (Erythræan Sibyl) uttered these verses [an acrostic, the initial letters of which read 'Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour, Cross,'] under the influence of Divine inspiration," and he esteemed "her blessed, whom the Saviour thus selected to unfold his gracious purpose towards us." (*Constantine's Orat.* 18.)

Let us now examine what credibility is to be attached to the testimony of the second witness, Cyril. Listen to the proofs which he adduces in confirmation of the Sepulchre, in his two Sermons on the Crucifixion and on the Resurrection.

Christ's death took place at Easter, for God created man in the spring of the year.—"Let the earth bring forth grass." (Gen. i. 11.) See the time typified also in Solomon's *Song* ii. 11.

The '*Place of a skull*' is a type of Christ, as *head of the Church*. (Eph. v. 23; 1 Cor. xi. 3.) "The head suffered in the 'place of a skull': O wondrous prophetic adaptation!"

"Tell us, O prophets, the exact truth concerning his tomb, also where it is placed, and where we shall seek it. And they say, *Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn. Look and behold.* (Is. li. 1. *Sept.*) Thou hast in the gospel, In a sepulchre hewn in stone, which was hewn out of a rock. (Luke xxiii. 53; Mark xv. 46.) And what happens next? What kind of a door has the sepulchre? Again, another prophet says,—*They cut off my life in the dungeon, and cast a stone upon me.* (Lam. iii. 53.)"

"Whence did the Saviour arise? He says, in the Song of Songs, (ii. 10,) *Rise up, my love, and come away:* and afterwards, *In the cleft of the rock.* But where is the rock which has in it this cleft? Lies it in the midst of the city, or near the walls and the outskirts? And is it in the ancient walls, or in the outer walls which were built afterwards? He says then, in the Canticles, (ii. 14. *Sept.*), *In the cleft of the rock, near to the outer wall.*"

Now, in the place where he was crucified there was a garden. (John xix. 41.) The garden of Paradise was a type of the garden of Golgotha. In the Canticles (v. 1.) we read, *I am come into my garden, my sister, my spouse:* Again, (iv. 12,) *A garden inclosed, a fountain sealed.* Again, (vi. 11,) *I went down into the garden of nuts.* "The place of his burial was a garden, and that which was planted therein was a vine." (John xv. 1; Ps. lxxxv. 11.)

They gave him wine mingled with myrrh. (Mark xv. 23.) *I have gathered my myrrh.* (Sol's. *Song* v. 1.)

The graves were opened. (He refers to Psalm lxxxviii. 5.)

"As the resurrection took place *early in the morning*, so Zephaniah, in the person of Christ, says to his disciples, *Prepare thyself, rise up early.*" (iii. 7 *Sept.*)

Mary's seeking the Lord at the sepulchre is typified by Sol's. *Song* iii. 1-4. The women's bringing spices to the tomb is foretold in Sol's. *Song* (iv. 14 and v. 1), *Myrrh and aloes and all the chief spices.*

Therefore await me, saith the Lord, on the day of my Resurrection, at the Testimony. (Zeph. iii. 8 *Sept.*) "Seest thou that the prophet foresaw even that the place of the resurrection should be called the Testimony?"

They gave him a piece of a broiled fish, and of an honeycomb. "Thou seest how was fulfilled the Scripture, *I have eaten my bread with my honey.*" (Sol's. *Song* v. 1. *Sept.*)

He alludes to Peter's *warming himself by the fire* as a fulfilment of Zech. xiv. 6, 7, *Sept.*; and he brings forward, as witnesses of the resurrection, "Tabitha, who was, in his name, raised from the dead—the shadow of Peter passing by—the handkerchiefs and aprons—the palm tree—even the stone, which was then rolled away, itself testifies of the resurrection, lying there to this day—the draught of fishes and the fire of coals with the fish laid thereon—among reeds the reed, among herbs the hyssop, among the things of the sea the sponge, among trees the wood of the cross."

But this may be considered as the extravagant effusion of a heated imagination. But what must be said of the following? Must we not confess that the testimony of one who adduces as proof of the truth of Christianity, the wood of the cross,—the shameful traffic in which he himself had instituted; by whose command the trees of the distant forests were cut down and distributed piecemeal over the whole of Christendom—cannot be received as evidence of the truth of that which the Church at Jerusalem felt it its policy to call the 'Holy Sepulchre.'

"For though I should deny it, (the Resurrection,) this Golgotha confutes me, near which we are now assembled: the wood of the cross confutes me, which has from hence been distributed piecemeal to all the world." (xiii. 4.) "The holy wood of the cross is His witness, which is seen among us to this day, and by means of those who have in faith taken thereof, has from this place now almost filled the whole world." (x. 19.) "Shouldst thou be disposed to deny it, (the crucifixion,) the very place, which all can see, refutes thee, even this blessed Golgotha . . . and further, the whole world is filled with portions of the wood of the cross." (iv. 7.) (*Catechetical Lectures of S. Cyril*, in "Library of Fathers." Vol. ii. By Newman. 8vo. Oxford, 1838.)

The matter is explained by Paulinus more fully. He says, "Though chips are almost daily cut off from it, and given to devout persons, yet the sacred wood suffers thereby no diminution:" and Cyril in another place, compares the wonder to the

miraculous feeding of 5,000 persons, as recorded in the gospel. This same Paulinus feels no difficulty in interpreting Ps. xcix. 5; cxxxii. 7, *Let us worship at his footstool—at the place where his feet stood*, (Sept.)* as prophetic of the church of the Resurrection; (*Epist.* xi. ;) and in another half century, Theodoret (*Hist. Eccl.* i. 17,) adapts Zech. xiv. 20, to the bridle of Constantine's horse, (formed out of one of the nails of the cross;) *In that day there shall be upon the bells of the horses, 'Holiness unto the Lord.'* Even in Jerome's time it was asserted† that Adam was buried under Calvary, and that the blood of Christ, distilling through the ground, reached his skull, thus fulfilling the prophecy, (Ephes. v. 14,) *Awake from the dead, thou that sleepest, and Christ shall give thee life*: and this is adopted by Epiphanius, Augustine, Cyprian, Athanasius, Ambrose, Origen, Theophylactus, Chrysostom and Basil.‡ “The existence of the cave was appealed to as a fulfilment of Scripture prophecy; for the prophet speaking concerning the Lord Jesus buried in it, says —*He dwelt in the lofty cave of an exceeding strong rock*, (Is. xxiii. 16 Sept.,) and its adornment is thought to be foretold by the same prophet, when he writes (xi. 10,) *and his resting place shall be glorious.*”§

I cannot do better than quote here the remarks of the learned Lightfoot:—

“The *studium partium* (favour to party) is officiousness sworn and engaged to a side. What this hath done in all stories, he knows but little of story that hath not observed. Officiousness to religion in general, and to good men in general, who were unknown, and unrelated to, hath done much,—this, more. When writers, in their relations, are minded to honour singular places, persons, and actions, it is hard to find them keeping within bounds. He is an historian, indeed, that can keep *ab odio procul et favore*, (free from envy and affection,)

* And, lest we should make a mistake, Villalpandus tells us, “non quidam in figura, aut in umbra, sed verè *pedes ejus*.” (*Apparatus Urb. ac Templi Hieros.*, i. 8, p. 32 a.)

† S. Hieron. in *Epist. Pauli ad Marcel.* This fable he refutes in his Comm. on Matth. xxvii. 33.

‡ See the references in Villalpandus, pp. 34, 35.

§ Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 81. Adamnanus.

especially when he writes near the time of those persons and actions which he treats of. When I read Eusebius, *De Vita Constantini*, and Sozomen, and Julian, *In Cesaribus—de Constantino*, I cannot but be suspicious on both hands that *studium partium, odium et favor* have made the contrary parties lay on so much black and white, that it is impossible to discern the true visage. Thousands of such relations, thus tainted, might be produced. Hence are more martyrs in the calendar than ever were in the world; and more miracles than ever men of reason, especially that know Scripture, did, or well can, believe....

"Another origin of falsehood in ecclesiastical history, is *animus decipiendi*. And this hath been sometimes done *pia fraude*; because histories do affect, and men are led by example. And, therefore, if piety and religion be promoted, no matter whether it be done by truth or falsehood. But sometimes this hath been done *impiissima impudentia*. Some there have been who have made it a trade to impose upon the belief of mankind,—either to amuse men's minds, or to abuse them, or to interrupt their study and believing of better things."—(*Sermon on the Church at Babylon*, 1 Pet. v. 13.)

What matters it whether Constantine did really pretend to see a cross in the heavens, and Helena pretend to find the true cross, and whether Eusebius and Macarius did or not give in their acquiescence? or whether these fables were invented in the following century?—It is enough to know that a gross fraud has been practised on the Church. What matters it whether "more intelligent pilgrims" of that period "placed no confidence in the minor traditions?" (*H. C.* p. 308.)—It is too much to know that many a weak brother has thereby fallen, for whom Christ died.

2. The argument of *Cui bono?* is not so easily answered. For, as Mr. Williams in some measure well observes—The less likely the situation, the more probable is it to be the true one. Indeed, from the very nature of the argument, it is one which can only be met by inference: and, therefore, the reader is referred to what has already been said on this subject. Either Macarius and his clergy must have been deceived as to the real site, and as to the ancient line of walls,—or they must have built their church within the city from motives of convenience or security,—or, as asserted by Mr. Fergusson, they must have subsequently transferred the site on occasion of their persecution by

the Mahometans. With the exception of a portion of the northern and western walls of Mount Zion, which were left standing by Titus, "the rest of the wall was so thoroughly laid even with the ground by those that dug it up to the foundations, that there was left nothing to make those that came thither believe that the city had ever been inhabited." (*Jos. Bell.* vi. 9, § 1, vii. 1, § 1.) On the rebuilding of the city by Hadrian, he found the Christian community limited to a few huts grouped round the 'Cœnaculum' of 'David's tomb,' and the possibility therefore is, that the new city was so restricted in its area, as to take in only a small portion of the ancient Acra, and its western wall might thus run eastward of the 'Holy Sepulchre.' Why should we give Macarius credit for more discernment in finding the place of burial, than he had exhibited in selecting the place of ascension? In the one case he builds his church on the summit of the Mount of Olives, esteeming that to be the most likely place for an ascent into heaven: in the other, he builds it outside the visible wall, regarding that to be the most convincing evidence of its accordance with Scripture. For if in the one case he acted with such precipitancy as to be insensible of the objection which in a more enlightened age would be brought forward to the spot he had selected, by reason of its want of agreement with Holy Scripture, so in the other case it is probable that the idea never occurred to him that the line of old wall, then no longer visible, would, after the lapse of so many centuries, in a thinking and antiquarian age be investigated, and its true position brought to light. This probability is strengthened by the many instances in which the sites handed down by tradition have been changed. Not only has the original site pointed out as that of the martyrdom of St. Stephen, and consecrated by a church, been acknowledged to be in error, and transferred to another spot,* but different

* In the year 600 it was stated to be outside the Jaffa Gate, or to the *west* of the city; in 695, it was found at the Cœnaculum on Mount Sion, or outside the *south* wall of the city: during the Crusades it was outside the Damascus

sites have been pointed out for the Aceldama, the place where Judas hung himself, the Fuller's field, and the position of the several gates and pools. Indeed, if we trusted to tradition alone, we should still find ourselves in doubt respecting many of the 'holy places.' The spirit which planned the sacred sites in geometrical arrangement and proximity within the church of the 'holy sepulchre' is equally manifest in the similar arrangement observable within the Cœnaculum, where one corner marks the precise spot where the Holy Supper was instituted; the second, where the Holy Spirit descended; the third, where the Virgin Mary died; and the fourth corner is occupied by the column to which Christ was tied and flogged. (Adamnanus, i. 13.)

3. The Third Plea, that even if the Sepulchre and the site be false, Is it not better to believe them true, than to be in unhappy ignorance of this monument of our Lord's resurrection? is alleged in various ways according to the feelings of different writers.* They repudiate the idea that the saints originated

Gate, on the *north* of the city: and since the fourteenth century it has been established on the *east* of the city. (Fergusson, *Essay*, pp. 168, 169.)

* Chateaubriand looks at the matter only in a poetical light—"Le seul moyen de voir un pays tel qu'il est, c'est de le voir avec ses traditions et ses souvenirs." (*Itinéraire*, tom. ii.) Allioli, in noticing Dr. Robinson's arguments, pictures to himself the misery of disbelief—"In wandering into the pathless and desolate wilderness of doubt, nevermore will the lips of the wearied pilgrim be refreshed with the living fountain, nevermore will his sight be gladdened by the palm-tree of joy." (*Handbuch der Bibl. Alterthumskunde*, ii. 276, § 133.) Prokesch consoles himself by saying—"I will not allow myself to be led into a controversy on the identity of the 'holy places.' Faith here is the most essential; and a few ells to the right or left are of little consequence." (*Denk. und Erinnerungen aus dem Orient*, 54.) The author of *Nozrani in Egypt and Syria* says—"If this is what we wish to believe, we may believe it." (p. 423, 2nd edit.) The same sentiment is expressed in nearly similar terms in Leeman, *Palästina*, s. 52; and in Ida Hahn Hahn, *Letters of a German Countess*, ii. 206. Von-Raumer confesses—"Were I even fully persuaded that the true sepulchre were a quarter, or half a mile from the present site—it can hardly be more—I would kneel down in entreaty to the objector, but not take him by the shoulder, and would say: You are mistaken, this is not the site." (*Beitrage zur bibl., Geog.*, art. Palästina, Jerus. § 3, s. 56.) Another writer gets over the dif-

an imposture, but urge that it is good to continue an error, supposing such to exist. But then why defend the saints from the charge? If it is good to keep up and circulate an error, it was good to originate it.

But let us consider what is the effect produced by this system, and by pilgrimages. If the 'Easter Ceremonies' of Jerusalem had not been described in a more graphic manner than the writer of this notice could pretend to, he would lay before the reader a statement of the pagan spectacle which he beheld on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the 'Holy City;' the remembrance of which spectacle can never be effaced from the minds of those who have once witnessed it. By the false position in which the Greek Church annually places itself on this occasion, it appears to less advantage than the Church of Rome: but it should not be forgotten that the 'holy fire' of the Greeks, now so ridiculed by the Romanists, was practised, if not invented, by their infallible Church, though the period of its abrogation has long since passed. But irrespectively of the solemnities of this Easter bear-garden, let any one consider the disgraceful wranglings* here exhibited between the Greek and Roman Churches, let him inspect the

ficulty by affirming of Macarius and his colleagues—"Je répondrai, qu'ils étaient dirigés par l'Esprit de Dieu:" (Monseign. Mislin, *Les Saints Lieux*, ii. 34:) while another asserts that "There is one passage of Scripture, and it is one of the most important in the New Testament, which explains this whole mystery, and proves the miracle beyond dispute—'The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall tell you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance which I have said unto you.'" (Dr. Aiton, *Lands of the Messiah, Mahomet, and the Pope*, p. 195.)

* What a disgrace to Christendom, that a Turkish pasha should feel it requisite to address the following exhortation to the Latin, Greek, and Armenian Christians of Jerusalem! "Seeing the anniversary of your Founder's death draws nigh, when pilgrims from all parts of the world are expected, I entreat you to live peaceably and harmoniously together, and approve yourselves as worthy examples to the various sheep which come under your care. I summoned you, on purpose, to this place, that this tomb—which, you say, once contained the body of your Lord and Master—may testify against you. Jesus,

parti-coloured plan of the Church prepared by Mr. Williams, let him read in the public journals the shameless contentions of the two Churches relative to the employment of money generously offered for the repairs of the structure by the liberal-minded Commander of the Faithful, let him reflect on the mercenary and heartless exactions on the poor pilgrims, on the profane traditions and awful superstitions of the place and its boasted meritorious efficacy, and he must confess that the system is one of incalculable injury to the souls of its devotees. So far then from the Church of the 'Holy Sepulchre' being the means of promoting a lively sympathy in the merits of Christ's sufferings, such feelings would be much enhanced were the edifice destroyed. Who can doubt that now the Valley of Gethsemane, with its gnarled olives, is viewed with greater interest as the probable site of the garden of Christ's sufferings, than was this same valley when the church which it once possessed was still existing?

"Oh! if the lichen now were free to twine
O'er the dark entrance of that rock-hewn cell,
Say, should we miss the gold-encrusted shrine,
Or incense fumes' intoxicating spell?
Would not the whispering breeze, as evening fell,
Mark deeper music in the palm-tree's shade
Than choral prayer, or chaunted ritual's swell?
Can the proud shafts of Helena's colonnade
Match thy time-hallowed stems, Gethsemane's holy glade?

The Pilgrimage, xxiii.

Quanto præstantius esset

Numen aquæ, viridi si margine clauderet undas
Herba, nec ingenum violarent marmora tophum!

Juv. Sat. iii.

The following passages from Gregory of Nyssa (A.D. 370.)

the son of Mary, enjoined peace upon all his followers. Follow ye, therefore, the path he appointed you." This took place in the year 1850. One would think that the honest Turk had discovered, in the Bible, that touchstone of Christianity—"By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, *If ye have love one to another.*"

and Jerome have been often quoted or referred to, but they cannot be too often repeated:—

“St. Gregory of Nyssa visited Jerusalem, where he had witnessed the grievous scandals which the rage for pilgrimages occasioned. On his return to his diocese, he was consulted by a Cappadocian priest on this subject, and his reply, which is still extant, contains a full exposition of his views on the benefit and expediency of such miracles. He sets forth, that the sacred writings do not reckon a visit to Jerusalem among the number of good works: that such journeys conduce not to virtue, and make nothing to heaven. . . What advantage then is to be derived from the holy places? Is it that Christ is still personally conversant among them, and cannot come to us? or is it that the Holy Spirit there abounds, and cannot pass hither? If the case were really so, if Jerusalem were more enriched with grace than other countries, it might be expected that its inhabitants should be less wicked; but so far as he had observed, the very contrary was the fact; there was no place more addicted to crime of the blackest dye.”* [Then apologizing for his own pilgrimage, he continues:—] “Neither was the journey necessary for the increase of his faith. Before he saw Bethlehem, he believed that the Son of God had assumed flesh in the womb of the Virgin; he believed the Resurrection, before he saw the Holy Sepulchre; and confessed the glorious Ascension, before he saluted the Mount of Olives. One only thing he had learnt on the journey,—that his own country was far more holy than foreign lands. It is not by change of clime that we shall come to God, but rather He will come to us wheresoever we be, if our soul be made meet for His habitation; while, on the contrary, if with hearts full of iniquity we fly to Golgotha, to Mount Olivet, or the Holy Sepulchre, we shall still be as far from Christ as though we had never known the principles of the faith. My friend,” [he concludes,] “persuade your brethren not to quit Cappadocia for Jerusalem, but to go out of their bodies that they may be joined to the Lord. . . . The Divine Spirit ‘bloweth where it listeth,’ and believers in this land shall partake of the gifts of grace according to the measure of faith, not by a visit to Jerusalem.”†

* Damoiseau, in 1818, writes—“Je ne vis, dans leur enceinte, que des hommes, avec l’ignorance, les passions, les faiblesses qu’ils ont presque partout.” (*Voy. en Syrie*, ii. 204.)

† S. Greg. Nyss. *Op.* vol. ii. pp. 1084-7, edit. Par. 1615. Mr. Williams, from whom I have quoted this extract, [vol. i. pp. 266-268] adduces this passage, and the following one from S. Jerome, with the object of showing that all the early fathers were influenced by similar sentiments, and, therefore, that it is exceedingly unjust to accuse them of superstitious doctrine. “Is this really one of those ancient doctors who are so frequently and freely charged with superstitious ignorance for their veneration for the sacred localities, and who, it is represented, took such pains to palm upon others the inventions of their own imagination, for filthy lucre’s sake?”

Jerome testifies to the same effect:—

“The city to be sought after and extolled, is not that which killed the Prophets and shed the blood of Christ,* but that which is made glad by the streams of the river; that which is set upon a hill and cannot be hid; that which the Apostle calls ‘the Mother of the Saints,’ in which he glories to be a fellow-citizen with the righteous. I dare not confine the Omnipotence of God in so narrow a boundary, nor limit within a certain district Him whom the Heavens cannot contain. Believers will be weighed, not by diversity of clime, but by their measure of faith; and ‘the true worshippers worship the Father neither at Jerusalem, nor yet on Mount Gerizim;’ for God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him, must worship Him in spirit and in truth.’ ‘The wind bloweth where it listeth’—‘The earth is the Lord’s, and the fulness thereof.’ After that the fleece of Judæa was dry, and the whole world sprinkled with the heavenly dew, and ‘many have come from the east and from the west, and laid down in Abraham’s bosom,’ from thenceforth God is no more known in Jewry only; His name is great not in Israel alone; but the voice of the Apostles has ‘gone forth into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.’ The place of the Cross and the Resurrection may be profitable to those who take up their cross daily, and rise with Christ, and show themselves meet for such an habitation; but for those who say ‘The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord,’ they must be reminded of the Apostle’s words, ‘Ye are the temple of the Lord, and the Holy Spirit *dwelleth in you.*’ An entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven is open equally from Britain, as from Jerusalem; for ‘the Kingdom of God is within you.’” †

“Well may the Turk, when Easter-tide collects
Its thousands for the Christian’s holiest week,
Scowl in contempt upon the wrangling sects
Who desecrate the shrine at which they seek
To bid their rival clouds of incense reek.
If to the grave, whence angels rolled the stone,
Alike by Latin, Copt, Armenian, Greek,
This be the reverence paid, the homage shown,—
Well had its site remained unnoticed and unknown!”

The Pilgrimage, xxv.

* The rebuke of our Lord to those who built the tombs of the prophets, and garnished the sepulchres of the righteous, is as instructive to Christians now, as it was to the Jews at the time it was uttered.

† S. Hieron., Epist. No. xlix; Williams, *H. C.*, i. 268-270. To a similar effect is the language of Justin Martyr, *Dial. cum Tryphon.*, p. 344, Edit. Thalem.

THE
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No. VIII.—MAY 1853.
SUPPLEMENT.

XVIII.

ON THE TRUE SITE OF CALVARY:

(Continued.)

CONCLUSIONS.

HAVING thus given as full a view of the opinions of previous writers as my space would permit, I proceed to put forward my own conclusions on the subject. In order to assist the reader in his investigation of the questions, I will put them in the form of propositions. I maintain—

1. That the situation of the Gates of the City, as described by Nehemiah, is clear and explicit; and that it is precisely conformable to what we may believe to have been the line of wall.

2. That a portion of the southern part of the city was defended by a Second wall, called the 'Great Wall,' probably erected by Agrippa at the time of building the Third or Outer wall on the northern side.

3. That the site of the so-called 'Holy Sepulchre' was inclosed by *two* walls on its western side.

4. That the 'Second Wall' must have commenced near to Hippicus, from consideration of the position of the Monument of the High Priest John.

5. That the filling in of the 'Asamonean Valley' was merely a narrow embankment, or causeway, connecting the acropolis of Antiochus with the Temple; and that the hill Acra, lowered by the Maccabees, was not the 'Lower City,' but the acropolis of the lower city.

6. That the 'Second Wall' was not curved on plan, as hitherto supposed; and that Bezetha occupied the entire northern side of the Temple.

7. That the supposed site of the 'Holy Sepulchre' is disproved, in addition to other evidence,—by 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14;—Jerem. xxxi. 39, 40;—by the traditional Pool of Bethesda,—and by the position of the High Priest John's monument.

8. That the 'Second' Temple, or Herod's Temple, was not, as is generally supposed, 400 cubits, or 500 according to the Talmud, but 600 cubits every way, and that it occupied, *including Antonia*, a perfect square.

9. That Golgotha was situate in the Valley of Hinnom, and that the Tomb of Joseph of Arimathea was among the neighbouring rocks.

I.

The situation of the Gates of the City, as described by Nehemiah, is clear and explicit, and is precisely conformable to what we may believe to have been the line of wall.

A most important point in the topography of Jerusalem, and one which is of vital consequence to the consideration of its antiquities, is the determination of the correct site of its gates and towers. Various have been the endeavours to effect this object, but hitherto without success. Even the critical Dr. Robinson acknowledges "In regard to the gates of the ancient Jerusalem there exists so much uncertainty that it would seem to be a vain undertaking to investigate the relative positions of them all."* With his usual discernment, however, he selects the right position for the Valley gate—"Now the North-west corner of Zion lies just at the head of the Valley of Gihon, or the upper part of Hinnom, and here would naturally be, and so far as we know, always has been, a gate—the Genath of Josephus. Here probably stood the Valley Gate, over against the Dragon Well of Gihon." He rightly conjectures, also, that the Dung Gate was probably on the West or South of Sion. But he is less precise in imagining that the Fountain Gate was by Siloam, for by this position he signifies, in common with previous writers, the position of my Water Gate: and

* *Bibl. Res.*, i. 471.

he is still more in error, by following these writers, in supposing that those of Benjamin and Ephraim were identical, and that the "Horse Gate, and some others," were in the internal walls of the city. He concludes by observing—"Further than this I could not venture to announce."* Mr. Williams is not thus cautious. He attempts to fix them all, with what success shall be presently seen. Now the reason of this difficulty and perplexity has been owing to the "traditions" with which the subject is enveloped. The well-meaning (?) monks, in their desire to account for every thing, have given Scriptural names to many of the gates, and these names, subject to occasional changes, have been too readily adopted by modern writers: and their starting points thus being wrong, they have found themselves involved in inextricable confusion. If we have made up our minds to believe all that the monks tell us, we must accept their data; but if we are desirous of ascertaining the truth, we must, as an unbiassed judge, dismiss from our minds whatever we have been told, and judge only from the facts laid before us.

The principal authoritative account of the Gates of the City is that contained in the Book of Nehemiah, which we will presently proceed to consider; though few explanations will be necessary, the plan itself being the best interpreter. In order to render this account as clear as possible, I have arranged the third and twelfth chapters in parallel columns. A few preliminary remarks on the streets of Jerusalem will help us more easily to understand the position of the gates.

The principal streets of Jerusalem appear to have been those which gave access to the principal Gates. Thus we have the 'Street of the Gate of Ephraim,' (Neh. viii. 16,) the 'East Street,' (2 Chron. xxix. 4,) and the 'Street of the Water Gate.' (Neh. viii. 1, 3, 16.)

Another large area appears to have been the Sheep Market, (John v. 2,) which was possibly contiguous to the Sheep Gate,†

* *Id.*, p. 473, 474.

† See Brocardus; and *Holy City*, p. 401.

which supposition is confirmed by the circumstance of Nehemiah's beginning to build the walls from this point. So far as we can judge from the order of names in the third Chapter of Nehemiah, this cannot have been far from the present St. Stephen's Gate, more especially as we know that the 'Sheep Pool' was in this neighbourhood.

The 'Street of the Water Gate' appears to have corresponded with the Southern branch of the Tyropæon. This part of the city, which formed a suburb to the other portions, appears to have been called Millo.* It was "at the going down to Silla."† (or Siloah?) The gate probably received its name from being that through or near which the conduits from the Pools of Siloam passed.

The 'East Street' may have led to the most easterly part of the city.

The 'Street of the House of God' (Ezra x. 9) may have led to one of the Western Gates of the Temple, from Zion or Acra; or to the Southern Gate, from Ophel, and Solomon's Palace.

Another principal street was probably along the upper portion of the Valley of the Tyropæon, leading up to the 'Valley Gate.' When we consider that Jerusalem is girt about on three sides with deep valleys, the reason is not at first sight obvious why one of the gates of the city should be called, *par excellence*, the "Gate of the Valley." But it so happens that the Joppa Gate is the only gate of the city which opens *in a line* with a valley, and there is therefore no doubt that it acquired this name in consequence thereof, especially when it must always have been the most frequented entrance into the city. A strong corroboration of this supposition is afforded by finding these streets, with the exception of the East Street, continuing to be

* "Millo" signifies a "filling-in." (*Univ. Anc. Hist.*, iv. 229.)

The probability of this interpretation is rendered questionable, by finding the word occur in the Book of Judges. (see ix. 6.)

† II Kings, xii. 20. Compare *Holy City*, p. 23, note.

the principal streets of the modern city.* It was therefore in the Street of the Valley Gate that the princes and the priests assembled on the occasion of the dedication of the walls by Nehemiah: and it was probably this same 'Street of the (Valley) Gate of the City' where Hezekiah, after he had brought water into the city, assembled the captains: (2 Chron. xxxii. 6:) and it is further remarkable that Josephus begins his description at this same point. (*Bell.* v. 4, § 2.) It was probably from this circumstance that it acquired the name of the 'First Gate,' (Zech. xiv. 10,) and it would appear from this that all the gates may have been numbered, especially as we find mention of a 'Second Gate.'† (Zeph. i. 10.)

On reaching the Valley Gate, the princes and the people parted in two companies; one company going Northward to the Prison Gate, the other Southward, to the Water Gate. This, then, is the reason why the Valley Gate is not mentioned in the twelfth Chapter of Nehemiah, and not, as imagined by Mr. Williams, that it was identical with the Gate of Ephraim; for the 'Tower of the Furnaces' and the 'Broad Wall,' lay between these two gateways.‡

* "The principal modern streets are...the one leading to the Yaffa Gate...that leading to St. Stephen's Gate, [the Via Dolorosa,] that below the Pool of Hezekiah, that of the Bazaar, and that along the hollow parallel to the Haram." (Robinson, *Bibl. Res.*, p. 395.) To these might have been added 'the street leading to the Damascus gate. The street parallel to the Haram, I believe to be the Street of the Water Gate.

"In some of the principal streets very large flags are seen, polished by long use, and said, not without probability, to have belonged to the ancient city. The direction of the principal thoroughfares is determined by the nature of the ground, and must always have been essentially the same as at present. It is in these that the ancient flags are found." (Dr. Olin's *Travels*, ii. 133.) See also Rosenmueller, *Bibl. Geog.*, ii. ii. 224. "Da Jerusalem auf mehreren Hügeln lag, so müssen da, wo diese durch Thäler getrennt sind, die Strassen hergab begangen seyn."

† One of the gates of the Temple was called "the Third Entry that is in the House of the Lord." Jerem. xxxviii. 14.

‡ Compare Neh. iii. 8, 11; xii. 38, and *Holy City*, p. 391.

WALL OF NEHEMIAH.

CHAPT. III.

1. Sheep Gate.
Tower of Meah.
Tower of Hananeel.
2. *Men of Jericho.*
Zaccur, the son of Imri.
3. Fish Gate.
4. *Meremoth, the son of Urijah.*
Meskillam, the son of Berechiah.
Zadok, the son of Baana.
5. *The Tekoites.*
6. Old Gate.
7. *Melatiah, Jadon, the men of Gibeon*
and the men of Mizpah.
The throne of the governor on this side the river.
8. *Uzziel, the goldsmith, and Hananiah the apo-*
thecary.
The Broad-wall.
9. *Rephaiah, the ruler of the half part of Jerusalem.*
10. *Jedaiah, the son of Harumaph.*
Hattush, the son of Hashabniah.
11. The other piece.
Tower of the Furnaces.
12. *Shallum, the ruler of the half part of Jerusalem.*
13. Valley Gate. (See also ii. 13.)
(1000 cubits to the)
14. Dung Gate, *by the ruler of part of Beth-haccerem.*
15. Fountain Gate.
The wall of the Pool of Siloah.
(by the)
King's Garden.
Stairs that go down from the city of David.
16. *Nehemiah, the ruler of the half part of Bethzur.*
Place over against the sepulchres of David.
To the Pool that was made. (See also ii. 14.)
To the house of the mighty.
17. *The Levites.*
Hashabiah, the ruler of the half part of Keilah.
18. *Bavai, the ruler of the half part of Keilah.*
19. *Ezer, the ruler of Mizpah.*
Piece over against the going up to the Armoury,
(at the)
Turning of the wall.
20. The other piece, to the house of Eliashib, the high
priest.
21. Over against the house of Eliashib, the high priest.
22. *The Priests. The men of the plain*
23. Over against the house of Benjamin and Hashub.
Over against the house of Azariah.
24. Turning of the wall, even the corner
25. Tower which lieth out of the King's high house,
(that was by the)
Court of the Prison.
Pedaiah, the son of Parosh.
26. *The Nethinims who dwelt in Ophul, unto*
The place over against the Water Gate, towards
the east.
Tower that lieth out.
27. *The Tekoites*

CHAPT. XII.

39. Sheep Gate.
 39. Tower of Neah.
 39. Tower of Hananeel.
 39. Fish Gate.
 39. Old Gate.
 39. Gate of Ephraim.
 38. The Broad-wall.
 38. Tower of the Furnaces.
-
- ↑
*
↓
-
31. Dung Gate. (ii. 13.)
 37. Fountain Gate. (ii. 14.)
 37. Stairs of the City of Da-
vid, at the going up of
the wall, above the house
of David.
 37. Water Gate.
-
39. Prison Gate.

- Over against the Great Tower that lieth out.
Wall of Ophel.
28. Horse Gate, *by the Priests.*
29. Over against the house of Zadok, the son of Immer.
 Shemaiah, the son of Shechaniah, the keeper of
 the East Gate.
30. *Hananiah, the son of Shelamiah, and Hanun*
 the sixth son of Zalaph.
Over against the house of Meshullam.
31. *Malchiah the goldsmith.*
Place of the Methinims.
Place of the Merchants.
Over against the gate Miphkad
 (and to the)
Going up of the corner.
32. *This Goldsmiths and the Merchants.*
Sheep Gate.
39. Sheep Gate.

We have already seen the evidence which exists for the probability of the Sheep Gate being in the position indicated on the plan. After leaving this, the first point we can identify is the Tower of Hananeel.* This, it is certain, stood at the north-east corner of the second wall; for in two other passages, where the name of this tower is mentioned, it is described as occupying one extremity of the city. (Jerem. xxxi. 38, Zech. xiv. 10.) Near this was the Fish Gate, for this also is spoken of as being at one extreme end of the city. (Zeph., i. 10.)†

The name of the 'Gate of Ephraim' does not occur in the third chapter, but we meet with it in the parallel passage in the twelfth chapter, as also in II. Kings, xiv. 13, and II. Chron., xxv. 23, where we are told that it was 400 cubits west of the Tower of Hananeel. (II. Kings, xiv. 3.) Its position, moreover, has been long identified with the present Damascus Gate. The 'Broad-wall' seems to correspond pretty well with the length of wall which follows this. The Valley Gate I have already endeavoured to identify with Hippicus.‡ (pp. 410, 411.)

* The Tower of Meah, or Emath, I conjecture to have stood at the angle of the old wall.

† Its situation is possibly to be fixed at about 300 feet distance from the Gate of Ephraim, where remains of an old gateway may yet be traced. (Traill's *Josephus*, p. xxv.) It is supposed by some to have supplied the city with fish from the Jordan.

‡ The towers, Hippicus and Phasaëlus, correspond with the N.W. and N.E. towers of the 'castle of David.' (*Holy City*, Suppl. p. 75, and vol. ii. 14-16.)

As the position of the Valley Gate and the Dung Gate is most important

It was before this gate that the 'Dragon-well' existed, (Neh. ii. 13,) which there is little doubt is represented by the 'upper pool.' A tower was built at this gateway by Uzziah. (II. Chron. xxvi. 9.) At the distance of 1000 cubits from this stood the 'Dung Gate.' Up to this point we have had no difficulty. The 'Fountain Gate,' which comes next, is generally placed opposite to my Water Gate: but that it could not have been there is obvious from the places which are mentioned subsequently. I therefore conclude that the 'Fountain Gate' was so named because it was *over against* the fountain of Siloam. Krafft places the Fountain Gate in this position, and says,—“A pathway still exists, going down to the valley.” After this, for the same reason, follows the 'Wall of the Pool of Siloah.’* This, the narrative goes on to say, was “by the

to a correct understanding of the topography of Jerusalem, especially as regards the site of Calvary, it is satisfactory to find that the position assigned to these gates in the accompanying map is approved of by Offerhaus, Rosenmüller, Thenius, and Leeman: “Porta maxime Boream respiciens nuncupatur Porta Vallis, siquidem hæc patebat aditus in vallem Gihon, quæ ad occidentem erat. Inter Portam Vallis, et Portam Fontis, ad occidentem intermedia erat Porta Fimeti, quæ et Stercoris, ac Sterquillinii vocatur.” (C. G. Offerhausii, *Exercit. Philolog. vet. Hieros.*, 1718, xii. 24; xix. 38.) “Geht man von Norden nach Süden zu, kommt man zuerst an das Thalthor, welches vermuthlich von dem Thale Gihon seinen Namen erhalten hat.” (E. F. K. Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Geog.* ii. Bd. ii. Th.) See the plans accompanying Leeman's *Palästina*, and Thenius, *Vorexilische Jerusalem*. Villalpandus and Lamy, as we shall presently see, also place these gates on the west of the city, but more northward, so as to suit the church of the 'Holy Sepulchre.' Krafft also places them on the west side. (*Jerus.*, plan, and pp. 20, 151.)

* A large pool is mentioned as having formerly existed at a short distance south of the pool of Siloam, but now converted into a garden. (*Holy City*, Suppl., p. 110.) It is evident from Nehemiah, ii. 14, that the king's pool was outside the city. In iii. 15, the pool of Siloah is connected with the king's garden; and this pool is mentioned long before Ophel is described. (vv. 24-27.) Again, in Josephus (*Bell.* v. 6, § 1), we find that Siloam was in the occupation of Simon, and Ophla in that of John, which they could not have been if they had been together: and from vi. 9, § 4 it would appear that the Romans had had possession of Siloam from an early period of the siege, probably at the period of taking the lower city, when the valley of the Tyropœon would thus be opened to them: for it was by this same valley that the Romans, after t

king's garden:" and the nature of this valley, sheltered by the "two walls," seems to render it a desirable place for such a purpose. It was probably by some concealed sally-port, or private door, that Zedekiah fled, "by the way of the king's garden, by the way betwixt the two walls." (II. Kings xxv. 4, Jerem. xxxix. 4.) The circumstance that the 'king's garden' is mentioned before the 'way betwixt the two walls,' is confirmatory of the position here assigned for the king's garden, in preference to that usually pointed out. Next, we meet with the 'Stairs that go down from the City of David,' the situation of which well agrees with the locality. It was in this spot, as we shall presently see, that the 'Water Gate' existed, although in the detailed account of chapter ii. it is not mentioned till in the 26th verse. Whether the phrase 'the street that was *before* the Water Gate' signifies the inside or the outside of that gate is uncertain, but either situation would be alike favourable for the congregation of a large multitude; some of whom would line the walls, and others clothe the banks in the manner of a theatre. (Neh. viii. 1, 3.)

The next paragraph clearly shows that the 'Sepulchres of David' could not have been at the site pointed out by tradition, on the south side of Zion.* It will be seen by the map, that I have placed the Sepulchre of David, conjecturally, at some distance

conquest of the temple, drove the Jews out of the lower city, and set all on fire, as far as Siloam. (vi. 7, § 2.) May there not, therefore, have been another pool in this neighbourhood, as we know that others have existed in the valley of the Tyropœon, and in the vicinity of the temple, and may not this pool have been on the slope of Zion, by the 'king's garden,' and in a line with the aqueduct from Solomon's pools? It would appear that the pool of Siloam is different from this pool in Nehemiah, for the proper reading here is "The pool of *Shelahh*, in the king's garden." (Lightfoot, *Chorog. Inq.*, v. 3.) Pocock describes a large vaulted cistern at the N.W. angle of the temple: (ii. i. 10:) and the Placentine Pilgrim refers to a large pool on each side of the temple.

* "The 'sepulchres of the house of David' were removed out of their places." (Lightfoot, *Chorog. Cent.* xxxviii.) Compare with this the prophecy in Jerem. viii. 1. Dion Cassius relates that in the year U.C. 886 (A.D. 133) the Sepulchre of Solomon (or David) fell down of itself. "Monumentum Salomonis, quem illi summa reverentia colunt, sua sponte dissolutum corruerat." (lib. lxix. 14, p. 1162.)

within the walls, or outside of them. This appears to be expressed by the words "*over against.*" It seems very possible that they

We have no notice of this tomb from the time of St. Luke (Acts ii. 29) to the 11th century, when we find the following Jewish tradition:—

"Fifteen years ago, (A.D. 1173,) one of the walls of the place of worship on Mount Sion fell down, which the patriarch ordered the priests to repair. He commanded to take stones from the original wall of Sion and to employ them for that purpose: which command was obeyed. About twenty journeymen were hired at stated wages, who broke stones from the very foundations of the walls of Sion. Two of these labourers, who were intimate friends, upon a certain day treated one another and repaired to their work after their friendly meal. The overseer questioned them about their tardiness, but they answered that they would still perform their day's work, and would employ thereupon the time during which their fellow-labourers were at meals. They then continued to break out stones, and happened to meet with one which formed the mouth of a cavern. They agreed with one another to enter the same and to search for treasure, in pursuit of which they proceeded onward until they reached a large hall supported by pillars of marble, encrusted with gold and silver, and before which stood a table with a golden sceptre and crown. This was the sepulchre of David, king of Israel, to the left of which they saw that of Solomon in a similar state, and so on the sepulchres of all the kings of Judah who were buried there. They further saw locked chests the contents of which nobody knew, and they desired to enter the hall, but a blast of wind like a storm issued forth from the mouth of the cavern, strong enough to throw them down, almost lifeless, on the ground. There they lay until evening, when another wind rushed forth, from which they heard a noise, like that of a human being, calling aloud—'Get up, and go forth from this place.' The men came out in great haste and full of fear, and proceeded to the patriarch and reported what had happened to them. This ecclesiastic summoned into his presence Rabbi Abraham el Constantini, a pious ascetic, one of the mourners of the fall of Jerusalem, and caused the two labourers to repeat what they had previously reported. Rabbi Abraham thereupon informed the patriarch that they had discovered the sepulchres of the house of David and of the kings of Judah. The following morning the labourers were sent for again, but they were found stretched on their beds, and still full of fear; they declared that they would not attempt to go again to the cave, as it was not God's will to discover it to anyone. The patriarch ordered the place to be walled up, so as to hide it effectually from everyone until the present day. The above-mentioned Rabbi Abraham told me all this." (Rabbi Benjamin, of Tudela, *Itinerary*, translated by A. Asher, pp. 73-75.) This story is defended by Klenker, *Salomon. Denkwurdig.*, 124; Michaelis, *Zerstreute Kleine Schriften*, 457-460; and Münter, Bishop of Zealand, *Antiq. Abhand.*, 106-116; all of whom attribute the story to an explosion of foul air.

may have been without the walls.* After the Sepulchres, passing the wall over against 'the pool that was made' and the 'house of the mighty,' or the giants' house, we have the 'piece over against the going up to the Armoury,' by which notice we have a conclusive proof of the general accuracy of the disposition of the gates we have already fixed, in the circumstance that Josephus describes the 'Armoury' as existing in the Temple. (*Ant.* ix. 7, § 2.) This was situated at the 'turning of the wall,' at which place may have been the third tower built by Uzziah,† and it is precisely at this point that we find the wall turning down southward to enclose Ophel. Here again we have evidence of this determination of the walls being the right one. It has been shewn by the learned Psalmanazar,‡ that the Hebrew word here employed, *Miksoah*, signifies a *re-entering* or *internal* angle; and it is a happy coincidence, that of the many corners and turnings of the wall this is the only one which is described as being an open angle. The learned Jesuit, Villalpandus, makes a similar observation, and defines *Michtsoagh* to be "*recessus nempe et sinus.*" The same word occurs in II. Chron. xxvi. 9, where we learn that it was at this turning that Uzziah built a tower. After passing a considerable distance we again come to a 'turning of the wall, even the corner,' which would be that by the Pool of Siloam; and close by this is the 'tower that lieth out from the king's high house,'§ which tower may be that built by Uzziah, and here was probably the 'Gate of the Corner,' mentioned in Jeremiah (xxxi. 38), which would, therefore, be different from the 'Corner Gate' of Zechariah (i. 10.) This Tower, the

* Dr. Pococke considered it "probable that the 'garden of the kings' was the fixed burial place of the kings, it being the ancient eastern custom to bury in their own houses or gardens." (*Desc. of the East*, vol. ii. pt. I. p. 9.) Dr. Thénius places the tombs in this position in his map of Jerusalem. (Otto Thénius, *Das vorexilische Jerusalem, und dessen Tempel*, taf. i.) This vicinity to the Temple seems indicated by Ezek. xliii. 7, 9. (Hitzig, *Ezek.*, Böttcher, *Exeg. Krit. Achrenlese z. Alt. Test.*) † II. Chron. xxvi. 9. ‡ *Univ. Anc. Hist.* iv. 221.

§ Solomon is believed to have had a palace either on the temple mount, or south of it, (Wil. Tyr. viii. 7, p. 748; xii. 7, p. 820,) which palace might afterwards have been enclosed by Jotham.

sacred narrative goes on to say, 'was by the court of the 'prison,' and in this locality, 'therefore, we must place the 'Prison Gate.'

The next part described is 'the place over against the Water Gate, towards the *east*:' the words *over against* clearly indicating that the Water Gate was not on this point, but in some other wall opposite to it on the *west*; and this fact is remarkably and most satisfactorily confirmed by the twelfth chapter, where we find one company proceeding along the west and south walls to the Water Gate; and the other company going along the west, north, and east walls, and stopping at the Prison Gate, the situation of which, if we regarded the order of the 26th verse, rather than its signification, would carry us *beyond* the Water Gate,* where the other company was assembled, which would be an impossibility. On examining the plan it will be seen that the two companies were thus assembled on the south of the temple, where I have imagined to have been the grand ascent to the House of the Lord, built by Solomon. The presumption therefore is that they met in this spot, in order to proceed together to the Temple to complete the ceremonies of consecration. The situation of the Water Gate is rightly assigned by Brocardus—"The place where is now the Water Gate, between Mount Zion and Solomon's palace which stood on the south side of Mount Moriah." (*Itin.* viii.) From here extended the eastern 'wall of Ophel,'† the enclosure of which was commenced by Jotham, (II. Chron. xxvii. 3,) and completed by Manasseh. (II. Chron. xxxiii. 14.)‡ The next gate mentioned.

* This position of the Water Gate agrees with the Talmud, according to which it was near the south of the temple, close by the chamber where the council of the Sanhedrim sat: (*Middoth* i. 4, p. 237.) The place of the 'coming down of the waters' was also in this locality. (*Holy City*, ii. 465.)

† The word Ophel occurs twice in the plan. I have supposed that at first a small portion of ground adjoining the Temple was *lifted up*, [as it is explained by Psalmanazar, *Anc. Univ. Hist.*, iv. 229,] so as to make the palace of Solomon, which might have been afterwards built upon it, more nearly on a level with the Temple; and that the name was subsequently given to the whole tongue of land. Respecting the position of Solomon's palace, see Ezek. xliii. 8.

‡ Dr. Robinson describes scarped rocks 960 feet south of the temple area, as evidently having once formed a portion of the line of wall. (i. 460 n. 5.)

is the Horse Gate, which was repaired by the priests, and, therefore, was near the temple, on its south side: * it was also "by the king's house," (II. Chron., xxiii. 15; II. Kings, xi. 16,) and looked "towards the east, unto the brook of Kidron." (Jerem. xxxi. 40.) The 'East Gate,' mentioned in Neh. v. 29, might probably be the eastern gate of the outer court, but it is more probable that it was the principal gate of the temple, which was the eastern gate of the inner court. The goldsmiths, the Nethinims, and the merchants, mentioned in the 31st and 32nd verses, may refer to the temple, where we know that they formed their place of business,† or they may refer to the inhabitants of Maktesh,‡ which signifies a hollow; for it was here that the merchants resided.§ The Gate Miphkad was another internal gate, "over against" which the wall was carried. The 'going up of the corner,' next specified, may designate the north-east angle of the temple, or the angle of junction of the second wall with the wall of the temple; and thus we get again to the Sheep Gate.||

By this arrangement of the gates, we find the description given to us by Nehemiah, clear, full, and distinct, instead of being contradictory and uncertain, as hitherto supposed: and thus, by having a clear idea of the true position of the gates, we are enabled to understand other passages of the Bible which refer to them. Thus in Zeph. i. 10, at the denouncement of

* In confirmation of this we find the *Hippodrome*, mentioned by Josephus, as existing to the south of the temple: (*Bell.* ii, 3, § 1.; *Ant.* xvii. 10, § 2:) and a Jewish and Moslem tradition attaches the name of 'Solomon's stables' to the vaults under the southern part of the Haram. (Benjamin of Tudela, and Mejr-ed-din, ii. 95.)

† There were shops on each side of the East Gate. (*Sanhed.*, xi. 2, quoted by Lightfoot, *Chorog. Cent.*, xxviii.) See also *Prospect of the Temple*, ch. ix; and *Bibl. Res.*, i. 417, referring to Matt. xxi. 12, and the parallel passages.

§ Psalmanazar, *Univ. Anc. Hist.*, iv. 227.

‡ Zeph. i. 11.

|| One other gate requires to be noticed, though it is not referred to in Nehemiah. It is 'the High Gate of Benjamin, that was by the house of the Lord,' (Jerem. xx. 2,) which definition clearly shows that it could not have been as often stated, identical with the gate of Ephraim. Arculphus placed it about 1000 feet west of the north-east angle. This gate appears to have been of some conse-

woes against Jerusalem, it is said—"there shall be the noise of a cry from the Fish Gate, and an howling from the Second (Gate), and a great crashing from the hills:" meaning from the north to the south, from one end of the city to the other, even round about: and at the re-establishment of the city, it is said—"the city shall be built to the Lord, from the tower of Hananeel unto the gate of the corner;" (Jerem. xxxi. 38;) and in Zech. xiv. 10—"It shall be lifted up, and inhabited in her place, from Benjamin's Gate unto the place of the First Gate, unto the Corner Gate; and from the tower of Hananeel unto the king's winepresses;" (or gardens;) signifying from east to west and from north to south.*

The reader who has gone through the examination of these passages, will now be in a position to judge of the value of Mr. Williams's arrangement. The *Sheep Gate* he places to the north of the temple. (*Suppl.* p. 109.) On the position of the *Fish Gate* he thus reasons:—"The Fish Gate is in *juxtaposition* with the 'second' in Zeph. i. 10: [on the contrary, it is in *antithesis*:] by which 'second' must be understood that part of Jerusalem which was inhabited by Huldah the prophetess, and

quence, both from its vicinity, if not connexion with the Temple, and from its being furnished with stocks for the punishment of criminals. It is also referred to in Jerem. xxxvii. 13, and Zech. xiv. 10.

* Some discrepancy exists as to the circuit of the walls. The 'Syrian land surveyor' gives it as 27 stadia; Josephus at 33; Timochares and Aristetas at 40; while Hecatæus augments the measure to 50 stadia. D'Anville (*Appendix IV* to Chateaubriand's *Travels in Greece, Palestine, &c.*) endeavours to reconcile the first two statements, by supposing a difference in the length of the cubit; but there is no necessity for such an expedient. The accompanying plan happens to be of exactly 33 stadia in circumference, though drawn without reference to that measure; it being based on the ordnance survey, but carrying the outer wall more northward, so as to inclose the 'tombs of the kings', and to follow the sinuosities of the brook Kidron. Again, the 'Syrian land-surveyor' lived in the time of Eusebius, at which period the greater portion of Bezetha had reverted into cornfields and olive groves, and the remaining portion of the city, supposing the whole of Zion and Ophel to have been inclosed as formerly, would then differ only one stadium and a half from the 27 stadia then given. The other dimensions probably included the suburbs of the city.

of which Judah, the son of Senuah, was governor. (II. Chron. xxxiv. 22; Neh. xi. 9.) And I have no doubt that this is the part of the city which was fortified with a *second*, or ‘another wall,’ by Hezekiah.” (p. 113.) On this foundation he proceeds to build an argument in support of his favourite Tyropœon. Quoting II. Chron. xxxiii. 14, “he (Manasseh) built a wall . . . on the west side of Gihon, in the valley, even to the entering in at the Fish Gate,” and then finding the Fish Gate and Gihon in “juxtaposition,” (though separated by an adverb and a preposition, denoting considerable distance,) he argues: “The Tyropœon of Josephus will then be the Gihon, on whose west side Manasseh built the wall in the valley; and this will be identical with ‘Millo, the city of David,’ repaired by Hezekiah, the same with Parbar, or the suburbs.” (p. 114.)

The *Corner Gate* he places near the Gate Gennath. “It was so named from the angle at the junction of the first and second walls . . . and the *tower of the Furnaces* was the tower built by Uzziah at that Corner Gate. The *Gate of Ephraim* would then be 400 cubits to the north of this, not far from the Porta Judiciaria, and the *Broad-wall* between the two might be the part strengthened with a double wall by Hezekiah. The *Old Gate* would then be in the same west wall, between the Gate of Ephraim and the *Fish Gate*, which last corresponded perhaps in position with the present Damascus Gate.” (*Id.*) The towers of Meah and Hananeel “may have afterwards formed part of the tower Antonia.”* (p. 115, vol. i, p. 75, 76.)

The *Valley Gate*, which he considered to be identical with the Gate of Ephraim, he placed in the first edition (p. 391 and 285) at the present Damascus Gate, in the *north wall*: (see *ante*, p. 350:) in his second edition, (*Suppl.*, p. 42,) he makes the Sheep Gate and the Valley Gate identical, and places them at St. Stephen’s Gate, and in p. 115, he says—“It must, I think, be a gate leading into a valley of the Kedron,” that is to say, on the *east* of the city: a few pages after, he acknowledges, that

* He adds, with reason,—“But I would rather place the tower of Hananeel at the north-east angle.”

with respect to the Valley Gate "I have some misgivings, because I could rather believe that the Valley Gate led into the valley of Hinnom, than into the Kedron. But I see no escape from the conclusion at which I have arrived." He then goes on to identify the Dragon-well, which was before the Valley Gate, with the Fountain of the Virgin: "and it is a curious coincidence, mentioned by Dr. Schultz, in confirmation of this hypothesis, that the rise and fall of the water in this intermitting spring, is popularly ascribed to a dragon that lies concealed in it;" (p. 119, 120;) thus fixing it on the *south* of the city: and lastly, in vol. ii, p. 55, he states that "the Valley Gate would probably be found in the *west* wall" of what he appears to consider as his *lower* Acra, in contradistinction of his *hill* Acra. Thus we have this Valley Gate, like the man in the play, changing his dress, and performing a different part in four different scenes: and yet this is the writer who says of Dr. Robinson—"Diruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis"!

The *Sepulchres of David* he naturally places at the traditional tomb: the *Armoury at the turning* "will very well suit the position of the Hippic tower:" and he refers to *Sol's. Song*, iv. 4: (p. 117:) "there can be no question," etc. (1st edit., p. 415.) "The *turning of the wall*, in Neh. iii. 24, is probably the north-east angle of Mount Sion." (p. 118.)

"The '*court of the Prison* in the king's house of Judah', in which the prophet Jeremiah was confined, is evidently the same with this in Nehemiah, and since the 'stocks that were in the *high gate of Benjamin*, which was by the house of the Lord', were probably connected with this prison, I think that we may assume the identity of the high gate with the 'third entry that is in the house of the Lord,' where king Zedekiah conferred with the captive prophet, which gate I believe to be called Miphkad by Nehemiah, [impossible,] the Shallecheth of more ancient times, the Bab-es-Salsala, or gate of the *chain* of the modern Haram, a sufficiently appropriate synonym for the Prison Gate, and another remarkable instance of happy coin-

cidence, probably not accidental." (*Id.*) The reader will not fail to perceive that this 'Court of the Prison' being recognized by Mr. Williams in the 'Gate of Benjamin', and in the 'Third Entry', is made to exist on the north, west, and south sides at the same time; but what will the reader say when he is told that this dreadful *chain* is common to the doors of nearly all the khans, and some other buildings in the east, and is used in way of protection, or to suspend a lantern!

The *Water Gate*, like the Valley Gate, is made to do suit and service on more than one occasion. In vol. ii. 23, he places it near to Hippicus, in order to shew that the gate near that tower, mentioned by Josephus, (*Bell.* v. 6, § 6,) could not have been, as supposed by Dr. Robinson, the Gate Gennath; for this would have been fatal to his Second Wall: and subsequently, by means of a double transformation, he changes the position of the Water Gate to that of the south gate of the temple; and the fortress Acra in the Lower City, to the fortress Baris or Antonia on the Temple Mount; and then quoting Neh. xii. 37, "And at the Fountain Gate, which was over against them," (which he places at Siloam,) "they went up by the stairs of the *city of David*,*... even unto the Water Gate," he deduces that Ophel, and Moriah, and consequently his fortress Acra, must have been called the 'city of David' (!) (ii. 476); the object of all this laboured distortion of the truth being to reconcile his supposed line of Hezekiah's aqueduct with the simple statement of Holy Scripture, that "Hezekiah brought the upper watercourse of Gihon straight down to the west side of the *City of David*."

Thus then we see that in his *elucidation* of the clear and explicit account of Nehemiah, Mr. Williams has broken the continuity of the narrative, and actually *reads a considerable portion of it backwards*; making the north wall, described in verses 1—12, run from the east to the west: and the remaining verses, 13—32, refer to the southern wall, running also

* See also *First Edit.* p. 396.

from east to west. (Instead of from west to east.) With Siloam as a "starting point" he traces the wall "round the upper city, to its junction with the second wall." "Hence following the course of the north wall of Sion . . . we come to . . . the north-east angle of Mount Sion." (*Suppl.* p. 121.) Two circumstances suggest themselves on this subject: one is, how little reliance can be placed on mere tradition, unless supported by facts; the other, how little weight can be attached to arguments brought forward by a writer like Mr. Williams, who is so little scrupulous about the justice of his fundamental premises.*

II.

A portion of the Southern part of the City was defended by a 'Second Wall,' called the 'Great Wall,' probably erected by Agrippa, at the time of building the Third or outer wall, on the Northern side.

Having thus examined the line of walls repaired by Nehemiah, let us turn to Josephus, who describes the walls of this portion of the city. "Simon held the Upper City, and the Great Wall as far as Cedron, and as much of the Old Wall as bent from Siloam to the East, and which went down to the Palace of Monobazus, who was King of the Adiabeni beyond Euphrates: he also held that fountain and Acra. . . . But John held the Temple, and the parts thereto adjoining for a great way, as also Ophla, and the valley called the Valley of Cedron." (*Bell.* v. 6, § 1.) This description, which by former plans must have appeared perplexing and contradictory, becomes, by the arrangement here given, clear and intelligible. A wall had been built across the valley, from the Southern parts of Zion to Ophel, probably by Agrippa, and enclosing the King's gardens,

* Though the conjectural lines of wall in the accompanying plan are represented as nearly straight, we must suppose them to be varied by the introduction of towers. Tacitus thus describes them:—"Two hills that rose to a prodigious height, were inclosed by walls constructed with skill; in some places projecting forwards, and in others retiring inwardly; with the angles so formed that the besiegers were always liable to be annoyed in flank." (*Hist.* v. 11.) The towers were 60 to 120 feet high: Antonia rose above all.

and Siloam. This wall, extending as far as Kidron, is, from its length and possible magnitude, called by Josephus, the 'Great Wall,' being thus distinguished from the 'Old Wall' which bent from Siloam towards the East,* (correctly speaking North-east,) and which then went down by the Palace of Monobazus,† (which probably occupied the site of the 'King's high house' of Nehemiah :) that is to say, Simon's portion of the city extended up to this wall; for the wall itself, as forming part of Ophel, must have belonged to John.

III. IV.

The site of the so-called 'Holy Sepulchre' was enclosed by two walls on its Western side.

The Second Wall must have commenced near to Hippicus, from consideration of the monument of the High Priest John.

An objection has been urged by Dr. Olin as to the line of Second Wall being placed westward of the accepted site of the 'Holy Sepulchre,' that if this wall were so near to the outer wall, how could Titus be supposed to attack the upper City at a point where he would be exposed to the missiles cast from the side wall, and where he would be fighting with more disadvantage than in any other position. This objection is met by Dr. Robinson, in showing that Titus, after he had broken through the outer wall, was conscious of the weakness of his position, and therefore, instead of turning to attack the Wall of Zion, and thereby expose his flank to the enemy posted on the line of the second wall, he resolved to make himself master of this second wall, before he attempted to attack the first.

* This passage has been misunderstood by Mr. Williams, who in interpreting it as referring to the east wall of Mount Sion, takes occasion to state, that Dr. Robinson has "overlooked the important passage," when, in fact, it has no connexion with such wall. (*Holy City*, p. 105.)

† For other notices of this palace, which was built by Grepte, a relation of Izates, King of the Adiabeni, see *Bell.* iv. 9, § 11; and vi. 7, § 1. It was a place of great strength, (*Id.*) as we might infer from the words of Nehemiah respecting the former buildings. Mr. Williams erroneously identifies it with Agrippa's palace on Mount Zion. (*Holy City*, p. 105.)

But, as exhibited on my plan, I conceive that the North-west angle of the City was enclosed with a separate wall by Manasseh, and therefore that this portion of the City was defended with a double or second wall, equally with Acra or the Lower City. This supposition, though in apparent opposition to Josephus, (according to whom the portion of wall between Gennath and Hippicus was not defended by *the* 'Second wall,') will be found liable to no objection, but rather confirmed by the apparent difficulty. If, as has been hitherto supposed, and as at first appears from the statement by Josephus, the Second Wall had no communication with the outer wall, and consequently the portion of the wall of Mount Zion from Hippicus to the Gennath Gate, was protected only by the outer or Third wall, then there could have been no object in Titus's having commenced his attack at this portion of the outer wall, rather than at the more Northerly parts of the new city. On the contrary, the more distant the part might lie from the other walls, so much less easily could it be defended. This point then was selected, because it opposed to him one less wall to overcome: and having once passed the outer wall in a position between Hippicus and the Tower of the Furnaces, Titus would have turned the portion of wall connecting the Tower of the Furnaces and the Broad Wall, which would thus assist him in gaining the Second Wall; and then, by the same process, making use of this second Wall as a bulwark from which to annoy the enemy, and to protect the advance of his machines, he would prepare to attack the old or First Wall.

This plan of operations we find to have been followed out: having taken the Second Wall, Titus destroyed the Northern portion, but "put men into the Towers of the Southern extremities, in order that he might attack the Old Wall." *

An important point in the topography of Jerusalem as indicating the line of the Second Wall, is the position of the High Priest John's monument. Judging only from the first mention of this monument it would appear that it stood near the outer

* *Bell.* v. 8, § 2.

or *Third* wall, for it marked the spot where Titus attacked the outer wall.* Then, further on, we are told, that when Titus had taken the outer wall, and was preparing to attack the Second wall, Simon fortified the walls from the point in the Second Wall opposite to the monument of the High Priest John, round about to Hippicus,† thus identifying the monument with the *Second* wall: but afterwards, when Titus had taken both the outer and the second walls, and laid siege to the first wall, we read that he planted two machines, one at the Pool Amygdalon, and the other nearer to Hippicus at John's monument,‡ thus clearly proving that the monument was near the *First* wall. These perplexing accounts are satisfactorily explained, when we consider the High Priest's monument to have been situated about equidistant from all three walls; the walls forming three sides of a square, and the monument standing in the middle.§ The exact position, may be determined from Josephus, for he states that the machine by the High Priest's monument was thirty cubits only distant from that which stood by the Pool Amygdalon.||

But the determination of the position of the High Priest's monument is useful, not only in showing the point where Titus made his breach in the outer wall; it also enables us to fix with great precision the line of the second wall. It is very remarkable, that all attacks on the upper City were made opposite to

* *Id.* v. 6, § 2.

† *Id.* v. 7, § 3.

‡ *Id.* v. 9, § 2.

§ Mr. Williams objects that the monument was a tomb, and therefore outside the walls. But this is by no means necessary. Not only were the tombs of David, and of the children of Huldah within the walls, (*Lightfoot, Chorog. Cent.* xxxviii,) but a parallel example occurs in that of King Alexander Jannæus, opposite to whose monument the Romans attacked Antonia. (*Jos. Bell.* v. 7, § 3.)

|| *Id.* v. 11, § 4. Mr. Williams perversely places the high priest's monument eastward of Amygdalon; which is at direct variance with this passage of Josephus. This mis-statement can scarcely be from error in judgment, though it comes from one who accuses others of wilful "variations and alterations, resorted to without scruple, sometimes without notice, and always without authority." Mr. Williams's words are: "The monument of John I cannot hesitate to assign to a position thirty cubits east of Amygdalon." (*II. C.* ii. 24.)

the three strong towers* described by Josephus, and left standing by Titus on account of their immense strength, while all attacks on the Temple were over against the yet stronger tower of Antonia; and this circumstance enables us to prove the truth of Josephus's assertion, that neither the Temple nor the upper City could be attacked on any other quarter. Thus, after Titus had been repulsed from his former position, he returned and raised his banks "on the West side of the City, over against the Royal Palace;"† "at the three towers."‡ Here, therefore, must have stood the fourth machine, thirty cubits from which was the third machine by the Pool Amygdalon, the two machines being separated from each other by the line of Second Wall, and the Gate Gennath.

Thus, then, by the High Priest's monument we are enabled to prove, not only that the Second Wall lay to the West of the Pool of Hezekiah, or Amygdalon, but that an *outer* wall existed yet more to the West, occupying the position of the present modern wall, of the same antiquity with the other walls.

But it is not only to Josephus that we are indebted for evidence respecting this outer wall, the Bible itself, as we have seen,§ shows us that this outer wall is identical with the wall which Manasseh built "*without* the City of David," i. e. without the "Second Wall" built by David or Joab,|| "on the *west* side of Gihon," "in the *valley*:"¶ and as this circumstance affords an argument in favour of the identity of the modern line of western wall with that of the ancient city, so does it militate strongly against the idea of those who suppose all this portion of the present city to have been excluded in the ancient; and it shows that a city could not have been described as compactly

* This corresponds with Josephus' account of the siege by Titus, and the steepness of the north wall. (*Bell.* v. 6, § 2; vi. 8, § 1.) The portion of wall attacked was always that towards the west—"at John's monument," (v. 9, § 2,) "over against the royal palace," (vi. 8, § 1,) at the very same place where Cestius had formerly endeavoured to enter the city. (ii, 19, § 4.)

† *Id.* vi. 8, § 1. ‡ *Id.* vi. 8, § 4. § See p. 349. || 1 Chron. xi. 8.

¶ Contrast with this Mr. Williams's theory—"the Tyropæon of Josephus is

built, or securely fortified, that had a ridge of rock projecting into the very heart of the city, of greater altitude than any portion of the city itself: and by thus filling in this hollow angle, we obtain a squareness of plan more compatible with the Psalmist's description, "Jerusalem is builded as a city which is *compact* together." (Ps. cxxii. 3.)

One other circumstance may be mentioned relative to the western extension of the Second Wall. We read in II. Kings xviii. 26, 28, that when Rabshakeh besieged Jerusalem, and stood by the Upper Pool, his words were heard by the men of Israel on the walls of Jerusalem,—a circumstance which would be perfectly impossible had the line of Second Wall existed so much further eastward, in the position assigned by the advocates of the Sepulchre.

V.

The "Asamonæan Valley" was merely a narrow embankment or causeway connecting the Acropolis of Antiochus with the Temple: and the hill, Acra, lowered by the Maccabees, was not the "Lower City," but the Acropolis of the Lower City.

It is surprising that Dr. Robinson as well as Mr. Williams should have fallen into the error of supposing a long line of valley to have been filled up by the Asamonæan princes. The reader is aware that Dr. Robinson's valley runs towards Antonia from the Damascus gate, and that Mr. Williams's proceeds to the same point from my position of the Fish gate. Now it is

the *valley* of Gihon." (*II. C. Suppl.* p. 114. See his plan, *ante*, p. 339.) The wall was built on the west side of this. On which side of this wall does he pretend the city to have been? If on the S.W., he proves Dr. Robinson's position of Acra, which he has laboured so incessantly to disprove. If on the N.E., he places the city wall on the outside of a *fosse*, where the enemy would have the advantage of the high ground, while the inhabitants would be sunk in the hollow of the fosse. But this wall was "outside" the original wall: where then did the original wall run? and what would then become of his Acra? It is absurd to combat such a theory.

Schultz acknowledges that the passage seems to intimate a wall to the west of the city, and confesses that the addition of the words "in the valley," is a "*difficulty*." (*Jerus.*, p. 86.)

manifest, that neither of these lines, taken in its integral and extended length, can be said to have ever divided Acra from Moriah, for it was in order to unite these hills, that the valley was said to have been filled in.* Mr. Williams objects to Dr. Robinson's position, inasmuch as it is now a hollow; and his own line may with equal reason be objected to as being an embankment. Another objection to each of these lines occurs in the fact that Mr. Williams acknowledges that both his own Acra and that of Dr. Robinson are "higher than Moriah; whereas Josephus says, that the height of Acra was reduced by the Asamonæans, so as to become lower than the temple."† But the most fatal objection, and one which amounts to an absurdity, consists in the difficulty, that in order to lower the hill, as specified by Josephus, all the houses of the lower city must first have been destroyed.‡

The Jewish historian informs us, that "Antiochus (Epiphanes) built a citadel in the lower part of the city," (in "a place to lie in wait against the sanctuary;" 1 Macc. iv. 41;) "for the place was high and overlooked the temple, on which account he fortified it with high walls and towers, and put into it a garrison of Macedonians. In that citadel dwelt the impious and wicked part of the multitude, from whom it proved that the citizens suffered many and sore calamities."§ "The garrison in the citadel at Jerusalem, with the Jewish runagates, did a great deal of harm to the Jews; for the soldiers that were in that garrison rushed out upon the sudden, and destroyed such as were going up to the temple in order to offer their

* *Jos. Bell.* v. 4, § 1.

† *H. C.* ii. 53, 54.

‡ This difficulty has been felt by both writers. Dr. Robinson, in a note, (i. 410,) says: "There is some doubt as to the correctness of this account. Josephus elsewhere connects this lowering of the hill Akra with the demolition of a fortress built upon it by Antiochus and the Syrians," etc.; and Mr. Williams states: "But the object of the Asamonæans was to remove the annoyance of the fortress," etc., which he identifies with Antonia: and yet neither writer thought of changing their position of the valley so as to suit the position which they assign to the fortress. According to Mr. Williams's site of the fortress, his Asamonæan valley should have been between it and the Temple area.

§ *Jos. Ant.* xii. 5, § 4.

sacrifices; for this citadel adjoined to, and overlooked the temple.”* “Simon took the citadel of Jerusalem by siege, and cast it down to the ground, that it might not be any more a place of refuge to their enemies when they took it, to do them a mischief, as it had been till now. And when he had done this, he thought it best, and most for their advantage, to level the very mountain itself upon which the citadel happened to stand, that so the temple might be higher than it.... This work cost three whole years.”† With this agrees another passage, where it is added: “the intervening valley was filled up with earth, the Asamonæans having a mind to join the city to the temple.”‡

Dr. Robinson clearly shows that this fortress could not have been Antonia, § (as assumed by Williams, Fergusson, and many recent writers,) and he rightly places it at the south-eastern extremity of the lower city: for it is evident, from the two former quotations from Josephus, that the Acra so lowered must have been the fortress Acra, and not the Lower city. This fortress gave its name, by synecdoche, to the whole of the Lower city, a figure of speech frequently employed in the topography of Jerusalem.||

The natural inference, therefore, is that the Asamonæans, on destroying the fortress, and lowering the rock, raised an embankment or causeway across the valley, between this fortress and the Temple, in order to prevent its being again selected for a hostile purpose.¶

* *Id.* xii. 9, § 3.

† *Id.* xiii. 6, § 7.

‡ *Bell.* v. 4, § 1.

§ If Acra had been Antonia, it could not have given its name to the Lower City, from which it was separated by the Broad Valley: besides, the rock on which Acra stood was lowered so as to be of *less height than the Temple area*, whereas the rock on which Antonia is believed to have stood still rises above the modern Haram, as it was raised above the Temple area in the time of Titus.

|| Thus Bezetha, Zion, the City of David, Gihon, all have a double application. The Bait-el-Mukaddas, or ‘the holy abode’, (Dome of the Rock) has given its name to the whole enclosure of the Haram, and even to the whole city.

¶ Mr. Williams cannot object to this “Asamonæan valley” not being filled up, for this very mound across the Tyropæon he connects with what he translates “the *filling up* of the valley, or by the causeway, as it is called in Scripture,” (*H. C.* p. 345,) endeavouring to identify it with the bridge or causeway between Zion and the Temple.

VI.

The "Second Wall" was not curved on plan, as hitherto supposed; and Bezetha occupied the entire northern side of the Temple.

It has been a common mistake of the topographers of Jerusalem, following Dr. Robinson* and Mr. Williams,† to understand by the words of Josephus, (κυκλούμενον τὸ προσάρκτιον κλίμα,) that the Second Wall had a circular course:‡ and accordingly we find the plans of these writers making a merit of showing some unnecessary curve. But, that the expression signifies merely to encompass, to begirt, to surround, to enclose,—without reference to form, is evident from Josephus's description of the Temple, which we know to have been square, and which he speaks of as *encircled* by walls, using the same word κύκλω.

Various have been the positions assigned to Bezetha. The specification of Josephus is too minute to allow of its being placed otherwise than northward of the Temple: but while Dr. Robinson gives it a north-west extension, Mr. Williams restricts it to the north-eastern part of the Temple, or to speak more accurately, northward of the eastern half of the Temple, while again Catherwood, Dr. Olin, and Schultz, make Acra extend along the whole northern side of the Temple area, thus separating it from Bezetha, which they place beyond the line of modern wall. To say nothing of this last theory, which is contrary to every passage of Josephus, Dr. Robinson appears to have been led into error by a wrong inference from two passages of Josephus: in one of which he states that Antonia lay to the north-west of the Temple, and in the other, that Bezetha was northward of Antonia; from whence Dr. Robinson deduces that Bezetha was to the north west of the Temple. Mr. Williams draws the western boundary of Bezetha in a line

* "Which wall, Josephus describes as *running in a circle*," &c. (*Bibl. Sacr.* i. 192.)

† The second wall had a "*circular course*." (*II. C.* ii. 58.)

‡ Lord Nugent supposed the curve to be *concave*. (*Lands Classical and Sacred*, 2nd edit. ii. 28.)

with the eastern side of Antonia, considering that Antonia must have been enclosed by the Second Wall, "for it was not until he had taken the Second Wall that Titus could bring his engines against the town itself."* Now, independently of Mr. Williams's argument being inconclusive, for Josephus states nothing of the kind, and the case is precisely analogous to that of the attack at the north-western extremity of 'the Upper City,' where the Second Wall was taken by Titus in order to prevent his flank being exposed while besieging Hippicus,—we are distinctly told by Josephus, that "Bezetha lay over against the tower Antonia, but is divided from it by a deep valley, which was dug on purpose, in order to hinder the foundations of the tower of Antonia from joining to this hill, and thereby affording an opportunity for getting to it with ease, and hindering the security that arose from its superior elevation, for which reason also that depth of the ditch made the elevation of the towers more remarkable."†

Nor is the Professor's line of boundary more defensible; for we have seen that the Fish gate was by the Tower of Hananeel, which we know to have been at the north-eastern corner of the city, and that it was 400 cubits east of the gate of Ephraim, from which point the line must have descended almost in a direct southerly direction to the north-west angle of the Temple; and it is remarkable that this line is precisely identical with what Mr. Williams assumed to be that of the Asamonæan valley, "the traces of which remain to this day clearly visible, in a ridge which slopes down," etc.‡

VII.

The supposed site of the "Holy Sepulchre" is disproved, in addition to other evidence,—by II. Chron. xxxiii. 14;—Jerem. xxxi. 39, 40:—by the traditional Pool of Bethesda;—and by the position of the High Priest John's Monument.

The argument which relates to the high priest John's monument, has already been adduced:§ it need only be added,

* *H. C.* ii. 51: compare *Bell.* v. 7, § 3.

† *Bell.* v. 4, § 2; and 5, § 8. ‡ See *ante*, p. 352. § See *ante*, pp. 426-428.

that the fall of ground seems favourable to the positions selected both for the Second and the outer wall, and it would seem little else than extraordinary, had the city,—which is represented as encircled and protected on three sides with deep valleys, and which on its northern side had lofty cliffs extending from the gate Gennath to Antonia, the whole of which line was further strengthened by a second wall,—been left exposed precisely at that spot where, by the less height of the cliffs, and the neighbouring heights of Gihon, it was most likely to be assaulted, and where accordingly, Herod had taken the precaution to build three of the largest towers of all the circuit of the walls, and which spot was always selected for attack, even when the besiegers had obtained possession of the ‘Lower City.’

The argument afforded by the Pool of Bathsheba, I throw out for the consideration of those lovers of tradition who might be disposed to reject other evidence: and certainly no other pool can stand so good a chance of being the genuine pool of Bathsheba as the pool which lies so immediately at the foot of ‘David’s castle.’ Here then, according to this tradition, stood the house of Uriah the Hittite, and here accordingly the city must have been inclosed by an outer wall.

The argument contained in II. Chron. xxxiii. 14, has also been laid before the reader in determining the position of the Pools of Gihon and of Hezekiah,* and it has been more fully considered in examining the line of the outer wall.† The statement of Holy Scripture, therefore, which declares that Hezekiah “built a wall, without the City of David, on the west side of Gihon, in the valley” is inimical to the reputed site of the “holy Sepulchre.”

The next evidence is afforded by a prophecy of Jeremiah:‡—

“Behold, the day’s come, saith the Lord, that the city shall be built to the Lord, from the tower of Hananeel unto the gate of the corner. And the measuring line shall yet go forth over against it upon the hill Gareb, and shall compass about to Goath. And the whole valley of the dead bodies and of the

* See *ante*, pp. 345-349.

† See Prop. iv.

‡ Jerem. xxxi. 38—40.

ashes, and all the fields unto the brook Kidron, unto the corner of the Horse Gate, toward the east, shall be holy unto the Lord.”*

This passage has been invariably considered by those commentators who have endeavoured to explain it, to be descriptive of the ‘Prophetical Jerusalem,’ and one writer has actually laid down a prophetic square on his map of Jerusalem.† Starting from the Tower of Hananeel, at the north-eastern angle of the city, they place the corner gate at the north-west angle, beyond which point they are all unanimous in placing Gareb. Southward, but contiguous to this, they place Goatha; and southward still they come to the valley of Hinnom, and from thence across to the brook Kidron and the Horse Gate.

More than one objection, however, may be urged to this interpretation. In the first place, though several ‘corner-gates’ are recorded by Nehemiah, there is no mention of a corner gate at the north-western quarter of the city: then the position of Goatha, so immediately adjacent to Gareb, and in a line with the reputed site of the Holy Sepulchre, is too evidently determined from respect to the traditions connected with that spot: and lastly, after describing three sides of the prophetic square, it terminates at the south-east angle of the city, leaving the whole eastern side open to the assaults of objectors. Though the interpretation which I am about to offer is very different, yet there is one circumstance which is equally conclusive in whatever way these verses are explained, and that is, that the place of Goatha,—which all writers, even those who do not attempt to illustrate this passage, acknowledge to be identical with Golgotha,—cannot be attributed to the reputed site of the ‘Holy Sepulchre.’ For a glance at the plan is sufficient to show, that this site, whether or not at any time outside the city wall, is too immediately in the centre of the whole mass, to render it possible that it could ever have been

* E. Henderson, *Book of the Prophet Jerem.* 8vo. Lond. 1851.

† Wilde, *Narrative of a Voyage, &c.*, 8vo. Dubl. 1840, pl 22; and see pp. 260-264. Villalpandus endeavours to prove the square form. (*Apparatus*, 165 b. lib. iii. 8.)

referred to in this prophecy, which as evidently relates to the external boundaries of the city ; and therefore, as stated at the outset, the reputed site of the ‘ Holy Sepulchre ’ is disproved by this passage of Jeremiah.

VIII.

The ‘ Second Temple,’ or Herod’s Temple, was not, as is generally supposed, 400 cubits, or 500 according to the Talmud, but 600 cubits every way, and it occupied, including Antonia, a perfect square.

If there is one point which the Protestant pilgrim regards as more certain than another in the topography of Jerusalem, it is the site of the Temple of Solomon. After loathing the abominations with which every spot within the City has been defiled by the superstitions of corrupt churches, after sickening at the thought that they who have done all this are looked upon by the simple-minded Turk as the representatives and embodiment of the Christian religion, he issues by the Bab-es-Subat, feeling it a relief to be once more in the open air, and capable of worshipping God without the intervention of falsehood and materialism. He descends into the valley of the Kidron, he passes the enclosure of olive trees, the aged, twisted, gnarled, and *molten* stems of which remind him of Gethsemane, he climbs the zigzag path of Mount Olivet, thinking of Him, in whose very footsteps when on earth he now is following, and he turns round, and “ beholds the city.” After glancing at the gate at which he issued, in order to identify his position, that gate, the Christian name of which brings to his mind the delusions of the priesthood, after calling to memory the lying legends and the conflicting traditions which have been thrust upon him within the city, his eye falls upon the platform of the Haram-es-Shereef, in the centre of which rises majestically the Bait-el-Mukaddas,* and he exclaims, “ There, at least, is the site of the Temple of Solomon.” But even here he is doomed to be disappointed. He finds on enquiry, that the Temple was but 600 feet square, and the

* Vulgarly called the *Mosque of Omar*.

mountain on which it stood was scarcely sufficient to contain it; while the present platform measures about 900 feet* by 1,500, so that the portion of it which he might consider to lay claim to the greatest probability, might be without the boundary of the sacred site. This difficulty I now proceed to lay before the reader.

The dimensions of the Temple are stated by Josephus to have been 400 cubits, by the Jewish Rabbies 500 cubits,† which is the number also specified in the Prophecies of Ezekiel.‡ Mr. Fergusson, as we have seen, argues for the 400 cubits of Josephus, which he insists upon regarding as the common cubit of 18 inches, thus giving 600 feet for each side. Dr. Robinson, Mr. Williams, and all other writers, following the footsteps of Lightfoot, take the 500 cubits of the Rabbies, which they reduce into feet by the cubit of 21 inches,§ but even then the quantity which they obtain is so far short of the width of the present platform, that they are forced to explain the 500 cubits to be the measurement *within* the porticoes.|| Adding in these, which were thirty cubits each, they get an excess, to remedy

* The measurements of the south wall are as follow:—

Dr. Robinson's (about)	. . .	955
Mr. Catherwood's (from notes)	. . .	932
Messrs. Wolcott and Tipping's	. . .	915
Rev. E. Smith's	. . .	906½
Ordnance Survey	. . .	877

† *Middoth*, cap. ii. sec. 1.

‡ Ezek. xlii. 16, 17.

§ Psalmanazar states, that the cubit of 22 inches, or more, was sometimes used. (iv. 195, note d.) But Lightfoot shows it is expressly stated in the Talmud, that "the cubit by which the temple buildings were measured was six handbreadths". (*Kelim*, c. 17.) This is equivalent to 18 inches only. (*Prospect of the Temple*, c. 1.)

|| Notwithstanding this lame explanation, Mr. Williams succeeds in showing "a difference of only 10 feet! I ask, if it be not a most gratifying result, that the comparison thus instituted shows so close an agreement. . . I confess it surpasses my most sanguine expectations; and I think that such a result should dispose us to attach some weight to the other observations [of Josephus] on the same subject." [*II. C.* p. 325.] And this he says, after having rejected the 400 cubits of Josephus, and accepted in preference the 500 of the Rabbies.

which they calculate the porticoes by the smaller cubit. Making a square of this dimension, Dr. Robinson places it on the South of the platform, and gives the excess on the North to the Tower of Antonia: * while Mr. Williams places it on the North, and gives the excess to the Church of the Virgin Mary, built by Justinian.†

It has been concluded by all writers, that the 400 cubits recorded by Josephus have reference to the 'Second,' or 'Herod's Temple.' Mr. Fergusson states, "There is perhaps no single assertion in the whole works of Josephus in which he is so perfectly consistent and undeviating as this." Now, not only is this incapable of proof, but the probability is, that the dimension of "one stadium," or "400 cubits," has reference to Solomon's Temple, and not to that of Herod. Mr. Fergusson adduces five passages in support of his assertion. Whether the first (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 3) refers to the Temple of Solomon, or to that of Herod, is uncertain; but the fourth (*Ant.* xx. 9, § 7) most assuredly relates to Solomon's Temple,‡ and if so, then all subsequent deductions are necessarily erroneous, and the accuracy of Josephus's measurements is fully vindicated.§

The Temple of Solomon, then, measured 400 cubits on each side: but so far from Herod having rebuilt the whole of the Temple, we find that 18,000 workmen (according to Josephus) continued to be employed for about sixty-five years; (working, it seems, at uncertain periods;) for it was not till the time of

* *Bib. Res.* i. 430, 431.

† *H. C.* p. 324, 325: 331, 332.

‡ Of the other examples cited by Mr. Fergusson, the second [*Bell.* v. 5, § 2] asserts nothing of the kind, as will be presently seen; the third [*Ant.* xv. 11, § 9] requires consideration; and the fifth [*Ant.* viii. 3, § 9] is descriptive of the height of the walls of Solomon's temple, not the length of the walls of Herod's temple.

§ Mr. Fergusson's theory of the 'Holy Sepulchre' being the true one, depends upon Herod's Temple being only 600 feet square; for unless this can be proved to be the case, the Dome of the Rock could not, by any possibility, have been outside of the Temple enclosure.

Agrippa that the Temple was finished.* When this, at length, happened, they tried to persuade him to pull down and rebuild the Eastern portico. "This portico belonged to the outer court: it was situated in a deep valley, and had walls which extended in length 400 cubits, and which were built of square and very white stones, the length of each of which stones was 20 cubits, and their height 6 cubits. *This was the work of King Solomon*, who first of all built the entire Temple."†

Here we have a clear and distinct statement, that one of the porticoes of Solomon's Temple (and the building was a square, and therefore the other sides must also have) measured 400 cubits in extent. But Mr. Fergusson may contend that this Eastern portico, like the others, was built by Herod, but that it was called 'Solomon's Portico,' from occupying the position of the original portico built by that King; but this is disproved by the assertion of Josephus, that it was the *work* of King Solomon, and by the absurdity of supposing that Agrippa was requested to pull down the portico, had it been erected so recently as by Herod.

With this as a starting point, I proceed to draw out the plan of the Temple of Solomon as a square of 400 cubits. This area of the Temple was gradually enlarged, by taking in more ground. "When King Solomon had built a wall for it on its Eastern side, there was then added one portico founded on a bank cast up for it, and on the other parts the house stood naked. But in future ages, the people added new embankments, and the hill became a larger plain. They then broke down the wall on the North side, and took in as much as sufficed afterward for the compass of the entire Temple. And

* Compare S. John, ii. 20.

† *Ant.* xx. 9, § 7. Josephus goes on to say, "But King Agrippa, who had the care of the temple committed to him by Claudius Caesar, considering that it is easy to demolish any building, but hard to build it up again, and that it was particularly difficult to do it to this portico, which would require a considerable time, and great sums of money, denied the petitioners their request."

when they had built walls on three sides of the Temple round about," &c.* Subsequently to this we are told that "Herod, in the eighteenth year of his reign, undertook a very great work, that is, to build the Temple of God, and to *make it larger in compass*, and to raise it to a most magnificent altitude."† "Accordingly,‡ Herod rebuilt the Temple, and encompassed a piece of land about it with a wall, *which land was twice as large as that before inclosed.*"§

This relation of the enlargement of the area, making it twice as large as it was before, has been unnoticed by all writers: but there is one other circumstance connected with the area, which has not been sufficiently considered. Josephus has been quoted, and requoted, as stating that "the Temple measured four stadia in circuit, but with the addition of Antonia, it measured six stadia." Now these statements of Josephus, instead of being mentioned together, refer to two different buildings: the Temple of *Solomon* was one stadium square, or four stadia in circuit; (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 3;) and the Temple of *Herod*, including Antonia, was six stadia in circumference: (*Bell.* v. 5, § 2.) One other particular recorded by Josephus was the ancient prophecy,—that "*The City and the Holy House should be taken, when once the Temple should become four-square.*" On which Josephus remarks, that "the Jews, by demolishing the tower of Antonia, had made their Temple four-square." (*Bell.* vi. 5, § 4.)

From these various particulars we perceive that the Temple of Solomon was four stadia in circumference; and that the Temple of Herod, including the Tower of Antonia, was a *perfect square* of six stadia in circuit, and that it was double in area to the size of Solomon's Temple.||

* *Bell.* v. 5, § 1. The latter part of this might refer to the time of Herod.

† *Ant.* xv. 11, § 1.

‡ Josephus adds, "in his sixteenth year," which was probably when he commenced the foundations.

§ *Bell.* i. xxi. § 1.

|| Dr. Robinson endeavours to embrace these conditions by making Antonia

Three remarkable circumstances result from this arrangement: one is, that a square of one-and-a-half stadium, or six stadia in circumference, exceeds only by *one-eighth* part, the double of a square of one stadium, or four stadia in circumference; that it is impossible to make these two assertions of Josephus agree more nearly; and that this *eighth part*, corresponding to an area of 300 by 300 feet,† might be occupied by Antonia, were the area of the Temple required to be exactly double:—the second, that on the destruction of this tower, occupying the internal angle of the area on the N.W., the Temple area became ‘four-square;’—and the third is, that such square of one and a-half stadium, or 600 cubits, or 900 feet, exactly amounts to the width of the present Haram-es-Shereef,

and the temple two equal squares of 900 to 1000 feet, and supposing that when Antonia was destroyed, then the temple square was left alone. Mr. Williams rejects this “ingenious” explanation, though he himself cannot comprehend the solution of this “most perplexing observation,” which is to him “wholly unintelligible on every hypothesis.” *H. C.* ii. 347, 403, 410.

† I have only allowed a space of 150 by 300 feet on my plan, though the area might be doubled if considered necessary, by placing Solomon's temple in the S.E. angle of Herod's platform. The extravagant dimensions assigned to this fortress on other plans, is owing partly to their authors endeavouring to make out the circuit of six stadia; and partly from the grandiloquent description of Josephus. “It was built upon a rock 50 cubits in height, and was on every side precipitous. . . . The inner space rose to an altitude of 40 cubits. The interior resembled a palace in extent and arrangement, being distributed into apartments of every description, and for every use, with cloistered courts and baths, and spacious barracks for the accommodation of troops; so that its various conveniences gave it the semblance of a town, its magnificence that of a palace. The general appearance of the whole was that of a tower, with other towers at each of the four corners, three of which were 50 cubits high, while that at the S. E. angle rose to an elevation of 70 cubits, so that from thence there was a complete view of the temple.” [*Bell.* v. 5, § 8.] But if this description is thought to require a greater extension of area, let the reader refer to the description of the towers of Hippicus, Phasaëlus and Mariamne, measuring only from 30 to 60 feet square, and note the extraordinary accommodation which Josephus ascribes to them. (*Ib.* v. 4, § 3, 4.)

the dimension of which has for so long a time been a "difficulty" with the topographers of the 'Holy City.'

But it was only the total area of the Temple which was doubled by Herod; the Temple itself remained of the same size as formerly.* This appears from two circumstances; first, the Basilican Stoa on the South side, is said to have been but one stadium in length;† and, secondly, the Eastern, or Solomon's Portico, which was never pulled down by Herod,‡ but which formed part of his Temple, was also one stadium in length; which would not have fitted the new work, had the new porticoes been increased by Herod in extent. This is yet more clearly shown by Josephus, who states, "Herod rebuilt the Temple, and encompassed a piece of land *about it* with a wall, which land was twice as large as that before inclosed."§ The enlargement by Herod was therefore an enlargement of the outer courts, or what appears to have been sometimes called the 'Mountain of the House.' The Talmud, which gives us the dimension of 500 cubits, also states, that "the Mount was far larger than 500 cubits square, but only so much was taken in for the holy ground."|| This agrees with Ezekiel, xlii. 20, "It had a wall round about, five hundred (cubits) long, and five hundred broad, *to make a separation between the Sanctuary and the profane place;*" which space round about is described in xlv. 2, as fifty cubits wide, the four corners of which appear to have been set apart for 'boiling-houses:' (xlv. 23.) and it was possibly in these angles that John erected his towers: (*Bell.* iv. 9, § 12:) and we should remember that it is said of the Temple built by Zerubbabel, from which, as we have seen, that of Herod differed very little, that "the children of the captivity made the building according to the form that they saw in the building of Ezekiel, in divers things:" (*Midr.* 2, 3;)¶ and the

* Dr. Lightfoot, in referring to the Talmud, states that the former temple differed but little from that of Herod. (*Prospect of the Temple*, x.)

† *Ant.* xv. 11, § 5.

‡ *Ant.* xx. 9, § 7.

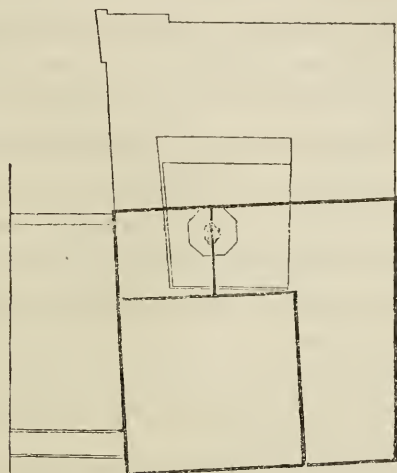
§ *Bell.* i. 21 § 1.

|| Maim. in *Beth Habbechir*, 5; quoted by Dr. Lightfoot, *Prospect*, &c. i.

¶ Lightfoot, *Prospect*, &c. x.

open space without the Temple seems alluded to, likewise, in *Rev.* xi. 2.

I have supposed that Herod's enlargement of the area extended on three sides of the temple, but should Mr. Fergusson insist on Solomon's Temple occupying the south-western angle of the present platform, the accompanying diagram will show that my theory is by no means injured by such arrangement.



Having thus found the form and dimensions of the temple to be coincident with the width of the platform of the present Haram, our next difficulty, and perhaps an insuperable difficulty, occurs in the uncertainty of its position in the length of the platform. A choice is offered in the two equally "ingenious" theories of Dr. Robinson and Mr. Williams, but Mr. Williams has shown that Antonia, as suggested by Dr. Robinson, could not have occupied the whole northern side of the Temple; while his own theory of the substructions on the south of the Temple area being those of Justinian's church of the Virgin Mary, particularly described by Procopius, is so plausible, that I might willingly have acquiesced in his opinion, were we to have agreed on other subjects. We are informed that, "at first, the plain at the top was hardly sufficient for the holy house, . . . but in future ages the people added new banks, and

the hill became a larger plain. They then broke down the wall on the north side, and took in as much as sufficed afterward for the compass of the entire temple;" (*Bell.* v. 5, § 1;) "and on the south side rocks were laid together, and bound one to another with lead." (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 3.) The excuse which Herod made for pulling down Zerubbabel's temple and rebuilding it was, that it did not equal the altitude of Solomon's temple by sixty cubits;* it would seem, therefore, that Zerubbabel's temple was built upon the natural soil, but that Herod, in raising his temple had to do so by means of lofty substructions. This we find confirmed by the Talmud. The temple was built over "arches upon arches;" (*Beth Habbekirah*, 5;)[†] and it seems probable that these substructions are referred to when, in the account of John's attack upon the temple, the zealots leaped down from their battlements, "and fled away into the subterranean vaults of the temple."[‡] (*Bell.* v. 3, § 1.)

* *Ant.* xv. 11 § 1.

† Lightfoot *Prospect*, etc., 1. "And the whole platform stood upon arches and pillars." (*Chorog. Cent.* xxvii.)

‡ Michaelis believes that these vaults served as magazines for the temple, and that here were stored up the wine, oil, corn, etc. which was annually collected as tithes and first-fruits. "Provision would also be made for warming the pavement of the temple, on which the priests had to walk with naked feet. That large vaults, used for a variety of purposes, existed under the temple, appears from Ezek. viii. 7-12: and it is probable that the immense annual poll-tax of silver and gold would be secured here in secret chambers, known only to a few of the chief priests. The treasury burnt during the siege, (*Bell.* vi. 5, § 2,) was above ground, and not the real one; and as Titus found no treasure, and as all the chief priests were killed during the siege, it is possible that vast treasure yet remains concealed beneath the temple site." (*Zerstreute Kleine Schriften*, pp. 436-452.) "It is probable that Jerusalem will one day be explored and discoveries made, which will be of consequence, not only to the antiquary and the historian, but to the knowledge of the religious ceremonies connected with the Jewish temple; and future generations will perhaps discover vaults, not only for warming the pavement of the temple, for preserving water, and for other purposes, but even for magazines and treasuries, in which during many centuries the temple-tax was deposited. It is even not improbable that inscriptions on wood or stone, perhaps copies of the Law, the Psalms

We have seen that the fortress Antonia was situated in the north-western angle of the temple-area,* and that it was wholly within the area. It was originally called Baris,† and was built by the Maccabæan princes. It had flights of stairs leading down to the northern and western porticoes, and was divided from Bezetha by a “deep artificial valley.”‡ This trench or valley has been thought to have been the pool of Bethesda, but its want of length must be fatal to the argument,§ for it stops at the ‘Governor’s house,’ which occupies a position outside of the present platform,|| and which is thought to correspond with the site of Antonia. Thus then, the trench exists north of the supposed temple-area, where, though it probably did exist, it is not described; and it does not exist northward of the presumed Antonia, where it is described.¶

But, while this objection occurs relative to the position of the artificial trench as held by these writers, an equal difficulty exists as to substituting a site in any other direction. And here it must be confessed lies the great difficulty of the ques-

and the Prophets, preserved carefully in these vaults, may be found uninjured.” (Münter, *Antiq. Abhandl.* 87-90.)

* *Bell.* v. 5, § 8; i. 21, § 1.

† *Bell.* i. 3, § 3; *Ant.* xv. 11, § 4. It is by many writers identified with Nehem. ii. 8. “The *castle* belonging to the temple,” or “the *castle* of the house.”

‡ *Bell.* v. 4, § 2; i. 7, § 3.

§ The trench is described by Strabo as being 250 feet wide, and 70 feet in depth. (p. 763, lib. xvi.) The pool is 360 (with niches 460) long, 103 wide, and 75 deep.

|| While the external position of the governor’s house is opposed to its occupying the site of Antonia, the *raised* platform of rock on which it stands is fatal to the theory of writers, who, with the exception of Dr. Robinson, all assume it to have been identical with Acra,—an evident absurdity; for Josephus says that the rock of Acra was reduced, so as to be *lower* than the temple mount. The rock rises 25 to 30 feet above the level of the Harâm. (Krafft, *Topog. Jerus.*, p. 12.)

¶ “From the evidence produced by Mr. Wilde, the ‘pool of Bethesda’ cannot have been the fosse of the Temple.” (K. von Raumer, *Bibl. Geog.*, art. Palästina, § 5.)

tion. Unless it can be shown that the trench was outside of the present platform, we must conclude that it lay across the Haram, though the hypothesis be incapable of proof while the Haram is in its present occupation. Nor is the supposition so improbable as it might at first appear. At the end of 913 feet from the S.E. angle, we find a break in the eastern wall,* and others occur beyond this point, though the 900 feet are in a straight line. And not only do the theories of Mr. Fergusson, who restricts the temple-area to 600 feet, but those of Dr. Schultz, Herr Krafft, and others, who believe Antonia to be identical with Acra, require a trench in this direction.† My attention not having been directed to the point when at Jerusalem, I feel myself fortunate in procuring evidence from one of my opposers—the Prussian Consul at Jerusalem, who thinks he “can perhaps even now detect the traces of the artificial filling in of the valley which formerly separated Acra from the Temple-mount, running across the parallelogram of the present Haram, and which indeed is indicated by the character of the soil towards the eastern side of the area.”‡ Krafft also sup-

* *H. C.*, ii. 358, 314, and 355.

† Mr. Williams gets out of this dilemma by the more awkward position of the Asamonæan valley in another direction.

‡ “So muss das Thal, welches ehemals Akra vom Tempelberge trennte, mitten durch das Parallelogramm gegangen sein, welches auf dem Platz den Umfang des heutigen Harâm angiebt; und in der That ist auf der Ostseite desselben an der betreffenden Stelle der Boden von solcher Beschaffenheit, das sich *vielleicht noch jetzt die Spuren der Künstlichen Ausfüllung erkennen lassen*. (Schultz, *Jerus.*, p. 55.) This would be rendered impossible, if we believe a statement in the *Walks about Jerusalem*, (pp. 156, 157,) to the effect that “The Serraiyâh or government house . . . rests upon a precipice of rock which formerly swept down abruptly, and has obviously been cut away to form the level below, which also bears marks of having been scarped. The natural foundation of rock extends beyond the great mosque seen in the centre, and then the hill slopes away.” Mr. Bartlett, however, has not been within the area, and the statement rests upon an observation by Mr. Catherwood, that the “site occupied by the temple was originally called Mount Moriah, and declined steeply from the N.W. towards the S.E.; and in order to render it applicable

poses a valley to have run across the platform of the Harâm.* I am therefore inclined to believe, that a trench formerly existed across the line of the present Haram, and that this ditch, at the time of Pompey's siege, was "filled up, though but rudely, by reason of its immense depth,"† and that it has been subsequently more completely filled in. And I am the more inclined to this opinion, because we nowhere read of a wet fosse in the account of the siege, and because the cement lining is an evident indication‡ of the 'Pool of Bethesda' having formed an ancient pool or reservoir§ within the city Bezetha. Indeed, according to some traditions, it is called a "pool of Hezekiah." Till the area of the Harâm, therefore, has been carefully examined, I am disposed to concur with Robinson, Krafft, and Fergusson, in considering that the Temple occupied the southern portion of the present enclosure.

In disputing the position of Antonia as the rock on which now exists the Serraiyah, it is requisite to find another rock rising above the general level of the area, for in all accounts of this fortress we find such an elevation to be expressed. This requirement is afforded us in the venerated Sakhrâh with the

for the building of a magnificent temple, it was necessary to cut away a considerable portion of the rock at the N.W., and raise the ground at the S.E. angle. Both of these works still exist, and in perfect preservation." (*Walks about Jerus.*, p. 175.) Mr. Catherwood, it is very evident, is here quoting Josephus, rather than giving us his own topographical opinion: and so far from the rock being apparent, "the outer court of the Haram Schereef is a fine smooth level space all round the stoa Sakhara, falling with a gentle slope towards the east, and covered with a thick sward of grass, with orange, olive, cypress, and other trees." (Robert Richardson, M.D., *Travels along the Mediterranean*, ii. 292.) Mr. Bonomi describes it as an "expanse of verdure sprinkled with trees." (Ed. Hogg, M.D., *Visit to Alexandria*, etc., ii. 270.)

* See his plan, and p. 79 *Topog. Jerusalem's*.

† Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4, § 2. The filling in is more completely described in *Bell.* i. 7, § 3, together with the difficulty of so doing, and the amazing labour employed.

‡ See also Lord Nugent, *Lands Class. and Sac.*, pp. 46, 47.

§ *Bib. Res.* i. 434; *II. C.* ii. 325.

platform of rock on which it stands.* Thus we read of the Roman forces under Sabinus *leaping out* into the temple area to quell the tumult of the Jews; and† of Julian the centurion *leaping out* from the tower of Antonia, in order to inspire courage into the minds of the Romans:‡ and on Titus's preparation to storm the Temple, we are told he proposed to *go down* to the Temple area at the head of his forces.§ So again, in the New Testament, we read of the chief captain and centurions who *ran down* unto the people in the outer court of the Temple; and of Paul's addressing the people *from the stairs*; and of Paul's being *brought down* again on the morrow, when, by reason of the great disturbance, the chief captain commanded the soldiers to *go down* to his rescue.|| This ascent from the outside of 50 cubits, and descent within towards the Temple area, must have caused a serious obstruction to the advance of a large body of Romans,¶ though it afforded those within it a safe refuge from the attacks of the Jews; and thus we see the reason why the Romans had not force sufficient to advance, nor the Jews power enough to compel them to retreat. But though the lower story of Antonia was raised above the level of the temple-area, with which it communicated by flights of steps *descending* from the tower,** it might have been on a level, or nearly so, with the galleries of the porticoes, and thus have afforded a ready access to the whole area. To cut off this connection, the Jews set fire to the

* The platform of the Sakhrah is 12 feet above the level of the Harâm, and the Sakhrah rises to an additional height of 17 feet. (Krafft, *Topog. Jerusalem's*, s. 69.)

† *Bell.* ii. 3, § 2.

‡ *Id.* vi. 1, § 8.

§ *Id.* vi. 2, § 5.

|| *Acts* xxi. 32, 35, 40; xxii. 30; xxiii. 10, 20.

¶ It is said to rise 20 feet above the platform. *H. C.* i. 174; ii. 324.

** *Bell.* v. 5, § 8. This circumstance may explain how Antonia was still occupied by Titus even after the fortress had been razed, as an elevated platform of rock from which he could conveniently superintend the action of his troops. (*Jos. Bell.* vi. 2, § 1, 7; vi. 4, § 4, 5.)

porticoes,* and destroyed 35 cubits in length; and then concealing combustible materials between the timbers they feigned a retreat, and induced the Romans first to descend from Antonia to the temple area,—the communication of the porticoes being now cut off,—and then to scale the galleries of the porticoes by means of ladders; but being enveloped in flame, they leaped down into the city, (the Tyropæon,) and on to the pavement, and were dashed to pieces.† These porticoes were works to be admired both on account of their magnitude and costliness;‡ they were vast works of the highest value and esteem, adorned with deep sculptures in cedar-wood,§ curiously wrought with many sorts of figures,|| and enriched with gold laid on with wax.¶ In the Temple described by Ezekiel, the porticoes are described as consisting of three stages or galleries.**

In order to remedy the impediment just narrated, Titus gave orders to destroy the fortress and to demolish its foundations, so that a ready passage might be afforded for his army.†† Thus was fulfilled the prophecy of the four-square plan of the enclosure. Battering-rams were then brought to play against the walls of the inner courts, which were 40 cubits in height on the outside, and 25 within. These were surmounted by porticoes as in the outer court, but not so large:‡‡ thus these porticoes were a strong defence,§§ and the whole Temple was built in the nature of a citadel, the several courts rising one above the other, and the Temple itself being elevated 100 cubits.||||

The wall of the second court was of such strength that the battering rams battered the wall for six days incessantly with-

* *Bell.* vi. 2, § 9. The Jews defended themselves effectually against Florus, by the same means, *Bell.* ii. 15, § 5, 6; ii. 16, § 5.

† *Bell.* vi. 3, § 1.

‡ *ii.* 3, § 3.

§ *Ant.* xv. 11, § 5.

|| *Bell.* v. 5, § 2, see II. Chron. ix. 11.

¶ *Ant.* xvii. 10, § 2.

** *Ezek.* xli. 16; xlii. 3.

†† *Bell.* vi. 2, § 1, 7.

‡‡ *vi.* 5, § 2.

§§ *Tacitus, Hist.* v. 12; *Joseph Bell.* iv. 9, § 12.

|||| *Bell.* v. 5, § 5.

out producing the slightest effect.* The gates of the inner court are said to have been 30 cubits in height, and plated with gold and silver: the East Gate was of Corinthian brass, and 40 cubits in height, and required twenty men to close it.† This inner court was adorned with porticoes, but the columns were of less height.

IX.

Golgotha was situate in the Valley of Hinnom; and the Tomb of Joseph of Arimathea was among the neighbouring rocks.

This proposition I attempt to show by the prophecy of Jeremiah, already referred to. The passage, as given in the more literal translation of Dr. Henderson stands thus:‡—

“Behold, the days come, saith Jehovah,
That the city shall be built for Jehovah,
From the Tower of Hananeel to the Corner Gate.
And there shall yet go forth the measuring line,
Right along over the hill Gareb,
And it shall wind round to Goatha.
And all the valley of the dead bodies and the ashes,
And all the fields,—to the brook Kidron,
To the corner of the Horse Gate, towards the sun-rise,
Shall be holy to Jehovah.”§

That the passage is descriptive of the restoration of Israel must readily be admitted from an examination of the context, and it is probable even that the square form exhibited by the prophet Ezekiel is here pre-figured. The chief difficulty in the interpretation occurs in the position of the hill Gareb, and secondarily in the completion of the square.

I might content myself with referring to former writers for

* *Bell.* vi. 4, § 1.

† vi. 5, § 3.

‡ The word “Goath” has been changed to *Goatha*, in conformity with the translations of Calmet, Lightfoot, Dr. Blayney, and other authorities: and a *dash* has been inserted after the word “fields.”

§ Rev. E. Henderson, D.Ph., *Book of the Prophet Jerem.* 8vo. Lond., 1851.

the position of Gareb, as the position which they advocate* coincides with that required by my own hypothesis; but I fear that such position has been selected without authority,—for none is referred to,—and that it has been fixed upon solely with the view of making Goatha† work in with the vicinity of the presumed Golgotha. Gareb signifies *a leper*, and it therefore indicates the hill where the lepers had their habitation; who were compelled by the Mosaic law to reside outside the city, and to live together as a separate community.‡ The only confirmation that I can find of this hill being to the North-west of the

* Adrichomius places Gareb to the north of the city. (*Theatrum Terr. Sanct.*, 108, b.) Villalpandus assigns it to the north-west. (*Appar. Urb. ac Templi Hieros.*, p. 19 a, lib. i. 6: and plan, pp. 71, 72.) Psalmanazar makes the 'Corner Gate' identical with the 'Old Gate,' which he supposed was towards the north-west of the city, "where stood the hills Gareb and Goath." (*Append. to Hist. of Jews in Univ. Hist.* iv. 237.) Vitringa agrees in a N.W. location:—"Flexus à septentrione ad occiduum est apud Garef." (*Comm. in Iesaiam*, pars ii. p. 194 n. a.) Dahler, to the same effect, "La coline de Gareb doit avoir été situé hors des murs de la ville, peut-être à l'extrémité du côté septentrional, vers l'ouest." (*Jérémie*, sect. xlv. p. 288.) Bachiene, (*Hist. und Geog. Beschr. von Palästina*, ii. § 136, ss. 307, 308,) the Jesuit Besson, (*La Syrie Sainte*, ii. 66,) and of recent writers, Wilde, (*Narrative of a Voy.* p. 262,) Krafft, (*Jerus.* p. 158,) and Bannister, (*Survey of the Holy Land*), place it on the north-west. Jerome and Lyranus interpret the whole passage in a mystical manner. (*Hieron. Comm. in Esaiam*, lib. v. Nicolaus de Lyra, *Postilla*.) The latter author says of Gareb, "id est montem Calvariae, ubi Christus fuit passus." Michaelis assigns it to the north of the city. (*Obs. phil. et crit. in Jerem.* p. 255.) The Capuchin commentators on *Les Prophéties de Jérémie*, (Par. 1780,) state, "cette coline étoit vers l'occident;" and Fergusson makes it a portion of Bezetha, without specifying the particular position. (*Jerusalem*, p. 68.) The last-mentioned writer cannot be accused of placing it here out of respect to the accepted site of Golgotha; Lightfoot, alone, places it on the south side of the valley of Hinnom. (*Animad. in Tab. Chorog. Hieros.* x. 403.)

† Venema is the only commentator who assigns to Goatha a different locality: he places it to the south of Zion, '*usque ad collem Gareb, et Goatham usque circuit.*' "Per latus totum occidentale, duobus collibus definitum, altero versus septentrionem, altero versus meridionem." (Hermani Venema, *Comm. ad lib. Jerem.*, xxxi. 39.)

‡ Lightfoot: Krafft, *Jerusalem*, p. 158. Lev. xiii. 46; Numb. v. 3.

city, occurs in the fact that on the occasion of the leprosy being departed, the leper had to shew himself to the priests in a chamber of the Temple towards the North-west.* On the other hand, Dr. Lightfoot's position, on the South of the Valley of Hinnom, is supported by the circumstance that the 'Lepers' huts' in the modern city, are on the South of Mount Zion, though he does not ground his opinion on that circumstance.† But the most satisfactory argument for a North-westerly position is that afforded by the prophecy itself; and assuming it as a fact, I will now proceed to explain the passage. The Prophet gives us four dimensions—two from North to South, and two from West to East. He first gives us the extent of the city on the Eastern side measured from North to South; then that of the West side, measured in like manner: after which he gives us the Northern side, measured from West to East; and then the South side in like manner. He begins at the Tower of Hananeel,‡ from which he describes the first extension of the city, which is to the 'Corner Gate.' This can be no other than the South point of Ophel, which is in an immediately opposite direction to the starting-point, and which spot we know, from Nehemiah, to have been occupied by a 'corner gate.' Then starting from Gareb, we naturally find Goatha on the South-west of the city. The Prophet next describes the Valley of Hinnom, "the valley of dead bodies and (the valley) of ashes," in this same South-western quarter, after which he returns to the North-east, and describes the "fields," for this is the only portion of the suburbs where fields can be found;—

* Lightfoot, *Temple Service*, xvii. 4.

† It is possible that the 'Sepulchre' advocates may seize this argument, in order to prove Golgotha to be on the north: but not only is this position at variance with the construction of the latter part of the prophecy, but Goatha could not, by any possibility, be assigned to so central a position as that of the 'Sepulchre.'

‡ *Turris angulus* Hananeel. (Drusius *Vet. Int. Gr. Frag.* quoting Theodoretus.)

from thence he crosses over to the brook Kidron, at the North-east of the city; and then gives us the remaining dimension (from the 'Valley of dead bodies' which he had previously mentioned) to the "corner of the Horse Gate at the sun-rise." The Horse Gate is mentioned instead of the Prison Gate, in consequence of its being the most Easterly point of the city.

The word Goath, or Goatha, is considered by Psalmanazar* to be identical with the Golgotha of the New Testament. This identification has been accepted by modern writers, as indeed it was asserted by earlier authors, who all unite in considering that Goatha is the spot upon which took place the crucifixion of our Lord.†

Golgotha is supposed to have been the place of public execution.‡ It being specified that a garden existed in its vicinity, has been considered a confirmation of its being near to the gate *Gennath*, which signifies a garden: but this gate adjoined the palace of Herod, which we are informed by Josephus contained "porticoes, and groves of trees with long walks through

* *Univ. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 237: *Dissert. on the Temple*, xlviii. 10. The Latin word *Calvaria* also signifies a skull.

† "Mons Calvariæ, Hebraice, Golgotha alias Goatha dictus." (Adrichomius, *Theatrum Terr. Sanct.* 175 a.) "Goatha verò esse Calvariæ locum, ubi est sanctissimum Domini sepulchrum, est plurium sententia." (Quaresmius, *Elucid. Terr. Sanct.* ii. 515, b. Lib. v. Per. ii. cap. 14. "Iste videtur ille locus quem Isaia (xix.) dicit Golgotha." (Nic. de Lyra, *Postilla.*) Villalpandus, *Apparat. urb. ac Templ. Hieros.* 19. a; and 33 a, lib. i. 6 and 8. Vitringa, *Comm. in Isaiam*, Pars ii. p. 194, n. A. B. Lamy, *Apparatus. Geog.* xiii. 3, p. 321. Psalmanazar, *Mod. Univ. Hist.* iv. 282. Blayney in *Jerem.* xxxi. 39. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvi. 434. Krafft, *Jerus.* pp. 158, 159. Wilde, *Narrative*, p. 234.

‡ Golgotha, alias Goatha,....in quo noxii, publico judicio damnati, extremo supplicio plectebantur, ubi quovis tempore, sicuti circa patibula videre est, passim jacebant Calvariæ ossa viscera et sanies hominum suspensorum, decoloratorum, vel alio mortis genere occisorum. (Adrichomius, *Theatr. Terr. Sanc.*, 175 a.) "Vallem Cadaverum, sic nominatam quia ibi puniebantur ad mortem judicati: quoque cadavera ibi remanebant, et eadem ratione dicitur regio mortis et cineres." (Nic. de Lyra, *Postilla.*) Hieron. in *Math.* xxvii. 33. Krafft, *Jerusalem*, pp. 28, 158, 170. Besides many other authorities.

them,"* and it seems probable that the gate took its name from these gardens of the palace.† It is true that gardens were planted all round Jerusalem, for none were allowed within the city‡—the royal palace, of course, being an exception. It was among such gardens that Titus was entangled on the occasion of his surveying the walls of the city.§ This was near the tower of Psephinus, by the women's towers: but it seems probable, we might almost say certain, that the principal gardens lay along the valleys round about the city, where they could be most easily watered by the streams of Gihon and the Kidron. We read of one such garden at Gethsemane in the eastern valley, and of the king's gardens in the valley of Siloah on the south-east; but one of the most favorable spots in the vicinity of the city, for garden purposes, appears to have been the southern valley, on account of the rocky character of its sides, and the consequent shade which it would obtain. Here was situated Tophet, or the *pleasant valley*,|| for the original mean-

* *Bell.*, v. 4, § 4.

† Villalpandus, *Apparatus Urb. ac Templ.*, 215 b., lib. iii. 26.

‡ Lightfoot, *Chorog. Cent.* xxi. vol. x. p. 46. § Jos., *Bell.*, v. 2, § 2.

|| S. Jerome says, "Sua primaria significatione voluptuosum amœnumque locum significat." "Locus erat in suburbanis Jerusalem amœnissimus.... viridaris et hortis consitus, totusque nemorosus ac deliciis plenus." (Hieron., in *Jerem.*, vii. 19, 32;) Brocardus, *Itin.* 6; Adrichomius, *Theatrum Terr. Sanc.*, 169 b. Villalpandus, among other derivations, gives that of יָפָה *japhah*, beauty. (*Apparatus*, 213 b., lib. iii. 23.) He also allows that the name may be derived from a *drum*; but in order to preserve the antithesis, he supposes it to have been a joyful instrument: "Dicendum arbitramur, non tantum propter ejusmodi tympana dictam vallem Topheth, sive tympani; verum etiam propter festiva tympana, quæ in hortis, amœnisque ejus vallis lucis, ac locis choreas ducentes, vel idolis, vel sibi ipsis indulgentes hilariter tangere consueverant Hierosolymitani cives," referring to Isaiah xxiv. 8; (*Id.*, 99 b., lib. ii. 13;) and describes it as "locum deliciis et voluptatibus repletum," comparing the antithesis to Job xvii. 6. (Lib. iii. 24.) So also Quaresmius, (*Eleuc. Terr. Sanct.*, lib. iv. Pereg. vii. 18, vol. ii. 277 a,) and the Capuchin commentators on *Les Prophéties de Jérémie*, 12 Par. 1780. "Forte sic dici potuit, quod cum *vallis amœna* esset, ut credibile est, et testatur Hieronymus, delectioni honestæ civium Hierosolymitanorum, à tympanistis, cytha-

ing of the name undoubtedly had an antithetical signification to that which it afterwards obtained, though the circumstance is lost sight of by all recent commentators.* This meaning is corroborated by the actual appearance of the valley of Hinnom, which is described by writers who were unconscious of the preceding fact, as “planted with olive and other fruit trees, and in some places tilled,...the southern hill is steep, rocky and full of tombs.”† It is “a pleasant shaded valley.”‡ “It lay to the west of the city, winding to the south.”§ St. Jerome, who knew its ancient character, speaks of Tophet as “a pleasant spot in the valley of Hinnom, with trees and gardens watered from Siloam.”|| This opinion as to its former fruitfulness is confirmed by Isaiah. (xvii. 5.)

This consideration of the name of Tophet leads us naturally to examine the nature of the predictions respecting it.

“Therefore, behold, the day’s come, saith the Lord, that it shall no more be called Tophet, nor the Valley of the son of Hinnom, but the Valley of Slaughter: for they shall bury in Tophet, till there be no place.” Jerem. vii. 32.; xix. 6.

We are told in another passage of the same prophet, (xix. 2,) that “the valley of the son of Hinnom was by the entry (or opposite) to the gate Harsith,” (or as it is in our Bibles, the East Gate, and in the margin the Sun Gate.) The Vulgate translates Harsith by *Porta fictilis*, deriving it from a *potsherd*; ¶

rædis, fidicinis, more Veterum excitandæ inservierit.” (Vitringa, *Comm. in Iesaiam*.)

* By these it is generally derived from *loathing*, *abhorrence*, *spitting on*; though by some, from the beating of *drums* used to drown the voices of Moloch’s victims. Gesenius, Ewald, and some others, derive it from a *burning*, and subsequently *burying*.

† *Bibl. Res.*, i. 404.

‡ Bonar and M’Cheyne, *Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews*, in 1839.

§ Blayney, *Jerem.*, xxxi. 40.

|| Hieron., *Comm.* (lib. ii.) in *Jerem.* vii. 32. But it would seem that he refers to the gardens at the conjunction of the valleys of Hinnom and Jehoshaphat. But in another place, lib. iv. cap. xix. 2, he places the valley opposite to the Dung Gate.

¶ It is remarkable that in each prophecy relating to this valley, the prophet

in which opinion Grotius coincides, considering that potsherds were cast out from this gate. The Chaldee paraphrast interprets it *Dung Gate*.^{*} Here then is another confirmation of the position of the gates as recorded by Nehemiah.—But we have to consider the nature of the prophecy.

The valley of Hinnom had been selected for the sacrifice to the god Moloch: it was here that “they burned their sons and their daughters in the fire.” To divert the effects of God’s wrath Josiah “defiled the high places;...he brake in pieces the images, and cut down the groves, and filled the places with the bones of men.”† But shortly afterwards we find the prophet predicting the vengeance of God on the Jews on account of their continued idolatries.‡ The punishment was to consist in the destruction of their city, and the conversion of the pleasant vale of Tophet into a vast Necropolis;§ which, from the horrible sacrifices formerly there consummated, took the name of Gehenna,|| and became a picture of hell or the grave.¶ Thus we see the

takes for his imagery the fragment of a potter’s vessel, being the object most appropriate to the locality. “He shall break it as the breaking of the potter’s vessel that is broken in pieces,...so that there shall not be found in the bursting of it a sherd to take fire from the hearth, or to take water withal out of the pit.” (Isaiah xxx. 14.) “Take a potter’s earthen vessel....and go unto the valley of the son of Hinnom, by the Gate of *Potsherds*,....and break the bottle....and say....Even so will I break this people and this city, as one breaketh a potter’s vessel, that cannot be made whole again.” (Jerem. xix. 1, 2, 10, 11.)

* Blayney, *Jeremiah* xix. 2.

† 2 Kings xxiii. 10, 13, 14. Adrichomius, *Theatr. Terr. Sanc.*, 170 a.

‡ Jerem. vii. xix.

§ See a long description of this Necropolis in Williams’s *Holy City*, 2nd edit. The tomb of Joseph of Arimathea would probably be in that part of the valley of Hinnom, which immediately adjoined the place of capital punishment. The cave of Machpelah was in a garden. Gen. xxiii. 17.

|| This change of name by a slight difference of spelling, as from Gehinnom to Gehenna, was very common among the Jews. A well-known example occurs in the Jewish rebel, Bar-cochba, *Son of a star*, who on his defeat had his name changed to Bar-coziba, *Son of a lie*.

¶ Matth. v. 22, 29, 30; x. 28; xviii. 9; xxiii. 15, 33. Mark ix. 43, 45, 47. Luke xii. 5. James iii. 6. Is. xxxiii. 14.

appropriateness of its description, in the prophecy relating to the re-establishment of the city, as the "*Valley of the dead bones.*"*

But another, and a more remarkable prophecy connected with this valley, is delivered by the prophet Isaiah:—

"For Tophet is ordained of old; yea for the King it is prepared; he hath made it deep and large: the pile thereof is fire and much wood, the breath of the Lord, like a stream of brimstone, doth kindle it." Is. xxx. ult.

From the reference to the Assyrians in the verse immediately preceding, this passage has been, with few exceptions,† considered to point to the destruction of Sennacherib's hosts.‡

* "This was undoubtedly the valley of Hinnom, so called from its being made a common burial place, and a receptacle for the rubbish and filth of the city." (Blayney, *Jeremiah*, xxxi. 40.)

† "It is emblematical of the destruction of the Assyrians and of Antichrist." (Rev. E. Henderson, D. Ph. *Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Isaiah*.) "The prophecy in Jeremiah has reference to the Jews; and that in Isaiah to their enemies." (Rev. Alex. Keith, M.A., *Isaiah as it is*.)

‡ "The sense is, that the armies of the Assyrians would be completely destroyed, *as it were*, by a large pile of wood in the valley of Hinnom—the seat of the worship of Moloch—the cries of whose victims were drowned by the beating of drums. (*tophim*.) Tophet was afterwards a receptacle for filth and dead bodies, and to prevent contagion fires were kept constantly kindled. Thus it 'was ordained' that Hezekiah should pollute this valley, fitting up this place *as if* for the appropriate punishment of the Assyrians; for Sennacherib advanced from the N. or N.E. 'For the King it is prepared.' For Hezekiah, *as if* by his order. The meaning is, that the destruction of the Assyrians would as really come from Jehovah as if he should by his own agency ignite the vast piles that were collected in the valley of Hinnom." (A. Barnes, *Notes on the book of Isaiah*, xxx. 33.) "The term is used for the place of destruction of the Assyrian host, by a *metonymy*." (Bp. Lowth, *Isaiah* xxxiii. 14.) "The destruction of Sennacherib is likened to a burning of bodies on a funeral pile. It cannot, therefore, refer to the Jews." (Prof. Joseph Addison Alexander, *Earlier Prophecies of Isaiah*.) This, however, does not follow, for the bodies of the Kings of Judah appear to have been burnt, in the Phœnician manner, after the time of Asa. See II. Chron. xxi. 19, and compare Michaelis *Syntagma Comm.* p. 225. (Comment. de combust. et humat. mortuorum apud Hebræos.) Hitzig, Hendewerk, Calmet, Jahn, Doederlein, Schegg, and Dahler refer it to Sennacherib: Vitringa and Berthier refer it figuratively to Sennacherib, and ultimately

But the site of that event is clearly indicated by Scripture as having occurred on the N.E. of the city;* and it is therefore impossible to believe that the event is referred to, even by a metonymy. But, while the commencement of the chapter is an imprecation of God's judgment upon the Jews for their manifold transgressions, the remainder of the chapter, from the 18th to the 26th verse is a promise of their ultimate restoration. It is not a promise of temporary relief from a threatening and afflicting foe, but of ultimate and permanent triumph over all their enemies. Zion shall be re-established, her teachers shall not be removed into a corner any more, the produce of her fields shall be fat and plenteous. Rivers of water shall flow from the hills round about "in the *day of the great slaughter*, when the towers fall." "Moreover, the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, as the light of seven days, *in the day that the Lord bindeth up the breach of his people, and healeth the stroke of their wound.*" Then follows an indication of God's judgment against the nations, from the 27th to the 30th verse, "sifting the nations with the sieve of vanity," after which is the transient allusion to Assyria, which country is put in a synechdochal manner for the nations at large, and the chapter closes with the prophecy of the preparations for the final judgment of the nations in the valley of Jehosaphat, which as we see in other passages is put not only for the valley of Hinnom, but for all the valleys and hills about the city.† The word Jehosaphat is said to be derived from Jehovah-shaphat, signifying the *judgment of Jehovah*: a signification which is confirmed by another name given to the valley, the '*Valley of Decision.*' (Joel iii. 14.) It

to Hell: "Topheth hoc in loco *sensu spirituali* notat locum supplicii Assyriis ex ira Dei ardente infligendi; perinde ac Gehenna notat locum supplicii reprobis." (Vitranga, *Comm. in Iesaiam* xxx. 33, vol. ii. 194 b.) Ecolampadius, following Jerome, makes it relate exclusively to hell. Cyril interprets it as the casting of Satan into hell. (*Comm. in Iesaiam*, lib. iii. tom. iii. p. 207.)

* Is. x. 32, as quoted by Albert Barnes, *Isaiah*, ad loc. † See Joel, ch. iii.

would therefore be a general name, comprehending the valley of Hinnom, in accordance with other Scripture prophecies.

“*Tophet is ordained of old: for the king it is prepared.*” “The place was appointed from the creation of the world, rather, I should say, from the beginning of creation, when Christ was ‘declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness.’”* In this ‘*Valley of slaughter*’ shall the nations be gathered together, and “they shall look on him whom they pierced.”†

Isidor connects this place of judgment with Calvary‡—referring it, of course, to the mythical Calvary or Golgotha. Jerome, Adrichomius, and Villalpandus, believe that the ‘*Valley of the dead bodies*’—which they place between the reputed Golgotha and the supposed wall of the city—was the spot where the bodies and bones of those who had been crucified on Golgotha were cast away:§ while the latter author, with Lamy,|| places this Golgotha, or place of capital punishment, opposite to the *Dung Gate*,¶ (though he supposed this to have

* Quaresmius, *Elucid. Terræ Sanctæ*, ii. 435 a. Lib. v. Per. i. c. 32.

† *Id.* ii. 154 b. Lib. iv. Per. v. c. 3, quoting Zach. xii. 10.

‡ *De Nativitate*, 61. “Hac Porta Stercoraria Dominus qui induerat sordes nostras, ut sanguine suo nos lavaret, ductus videtur ad mortem Calvariæ in quo passus est.” (Bern. Lamy, *Appar. Geog.* xiii. 3, p. 321.)

§ Hieron. *Comm. in Jerem.* xxxi. 39: Villalpandus, *Apparatus*, 33 a, b, lib. i. 8. “Vallis Cadaverum quæ inter montem Calvariæ et mœnia Jerusalem sita est, nomen inde habens, quòd ibi cadavera, ossa, et cineres eorum, qui in Monte Calvariæ morte puniti, aut combusti erant, projicebantur. Quamobrem, et milites Christi crucifixores, postquam latronum qui cum Christo crucifixi erant, fregissent crura, ob iminentem vesperam et diem festum, eorum cadavera et cruces, simul et Christi jam sepulti crucem ac titulum in hanc vallem præcipitaverunt.” (Adrichomius, *Descrip. urb. Jerus.* 175 b. No. 42. B. Lamy, p. 86.)

|| “Ad Vallem Cadaverum ducebat Porta Stercoraria, quâ nempe emittebantur sordes urbis.” [Bern. Lamy, *Appar. Geog.* xiii. 3. p. 321.]

¶ Plessing refers the passage in Heb. xiii. 12, to this gate, and believes it to correspond with the Porta Charonia, of Athens, through which the condemned were led to execution; and that the Esquiline Gate of Rome had a similar destination. Lipsius, note 129, *ad Tacit. Annal.* xv. 285. (*Golgotha*, v. 27.) Bynæus, *De Morte Christi*, iii. 5, § 24, 26; iii. 6, 19: Cicero, v., *In Verrem*.

Golgotha, “hic extra urbem ad occasum erat situs, quo respixerunt turris

adjoined the Valley Gate,) and he unites with Jerome and

Hippicus, et portæ Vallis, *Sterquilini*”, &c. (J. G. Carpzov. *Apparat. Hist. crit. Antiq. Sacr.* Annot. ad Goodwin. de Templo, § iii. p. 38.)

“Mons Calvariæ, ubi ultimo supplicio plectebantur scelesti homines, Portæ Stercoris, et Valli, proximus erat.” (90 b. lib. ii. 9.) He connects Golgotha with Galgala, (Josh. v. 9,) and derives the name from גלגל *galal*, dung. “Hunc locum designasse crediderim Judæos, cum diabolica persuasione, ac propria malitia commoti, insânis clamoribus à Pilato contenderunt, ut Christum cruci affigeret, ‘Away with him! away with him! Crucify him.’ Golgotha-illi innuebant: ac si omne malum à se, suisque liberis his vocibus averti deprecarentur, ac dicerent: Averte hominem hunc nequissimum ab aspectu, et oculis nostris: projice eum in *locum stercoris*.” Then referring to I. Cor. iv. 13, ‘We are made as the filth of the world, and are the offscouring of all things unto this day,’ he continues, “Quasi diceret Paulus: equidem non dedignor despici, et *quasi stercus* reputari, quo similis Christo sim, *in loco stercoreis abjecto et crucifixo*.” (pp. 33, 34. lib. i. 8.) This connection of גלגל with *dung*, and rolling away of offences, (Compare Josh. v. 9,) is remarkable.

If this idea of the Dung Gate being the gate by which Christ issued from Jerusalem be confirmed, the question arises whether the palace of Pontius Pilate, supposed to be at the Antonia, should not be transferred to the palace of the Asamonæans, afterwards the palace of Agrippa. Plessing has already pointed out the contradiction of the Scala Santa at Rome being believed to have formed part of (the so-called) Pilate’s palace at the Antonia, when that fortress had been razed to its foundation by Titus. The presumption is very great that the palace of the Asamonæans, situated in the upper city, overlooking the Temple and the whole city, and commanding the bridge, formed the palace of Pontius Pilate. (See Josephus, *Bell.* ii. 16, § 3; *Ant.* xx. 8, § 11.) It was from this palace that Agrippa and his sister Berenice addressed the Jews collected together in the Xystus. Agrippa’s palace and Pilate’s palace being identical, Gabbatha, or “*the Pavement*,” would correspond to the *Bouleuterion*, or “Council House,” or to the Xystus, with its open courts and marble porticoes. Indeed, we may regard it as very certain that Antonia, which Josephus describes as being a fortress to the Temple and the whole city, and containing “spacious barracks for the accommodation of troops,” and which both by him, and in Holy Scripture, is called “the Castle,” was the castle or fortress of “the chief captain of the band,” the *Chiliarchus* or tribune, the commander of 1,000 men, having under him ten Centurions. This fact is abundantly proved by the history of Paul’s capture in the Temple, as described in *Acts* xxi-xxiii: (see *ante*, p. 441:) and is quite in accordance with the particulars given us by Josephus, who says: “On the corner, where it joined to the porticoes of the Temple, it had passages leading down to each, through which the guard—for *there always lay in this tower a Roman legion*—went several ways among the porticoes, with their arms,

Quaresmius in supposing that this spot of infamy only made the cross more glorious.*

The reader will perceive that the arguments which have been adduced are those of the advocates of the sepulchre, and that they are furnished by those, who, though not conscious of the result of their reasonings, have by supporting the proposi-

on the Jewish festivals, in order to watch the people, that they might not there attempt any insurrection."

"We find mention of Pilate's palace in the fourth and seventh centuries, but I would refer only, to avoid prolixity, to what we find recorded of it in the time of the Frank kings. In the earlier portion of this period we know for a certainty that the Prætorium was then believed to have stood on Zion. After our Lord was taken in Gethsemane, they say that he was led to Mount Zion, where was situate the palace of Pilate. In front of this building the Christians pointed out the spot where Christ was scourged, and where, in remembrance of this ill-treatment, a chapel was built, lying north of the church of Zion . . . The line of a Via Crucis, corresponding perfectly with all requirements, can be pointed out, but certainly not where it now stands." (Dr. Titus Tobler, *Das Ausland*, 25 Jan., 1848, referring in a note to Joh. Wirzburgensis, *Descr. Terræ Sanctæ* in B. Pezii *Thesaur. Anecd. Nov.* 1, 3, 513. With this agree other writers of the period of the Frank kings, as Eugesippus *Tract. de distantiiis Locor.* in L. Allatii *Συμμικτα*, Col. Agr. 1, 117, Epiphanius, *Syria, et Urbs sancta*, in Allatii l. c. 1, 51, and the Antioch archdeacon Fetellus, *De situ iherusalem*, Cod. MS., Vienn. h. eccl., No. CLIV, 16 b, 22 b.)

"The direction of the Via Dolorosa was changed towards the end of the Frank kingdom, (1187), and its direction was again changed, as it now runs, in the last quarter of the sixteenth century." (Tobler, *Id.*)

* Quoting 1 Cor. i. 28. 'And base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things which are,' Quaresmius observes, "Verùm humilem, abjectum, infamem et contemptum hunc locum, sicut et ignominiosam et maledictam crucem, morti sui elegit Salvator noster; ut magis illius virtus eniteret," &c. (*Elucid. Terr. Sanc.* 434, 435, Lib. v. Per. i. 34.) "Extra urbem enim et foras portam, loca sunt in quibus truncantur capita damnatorum, et Calvariæ, i. e. decollatorum sumpsere nomen. Propterea autem ibi crucifixus est Dominus, ut ubi prius erat Area damnatorum, ibi erigerentur vexilla martyrii. Et quomodo pro nobis maledictum crucis factus est, et flagellatus est, et crucifixus; sic pro omnium salute quasi noxius inter noxios crucifigeretur. . . . ut ubi abundavit peccatum, superundaret gratia." (S. Hieron. *Comm. in Matth.* xxvii. 33.) "Ubi et Salvator noster J. C., qui peccatum non noverat, pro nobis peccatum factus est." (C. G. Offerhausii, *Exercit. Philolog. vet. Hieros.* 1718, § viii. 13.)

tion produced a startling objection to the opinions which they held. It is unnecessary to produce further witnesses: I would leave the case upon the evidence of my opponents. We have heard them testify that Tophet, or the valley of Slaughter, is identical with the 'Valley of dead bones,' or the 'Valley of Hell,' and that it is opposite to the Dung Gate. We have seen the Goatha of Jeremiah identifying itself with the 'Valley of dead bones,' the garden of the sepulchre locating itself in what was once the valley of gardens. What so probable as that such a quarter of the city, so abhorred by the good on account of its past idolatry, so hated by the evil on account of its typifying the place of future punishment, so desecrated by all men from its being made the receptacle of the filth and offal of the city,*—should be selected as the place of 'outer darkness,'† as the place of punishment for capital offences? What so natural as that He, who took upon Him the nature of man,—who was born in a manger,—who had not where to lay His head,—who was made a curse for us,—who was condemned to the death of a malefactor,—who had His grave with the wicked, should complete the work He had taken upon Him, by suffering in

* II. Kings, xxiii. 10. "Est sententia quæ statuit Vallem Topheth fuisse locum in suburbano tractu meridionali urbis Hierosolymæ, in quem sordes, quisquilæ, fæces, cineres, et expurgamenta Civium coniecta sunt, ibidem aduri solita; et inde loco esse nomen et emblematis pretendam esse expositionem. Patior id dici: neque enim mihi obest." (Vitringa, *Comm. in Iesaiam*, xxx. 33, Pars II. p. 194 b.)

Villalpandus takes this valley to be the Bethso of Josephus, (*Bell.* v. 4, § 2,) and derives the name from *asaph*, dung. The Gate of the Essenes he supposes to be the Dung Gate. (*Apparatus*, p. 90 a. lib. ii. 9: p. 184 b. lib. iii. 13.) Bachiene, to the same effect, (*Hist. und Geog. Besch. von Paläst.*, ii. § 85:) as also Vitringa, in his Commentary on the Temple of Ezekiel, (i. 142;) so also Von Raumer, § 4, p. 58. Solinus says, that the Essenes inhabited the most inland parts of Judæa, towards the west. (lib. xxxviii.)

"Eà in regione extra urbem locus erat, quem Josephus appellat *Bethso*, cujus vocis originem cum Adrichomio opinatur fuisse publicam custodiam, in quam fontes veluti stercus conjicerentur extra civitatem. Locus ille tenebricosus erat, quippe, in profunda valle situs. Carceres appellantur in Scripturis, tenebræ, ut in Ps. cvi." *Septuag.* (Bern. Lamy, *Appar. Geog.* xiii. 3, p. 321.)

† Villalpandus, *Apparatus*.

this place of infamy? What so consistent, as that the spot so long polluted by the most horrible of idolatries, should be 'ordained' in the pre-determined counsel of God, as the place most suited for divine satisfaction; that this 'Valley of dead bones,' this valley of the grave, should become the place of victory?†

Another species of evidence is that afforded by examining the types displayed in the ceremonies of the Jewish dispensation. We are told by the Apostle, that Christ suffered without the camp, in consequence of the sacrifices for sin being offered *without the camp*, under the old dispensation. (Heb. xiii. 11, 12.) This we know to have been the case, not merely with the ordinary sin-offering, (*Exod.* xxix. 4; *Levit.* iv. 12, 21; vi. 11; viii. 17; ix. 11; xvi. 27,) but also with the red heifer, "without spot or blemish," (*Numb.* xix. 2, 3, 9,) and with the sacrifice made by the priest after sending away the scape-goat. (*Levit.* xvi.) The place of this sacrifice would naturally be preserved and appropriated on the introduction of the worship of Moloch, and the spot then used we have seen to be the Valley of Hinnom. The word נֶעְתָּה (Goatha) signifies *lowing*, which may possibly have reference to this sacrifice, and it is further remarkable, that the face of the scapegoat was directed towards the west, and that the blood of all sacrifices was sprinkled in that direction.† But we are further told that the spot for burning the sin-offering was to be "without the camp, in a clean place." (*Levit.* iv. 12: vi. 11.) This would correspond with Topheth, or the "pleasant valley," before it was defiled by the worship of Moloch: and though the Jews appear to have

* "Ecce nomen Domini quia in iudicio apparebit, Dominus qui iudicatus fuit coram Pilato ut servus et abjectus." (Nic. de Lyra, *Postilla*,) Is. xxx. 33.

† "In eo quoque, quod ad occidentem urbis fuerit situs hicce locus, quidam mysterium esse suspicantur, cum et sanguis omnium sacrificiorum versus occidentem, in quo adytum erat, spargendus esset, et hircus emissarius vultu versus occidentem spectaret, quando peccata totius populi ei imponebantur, secundum Maimonidem, *de Festo, expiat*." Cap. 4. (F. A. Lampe, *Comm. Analyt. exeg. Evang. sec. Joannem*, tom. iii. 590, 591, note s., cap. xix. 17.)

afterwards removed the "clean place" to the Mount of Olives, forming a wooden bridge for this purpose across the Valley of Jehoshaphat, to prevent the heifer coming in contact with any unclean object, yet would the type be fulfilled by the body of Christ being carried to the "garden," and to the "new tomb wherein never man before was laid." Moreover, at this place of the sin-offering the *ashes* of the heifer were carefully set apart for sprinkling the unclean; (*Numb.* xix. 9;) and by referring to Jeremiah, xxxi. 39, we perceive this spot to have been called the 'Valley of the Ashes,' and to have formed part, or been immediately contiguous to the Valley of dead bones. This must have been at the further extremity of the valley from the Temple, on account of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and the Valley of Hinnom being filled with graves, and therefore it was near to the Lower Pool.

All this might appear speculative and visionary, were we not told by the Apostle that all these ceremonies served as types of a better and more complete sacrifice. (*Heb.* ix. 9.)

If it be asked, Whether there be any indication of the exact locality of the Sepulchre, I would say, Search not for it. It is enough for us to know that "Christ suffered without the gate." Nay, if I were able to point it out, I would rather endeavour to cast a veil about it, to protect it at once from the feet of the superstitious, and the hands of the infidel.

It is time to draw this paper to a close. If the arguments which have been offered by various writers do not carry conviction to the mind of the advocate of tradition, if he be callous to the contempt of the Turk, if he scorn the scoff of the Infidel, if he revile the reproof of the Christian,—let him listen to words which point out a more excellent way of manifesting true devotion, and suggest a purer and more reverential piety,—let him listen to the angel of Calvary, "WHY SEEK YE THE LIVING AMONG THE DEAD? HE IS NOT HERE: HE IS RISEN."

مقدسي

NOTES.

The reader is requested to insert the following notes in their respective places: and his attention is particularly directed to those for pages 328 and 378.

1. (to p. 312, penult. line) *add*—and Dr. Tobler.
2. (to p. 328, after quotation from “pp. 424, 426.”) The following is the original of this most important passage—

“VII. *De Monte Calvariae, et Sepulchro Christi, ac Ecclesia Sepulchri.*

... Sub hoc circulo, in medio scilicet Ecclesiae, parvula domuncula est, in quam propter portae demissionem, versus orientem intrare oportet corpore incurvato: suprà verò testudinata est ad modum semicirculi, opere mosaico, auro et marmoribus deornata, nullam habens fenestram, candelis lampade illustrata.

“In hujus domunculæ parte dextra locus est Dominicæ Sepulturæ, attingens extremitates prædictæ casæ in longum, scilicet ab oriente versus occidentem, cujus longitudo novem communium palmarum est, latitudo verò tam monumenti, quàm spaciî cæteri ipsius domunculæ, residuum in latitudine circa sex palmas communes utrobique se extendit; circa 12 palmas potest esse altitudo domunculæ supradictæ.

“Illud verò advertendum est, quod monumentum illi sanctissimo loco superpositum, *non est illud, in quo corpus Christi sacratissimum exanime primitus est immissum; quia* sacro attestante eloquio, *monumentum Christi erat excisum in petra viva*, scilicet, quomodo antiquorum monumenta, et præcipuè in his partibus fieri communiter consueverunt; *illud verò ex petris pluribus est compositum, de novo conglutinato cæmento*, minus artificialiter, et minus quàm deceat, ordinatè.

“Locus etiam ipse monumenti Christi fuit per infideles longo tempore possessus ante tempora Latinorum, et prophanatus, *qui nihil in ipso dimiserunt, quod devotionem fidelium posset de hujusmodi provocare.* Quando etiam Hierusalem capta est ultimò à Saracenis, per certa pacta et tractatus civitatem sanctam dimiserunt, et assultu capta non fuit; nec verisimile est, posito, quòd in loco sepulchri aliquid fuisset de vero monumento, Christiani dimisissent aliquid ibidem ab infidelibus conculcandum, cum etiam nunc fideles studeant eadem loca visitantes, de petris et terra, quantum possunt, portare *et si possent, utique totam asportarent, vestigiis Christi consecratum.*”

[Having thus stated that the tomb of Christ had been entirely destroyed

and removed, partly by the Saracens, and partly by the Christians, he goes on to assert that *only the site* remained undisturbed.—]“Veruntamen quicquid sit de hoc, ipse *locus* Sepulchri Christi formaliter moveri non potest, sed remansit, et remanebit immobilis in æternum.”

In a note to this passage, Basnage contents himself with referring to the contrary evidence of Bartholomew de Salignac—he who saw the luminous opening in the ætherial regions from the church of the Ascension. See *ante*, p. 330. (Guilielmi de Baldensel, *Hodoeporicon ad Terram Sanctam*, anno 1336, in H. Canisii, *Thes. Mon. Eccl. et Hist.*, fol. Ant. 1725, vol. iv. 348, 349.)

Similar is the testimony of Fabri, (i. 336.) “Ex omnibus jam dictis de sancto sepulchro hoc teneat devotus peregrinus et pacificus, quod, sive illa spelunca, quæ hodie stat, sit verum Christi monumentum et totum, sive sit pars ejus, sive nihil sit ibi de eo, parum refert, sive hoc sive illud sit, quia *principale ibi mansit, quod asportari et demoliri nullatenus potest, scilicet locus* sanctissimæ sepulturæ et resurrectionis Christi, in quo loco, *etsi non sit ibi Christi monumentum, . . . priori . . . simillimum*, spelunca duplex, ejusdem sanctitatis, dignitatis, et reverentiæ.”

3. (to p. 329, line 1.) The group of buildings consisted of four churches. The church of the Resurrection (now Holy Sepulchre) lay to the west; the church of Calvary, and the Basilica, over the place of the “invention of the cross,” were to the east; joining these, on the south, was the church to the Virgin Mary; and between them all was the ‘*paradissus*’ paved with precious stones. (Tobler, *Golgotha*, 116, 117.) How is it possible that all this could have stood within the area of the present building!
4. (to p. 338, note) *add*—in Dr. Otto Thenius, *Das vorexilische Jerus. und dessen Tempel*, 1849, p. 24; and in Dr. Titus Tobler, *Golgotha, seine Kirchen und Klöster*, 1851, p. 160-165.
5. (to p. 340, note.) *add*—Dr. Tobler, to the like effect. (*Das Ausland*, Jan. 20, 1848.)
6. (to p. 342, after “*Luther and his times.*”) Perhaps the reason of Luther’s having the misfortune to earn Mr. Williams’ disapprobation, arose from his having asserted: “For the grave where the Lord lay, which the Saracens now hold—God cares about as much as he does for all the cows of Switzerland.”
7. (to p. 342, line 5,) Contrast with this the opinion of Krafft, who advocates equally the authenticity of the sepulchre. (*Jerusalem*, pp. 259, 260.)
8. (to p. 342, after the words “actuated as an author.”) Dr. Tobler observes that of many travellers it may be said that they “journey to Jerusalem, not so much to form a theory from the appearances presented to them, as to adapt the appearances to their already formed opinions.” (*Das Ausland*, 21 Jan. 1848.)
9. (to p. 347, note *) *add*—and Schwarz, *Descr. Geogr. of Palestine*, p. 266.
10. (to p. 348, after quotation from Bartlett.) “La voie de David, nommée

ainsi d'une galerie souterraine que David avait fait construire de la porte de la Chainé [one of the gates of the Temple] au château nommé Autel de David. (Hippicus.) Elle existe encore, et on en découvre de temps en temps des parties. C'est une galerie solidement voutée." (*Fundgruben des Orients*, ii. 126.)

11. (to p. 349, end of first note.) "A very deep cistern, the water of which is just like that of the spring of Siloah, and I think it therefore certain that the former aqueduct of Hezekiah is now below the surface of the ground in this direction. . . . The learned Azulai mentions in, '*The Names of the Great*,' (fol. 30 *b*,) that as late as the time of the Cabbalist Rabbi Chayim Vital, who lived in 5340 [A.D. 1580] one could hear near the Kallai, or David's tower, [Hippicus] a strong subterranean rushing of running water, which was represented as the ancient aqueduct of King Hezekiah." (Rabbi Joseph Schwarz, *Descr. Geogr. and Brief Hist. Sketch of Palestine*, translated by Isaac Leeser, Philad. 5610, [A.D. 1850,] p. 266.)
12. (to p. 351, note †) Schultz accepts this position of the Fuller's field, the Upper Pool, etc.
13. (to p. 357, after the words "(*Bibl. Sacr.* v. 96.))" Dr. Tobler unites in this opinion. (*Das Ausland*, Jan. 20, 1848.)
14. (to p. 357, after "Herren Krafft.") The first remains here spoken of Herr Krafft did not notice on the occasion of his researches, and on proceeding to the spot subsequently, he found they were gone, though he doubted not that they had existed.

Of those next mentioned, supposed to have formed part of an ancient gateway, he says:—"The character of these remains points evidently to later times: the workmanship is too insignificant for a city gate; the masonry of the piers consists of but small stones; the filling in is of loose rubble-work, held together with soft bad mortar; and lastly the inadequacy of the piers for the thrust of a large arch of 21 feet span,—all testify against our regarding these remains as portions of a city gate of the Second Wall. They do not at all accord with the character of Roman architecture, and are much more analogous with Mahometan art."

Of the columns next mentioned, he says:—"The spring-course of a return arch is indicated, and the remains are those of a fore-court or palace; but there is not the slightest ground for attributing them to a city gate. The style is of late Roman date, and the remains probably formed part of Constantine's buildings." (Krafft, *Jerusalem*, s. 29, 30.)

15. (to p. 357, note *) *add*—and Schultz, p. 60.
16. (to p. 361, after "impossible place.") Schultz honestly states, "Sciner Beschreibung ist mir indessen nicht in Allen ganz deutlich." (*Jerusalem*, s. 98.)
17. (to p. 378, note.) "One large subterranean passage leads from this,

mosque to that of al Achsa." (Rabbi J. Schwarz, *Descr. Geog. of Palest.* p. 262.)

18. (to p. 381, after the words "Christian workmen.") Christians are always employed in the repairs of the mosque. See Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, iii. 53; and Schwarz, *Descr. Geog. of Palest.* Appendix 13.
19. (to p. 389, after small type.) See another tradition, to the like effect, in *Gruben des Orients*, v. 162.
20. (to p. 392, after Sakrah ¶.) Do the Moslems laugh at the holy-fire of the Christians?—This shall not prevent their practising the like deception on their brother Moslems of Medina. (Ludovico de Varthema, *Itin.* p. 11 b, quoted by Tobler, *Golgatha*, 482, 483)
21. (to p. 403, after the words "has long since passed.") A detailed history of the 'Holy Fire' is given in Dr. Tobler's *Golgatha*, s. 460-482. The Roman Catholics washed their hands of the affair only in the commencement of the fifteenth century.
22. (to p. 404, note.) After referring to the protection afforded by the Turks to the Christians at the 'holy sepulchre,' Niebuhr well remarks, "Were Jerusalem in the hands of the Christians, they would probably not allow the members of other communions to practise openly their religious rites." (*Reisebeschreibung*, iii. 48.)

The 'holy sepulchre' is again become the theatre of political intrigue. If Russia be allowed to extend her "*protection*" to the Christian population of the Asiatic portion of the Mussulman dominions, as Austria has succeeded in doing in the west, these vast countries which, by the liberal policy of the Ottoman Sultan, now afford free religious opinion to the native Christians, will render them irrevocably subject to the despotic yoke of Mariolatry; the rapidly increasing and important body of Armenian protestants, lately emancipated by the Turk, and put upon an equality with the other churches, will again be brought into subjection to the Armenian patriarch; and all hope of effecting the conversion of the Mussulman, by the exhibition of the moral influence of protestantism, will be destroyed. If the papacy of Rome and the hierarchy of Russia be allowed to divide among themselves the countries of the east, our newly founded church of Jerusalem will be rooted up, and her bishop, and clergy, and missionaries, sent out of the country. We have only to read the reports of missionaries in these countries to perceive the truth of this fact. "In the Turkish empire, may the missionary enter at every point, and labour among them with no Turkish ruler disposed to hinder him in so doing. Only from the Christians may opposition be expected to originate." (Smith and Dwight, *Miss. Res. in Armenia*, 1834, p. 460.) "In 1821 and 1822, the Rev. Mr. Blythe, of the Scottish Mission, laboured among the Caucassians, and was listened to with great interest . . . but the Russian government ordered him away, upon the principle, that *where the established church has*

begun to baptize, it allows no other denomination to establish a mission The Russian mission, which succeeded, were once driven from the country by the provoked natives." (*Id.*, p. 159.) See the same work, pp. 205-210, for an account of the persecution of the mission at Shoosha. The Church Missionary Society states, that "the mission was commenced here in 1823, and actively carried on till 1836, when, in consequence of the interference of the high Russian clergy, the government prohibited all protestant missionary labour. The Ukasse was dated July 5, 1835. It prohibited all missionaries, dissenting from the Greek Church, from exercising their calling in Russia; and presents that empire, in its civil and ecclesiastical aspect, in a position of decided antagonism to the truth of God, . . . and shutting out the pure gospel from the heathen and Mahomedan population within its limits. The expulsion of the London Society's Missionaries from Selinginsk, in Siberia, subsequently took place; and China itself is not so rigidly sealed to the entrance of a protestant missionary, as the vast domains and wandering tribes of Asiatic Russia." (*Church Missionary Intelligencer*, June 1852.)

23. (to p. 406, after the words "The kingdom of God is within you.")

"It might be asked, where could we sooner hope to find the seat of truth than in the holy courts of this temple? But with inexpressible pain must I acknowledge that the contrary is the fact: for in few places of the earth is there, to use the mildest term, so much fiction, as in this so-called holiest spot of Christianity." (Tobler, *Golgotha*, Vorrede.)

"Could such crimes, such contentions and quarrellings, such lies and carnality, be possible in this church of the sepulchre, if the edifice really stood upon the spot where Christ was crucified and buried?" (*Id.*, p. 164.)

One shudders to think of the abominations said to be committed in this church in Passion-week, but more particularly in the interval between Good Friday and Easter-day, when crowds of people, men and women, pass the night around what they consider to be the *holy sepulchre* of Christ! (The reader, who desires further particulars on this subject, must consult Tobler, *Golgotha*, 425-439, but especially 426-428.)

"The honour which the Christians manifest to the 'holy places,' but of which, however, they cannot be certain that transactions should have taken place, just in those localities, and not one hundred paces north or south of them, is, in the opinion of rightly-minded Mahometans, all but blasphemy. How would Jerusalem be idolized, were the city now in the hands of Jews or Christians!" (Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, iii. 50, 51.) "As I once expressed some doubts respecting the identity of the site of Mount Golgotha, to the vicar of the Franciscan convent, he answered, that Christians are not obliged to believe in this spot, but in Christ, who, for our sins, was crucified. The most rational of the Roman Catholic monks, even, do not appear to be certain that Mount Golgotha really did exist where they now see it." (*Id.*, p. 56.)

See Dr. Tobler's objections to the alleged Mount Golgotha, in *Das Ausland*, 18 April, 1848, and to the Sepulchre, and the pretended graves of Joseph and Nicodemus; in the same Journal, 17 April 1848, and in his *Golgatha*, s. 224.

"It will scarcely be believed that persons can be found to accept only one of the two places of crucifixion and burial, and reject the other. Schwegger, Touttée and Scholz believe the sepulchre to be the real one, and object to Calvary. J. J. Ammon, on the other hand, argues in favour of the latter, and rejects the former." (*Golgatha*, 164, 165.)

24. (to p. 410, after the words "going down to Silla, or Siloah.") Rabbi Schwarz accords with this interpretation. (*Desc. Geog. of Palestine*, p. 241.)

25. (to p. 443, after the word "Procopius.") Krafft considers these substructions to be too ancient for the time of Justinian. (*Jerusalem*, p. 73.)



(XIX.)

APPENDIX.

While the foregoing sheets were passing through the press, the writer received from abroad Schaffter's work "On the True Site of the Holy Sepulchre," the title of which being so identical with his own paper, he thought himself called upon to examine and report upon the book itself. At the same time, Dr. Tobler's work on "Golgotha, its Churches and Convents," fell into his hands; and, through this book, he became aware* of the "Descriptive Geography, and Brief Historical Sketch, of Palestine," by Rabbi Joseph Schwarz; and ultimately, a few days only before the end of the month, he received a visit from Dr. Zimpel, from whom he took a copy of his "New local and topographical Exposition of the Holy City, Jerusalem, the Capital of the World." On each of these works it is requisite to say a few words.

1. ALBERT SCHAFFTER, V.D.M. *Die Aechte Lage des heiligen Grabes.*
8vo. Bern, 1849.

This book, which I had anticipated would be an able supporter of my opinions, if not a precursor of my theory, I find to be written with "the object of enfeebling the doubts as to the authenticity of the localities now pointed out as connected with the Holy Sepulchre." (*Einleitung*, iv.) The map of Jerusalem which accompanies this notice of his essay, has been copied by the Anastatic process; so that it will, at the same time, serve to exhibit his argument, and afford proof of the general delineation of the ground, as exhibited in my plan. Its chief peculiarity is the limitation of Aera, or the Lower City, to the supposed

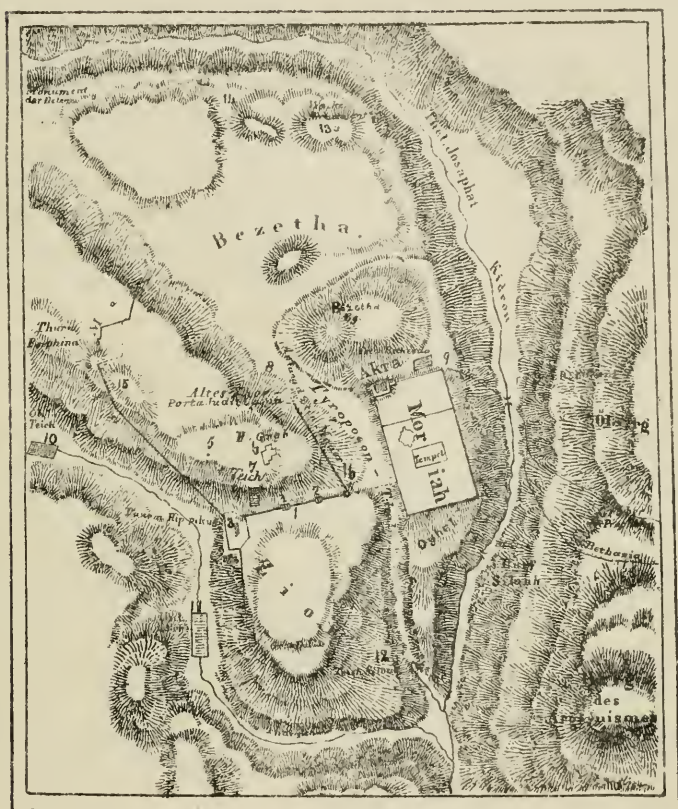
* Those acquainted with German literature must be struck with the great variety of notes, and the intimate acquaintance with the works connected with the subject treated of, in any particular book. This is, in great measure, owing to the existence of Classified Catalogues in all the public libraries of the country. It is much to be regretted that no such catalogue exists in the library of the British Museum. Such a catalogue was in preparation some years ago, and three parts finished, when the annual sum appropriated to the purpose was withdrawn by the *liberal* policy of Lord Melbourne's administration.

site of Antonia,—a space which, as measured by the plan, is equal to about one-fourth part of Russell-square. In his text, however, he supposes Acra and Moriah to form but one hill, (“wirklich nur einen Berg, nur einen Hügelzug,”) (15, 16, 29.) This he considers that he is able to assert “without hesitation, and with the greatest certainty,” (13,) and he actually alleges as an argument against Dr. Robinson’s plan, the non-compliance with this supposed axiom. He acknowledges that the fourteen towers described by Josephus as encircling the Lower City, cannot be placed round his Acra; but then he imagines Josephus to be *under a mistake*. (44.) He forgets to explain how it is that Josephus could so circumstantially describe Acra with its fourteen towers, and then Antonia with its four corner, and one great central tower; but perhaps he would say,—and he would do so with great truth,—Josephus must have been “thinking of something else” when he wrote this. But it is astonishing that the author does not reflect that whether or no Antonia did ever bear the name of Acra, it existed as the castle of Antonia in the time of Josephus, and that Mount Moriah was then occupied by the Temple. Where then could his Lower City have existed? He has not room even for a single house! Neither will it avail him to say that he shows the commencement of the Second Wall considerably to the westward, and that there was room for the city in that direction; for he quotes Josephus in saying, “die Unterstadt sei auf Akra gestanden.” (14.) We have Mr. Williams to thank for this grievous distortion of Josephus’s description. The author supposes the Lower City, (Acra,) to have been destroyed and lowered by the Asamonæans, (14,) the absurdity of which notion I have already shown. (*Ante*, p. 436.) But we see the reason for this determined endeavour to shift the situation of Acra, for he states,—“If the hill Acra were, as Robinson supposes, the hill lying north of Zion, which hill is the prolongation and extremity of a broad tongue of land lying northward from the commencement of the Valley of Hinnom, and stretching down into the north-west portion of the city, then would our opinion of the identity of the Holy Sepulchre be entirely groundless, and the controversy respecting it be for ever terminated. For if the rocky spur projecting from the west, and upon which stands the neighbouring church of the Holy Sepulchre, belonged to Acra, then must another site be sought for the Holy Sepulchre in lieu of that which is now pointed out, and one, moreover, outside of the walls of the ancient Jerusalem.” (12.)

But let us suppose that Acra existed where he has shown it, how is it possible for him to draw a line of valley which shall, at the same time, (as Josephus describes,) separate Acra from Bezetha, and Acra from Moriah? Is it not evident to everybody, that, in order to comply with this condition, Bezetha and Moriah must be on one and the same side of the valley, and Acra on the other? Is it not also extraordinary, that, with what these writers acknowledge as “a broad valley running down from the Damascus Gate,” they do not see that this

PLAN OF JERUSALEM.

(From Schaffter's *Achte Lage des Heiligen Grabes.*)



REFERENCES.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 Tower of Phasaclus | 9 The Pool of Bethesda |
| 2 Tower of Mariamne | 10 The Upper Pool |
| 3 Tower of Hippicus | 11 The Lower Pool |
| 4 Gennath Gate | 12 The Pool of Siloam |
| 5 Monument of the High Priest John | 13 The Fuller's Monument |
| 6 Church of the Holy Sepulchre | 14 The Tombs of the Kings |
| 7 Pool of Hezekiah | 15 The Third Wall |
| 8 The Old Gate | 16 The Second Wall |

valley must be the "broad valley" described by Josephus, and which tallies so precisely with other requirements? But let us also grant him this, and take away this broad valley: how would he be enabled to place it between his Acra (*i. e.* Antonia) and Moriah, where we know, both from history and actual inspection, that no valley ever existed? But if he assert that the valley filled up by the Asamonæans existed on the other or northern side of his Acra or Antonia, how is it then that Titus still found a valley in this position? and how would the filling up of that valley join his Acra to Moriah?

Herr Schaffter (56-60) adopts Mr. Finlay's notion of the *Census*: (see *ante*, p. 379:) but how is it possible, had it ever existed in all the detail proposed by Mr. Finlay, that it should continue to be enforced after the destruction of the city by Titus, when it was lying waste, and "watchers were appointed in the neighbouring towns to mark any one going to the ruins?"

It should be mentioned that both Schaffter (63 *et ult.*) and Schultz (*Jerus.*, p. 59) contend only for the *site* of the Sepulchre.

2. TITUS TOBLER, M.D. *Golgatha, seine Kirchen und Klöster.*

8vo. St. Gallen and Bern, 1851.

The title of this book is as deceptive as Herr Schaffter's. I had seen the book in catalogues, but never thought of getting it, imagining that it consisted merely of a guide to the present buildings. Fortunately I discovered my mistake in time to avail myself of it in the preceding notes, though scarcely to the extent that I could have wished. The book consists not only of the most minute and detailed description of the present buildings hitherto published, but it also contains a most complete statement of the objections to the several pretended sites, and to various circumstances connected with them. His objections to the supposed holy sepulchre consist, first, of historical evidence, (197-201,) then of antiquarian, (224-229,) and lastly, of those derived from the Scripture narrative. (229-232.) The work is well worthy of a translation.

3. Rabbi JOSEPH SCHWARZ. *Descriptive Geography, and Brief Historical Sketch of Palestine.* Translated [from the Hebrew] by Isaac Leeser. 8vo. Philad., 5610, [A.D. 1850.]

In the chapter on Jerusalem, Rabbi Schwarz expresses himself with great earnestness against the superstitious traditions of the place. At the same time, it must be noted that his Hebrew birth prompts him occasionally to give new readings to words, the real meaning of which is already well established. He endeavours, for instance, to show that Hippicus, or Migdal-Pikus, was identical with the Tower of Hananeel; the Valley of Hinnom, with the Tyropæon; and

* See Krafft's plan. Compare with this Schaffter's description, p. 15.

Bethso, with Bezetha; and not only does he misplace all the gates, but he supposes the city wall to have passed over the Valley of Jehoshaphat.

To complete the list, we have—

4. CH. F. ZIMPEL, Dr. Philos. et Med. *Neue örtliche topographische Beleuchtung der heiligen Weltstadt Jerusalem*. 8vo. Stuttgart, 1853.

The author of this book devotes the first three chapters to the history and topography of Jerusalem, towards which, however, he adduces no fresh material, contenting himself with the researches of Dr. Robinson, Dr. Schultz, and other writers. From such conflicting opinions, he lays down a new plan of the city, in which, accepting the remains of the Second Wall adduced by Mr. Williams and Dr. Schultz, but calling it the First Wall, he places Acra *outside* of it, on the west, towards Mount Gihon, thus making the Second Wall identical with the present wall,* and thereby bringing the 'church of the Holy Sepulchre' near the centre of the city. The author does not insist upon these details of his plan: and in assigning the position of the gates, he places the Valley Gate at the south-east corner of Mount Moriah, but says,—“This cannot well have been the situation of it, for according to Neh. iii. 13, the Valley Gate must be sought for in the Valley of Hinnom: but I will retain this name, as it is more important to show that a gate existed in this spot, than to ascertain its name, especially so as the situation of the other gates is undetermined.” (46.) With this extract, we may perceive what authority is to be placed on the author's topographical researches. He then goes on to say, in the fourth chapter,—“Thus far will human reason lead us; and no further will the researches of learned men, of future generations, succeed in determining this controversy.... It has been the will of God that the holy places should hitherto have been concealed in doubt; but now God is pleased to loose the band from our eyes. In his endless mercy and compassion, he has broken the seal, and enabled us to see the true sites of those transactions which display the infinitude of his mercy to fallen man.. How long have the learned racked their brains to no purpose, in the endeavour to find out these holy places,—and all because they have not sought aright?” (54, 55.)

“As a ship without sail or rudder, dashed about by the billows of a mighty, raging sea,—at one time a Unitarian, at another, a Rationalist, I attained at length, in my fiftieth year, to some knowledge of my own condition; which conviction, strengthened from on high, at length led me back again to the bosom of that church which was founded by our Lord himself, through his apostles; and which, according to II. Cor. xi. 3, corresponds with its apostolical purity

* With the exception of the wall from Hippicus to what is shown, in my plan, as the Tower of the Furnaces, which wall he places 260 feet eastward, so as to be on the brow of the hill.

and primitive simplicity. Animated with this spirit, I became acquainted with the following book, from reading which I determined to journey to Jerusalem." (*Vorwort*, iii.)—"Das bittere Leiden unseres Herrn Jesu Christi, von A. C. Emmerich." München.*

"Through it I have conceived such joy of mind, that I earnestly hope that every traveller to Jerusalem may carry this book, next to the Bible, in his hand and heart, on visiting the sacred places, and he will receive therefrom more spiritual advantage (yea, even a portion of the Holy Spirit itself,—p. 93) than can be attained from any other, even the most learned books." (54.)

The lady thus introduced to the reader's attention was a simple peasant girl, who, after manifesting great devotion, became *ecstatic*, and received the holy *stigmata*.† She then entered the Augustine convent of Agnetenberg, at Dülmen, in Westphalia, where she composed the work on "the bitter sufferings of our Lord," wherein, casting the supposed events of the day of our Lord's crucifixion into a kind of visionary drama, she gave utterance to the successive incidents, the words being taken down by an attendant, and afterwards printed. The publisher apologises for the confusion existing in some parts of her description by explaining that, in her ecstasy, she turned constantly towards the quarter she was describing, [he does not explain how the distance of a few paces in Jerusalem could make a sensitive difference in the orientation from Westphalia,] but that no record having been kept of these changes of position, the text is become somewhat obscure. (71.)

* It speaks somewhat to the difference between Protestant and Catholic countries, that this book should, in 1849, have passed through *seven* editions in Munich, without having found its way into this country; and, that where here thousands of Bibles are printed every year, not one edition of it in the native language of the country can be found there.

† Some English readers may require to be told that the *stigmata*, or *vulgus divinum*, or *plaga amoris viva*, is the receiving the marks of the five wounds of Christ, on the feet, hands, and side; and sometimes, in addition to these, of the wounds on the forehead. Some information may be obtained on the subject from a book published by the late Earl of Shrewsbury, "Letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury to Ambrose Lisle Phillips, Esq., descriptive of the *Estatica* of Caldaro, and the *Adolorata* of Capriana," 8vo., Lond., 1841; and which, in pp. 42-44, contains an account of the said A. C. Emmerich. The noble earl describes the wounds as appearing spontaneously, and as emitting blood every Friday; that the *Estatica* being in bed, the blood from the feet ran upwards towards the toes; and that when kneeling in a state of ecstasy, as the host passed beneath her window she became lifted up in a miraculous manner, only touching the bed with the extremities of her toes, turning herself round always so as to face the host!

This is the inestimable treasure discovered by Dr. Zimpel, on finding which, he proceeded to determine, which no one had previously done, with the most exemplary patience, and with the most unwearied assiduity, the exact spots severally indicated by the "godly and favoured Emmerich," and has succeeded in convincing himself, beyond all dispute, that Golgotha lay in the ditch outside of the Tower of Psephinus !

END OF VOL II

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

A DESCRIPTION OF SOME IMPORTANT
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IN
CRETE;

FROM A MS. HISTORY OF CANDIA BY ONORIO BELLI, IN 1586.

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ANN. 1852.

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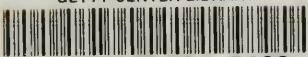
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